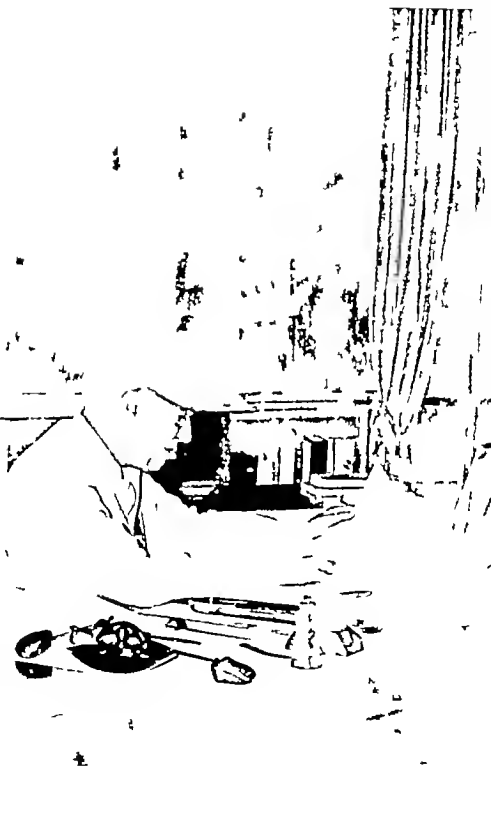


INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

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INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Selected Speeches September 1946—April 1961

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
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PREFACE

THIS VOLUME has been planned to meet the need for finding in one place the main lines of India's foreign policy. No better method could be adopted than to present it in the words of the country's principal spokesman. The material has been selected from the official record of the Prime Minister's speeches and statements in Parliament, replies at Press conferences and addresses elsewhere both in India and abroad. They cover a period of 15 years from September 1946, when the interim Government was established as the first step in the transfer of power to April 1961. The majority of the speeches and addresses have been extempore. In the case of a few translations from the original Hindi have been used.

The speeches are grouped in thirteen sections. The first ten outline the basic concepts of India's foreign policy: independence of thought and action, opposition to colonialism and racialism, and the need for peaceful co-existence. They also trace the evolution of specific policies, in consonance with these concepts, to meet emerging situations. The last three sections deal with India's relations with individual countries in Asia and Africa, Europe and America. The countries have been listed in alphabetical order and the arrangement of speeches and addresses within each section is chronological. The book is selective and not exhaustive.



CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| INDIA'S EMERGENCE | |
| FUTURE TAKING SHAPE | 1 |
| Broadcast from New Delhi, September 7 1946 | |
| AN INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGN REPUBLIC | 4 |
| From speech while moving the Objectives Resolution in the Constituent Assembly December 13 1946 | |
| WE WISH FOR PEACE | 10 |
| From reply to debate on the Objectives Resolution in the Constituent Assembly January 22 1947 | |
| A TRYST WITH DESTINY | 13 |
| Speech in the Constituent Assembly August 14 1947 on the eve of the attainment of Independence | |
| THE APPOINTED DAY | 15 |
| A message to the Press, New Delhi, August 13 1947 | |
| FREEDOM BRINGS RESPONSIBILITY | 16 |
| From speech on the motion by the hon. Dr B R. Ambedkar that the Draft Constitution as framed by the Drafting Committee be taken into consideration, Constituent Assembly November 8, 1946 | |
| INDIA AND ASIA | 21 |
| From speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) March 8 1949 | |
| AN INDEPENDENT POLICY | |
| NON-ALIGNMENT | 24 |
| From speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) December 4 1947 | |
| WE LEAD OURSELVES | 29 |
| From speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) March 8 1948 | |
| FRIENDLY CO-OPERATION | 37 |
| From speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) March 8 1949 | |
| AN EVOLVING POLICY | 42 |
| From speech delivered at the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, March 22, 1949 | |
| NEED FOR REALISM | 50 |
| From reply to debate on Foreign Affairs in Parliament, December 7 1950 | |
| THE LARGER SCHEME OF THINGS | 53 |
| From reply to debate on Foreign Affairs in Lok Sabha, June 12, 1952 | |
| CORRECT PERSPECTIVE | 63 |
| From speech in Lok Sabha during debate on the President's Address, February 23 1953 | |

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| AN INDEPENDENT POLICY (Contd.) | |
| WORLD AFFAIRS IMPINGE ON US | 70 |
| From reply to debate on Foreign Affairs in Lok Sabha September 2, 1957 | |
| THE WAY WE FUNCTION | 73 |
| From speech in Rajya Sabha, December 12, 1957 | |
| NO THIRD FORCE | 7 |
| From speeches in reply to debate on Foreign Affairs in Lok Sabha, December 17 1957 and August 20, 1958 | |
| ACCORDING TO OUR BEST JUDGEMENT | 79 |
| From reply to debate on Foreign Affairs in Lok Sabha, December 9 1958 | |
| AN INTEGRATED APPROACH | 81 |
| From speech at the Bangalore session of the Indian National Congress, Sadashivanagar January 17 1960 | |
| A POSITIVE POLICY | 83 |
| Statement at Press conference at the U.N. Correspondents' Association, New York, October 4 1960 and from speech in Lok Sabha, November 22, 1960 | |
| OPPOSITION TO MILITARY PACTS | |
| THE SOUTH EAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION | 87 |
| Speech during debate on Foreign Affairs in Lok Sabha, September 29 1954 | |
| THE BAGHDAD PACT | 94 |
| From speeches in Lok Sabha, March 29 1956 and in Rajya Sabha, August 26, 1956 | |
| A FALSE CONCEPTION OF SECURITY | 97 |
| From speech at the Bangalore session of the Indian National Congress, Sadashivanagar January 15, 1960 | |
| PANCHSHEEL AND CO-EXISTENCE | |
| THE CONCEPT OF PANCHSHEEL | 99 |
| From speech in Lok Sabha, September 17, 1955, and speech at civic reception to M. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev Calcutta, November 30, 1955 | |
| U.N. RESOLUTION ON CO-EXISTENCE | 102 |
| From speech in Lok Sabha, December 17 1957 | |
| A BASIS FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIP | 104 |
| From reply to debate on Foreign Affairs in Lok Sabha, August 20, 1958 | |
| FOREIGN POSSESSIONS IN INDIA | |
| A PEACEFUL APPROACH | 106 |
| From speech in Parliament, December 6 1950 | |
| Pondicherry | |
| A SETTLEMENT IN FRIENDSHIP | 106 |
| Speech at a reception at Pondicherry January 16 1955 | |
| Goa | |
| THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM | 108 |
| Statement in Lok Sabha, August 23, 1954 | |

FOREIGN POSSESSIONS IN INDIA (Contd.)

| | |
|--|-----|
| GOA IS PART OF INDIA | 111 |
| From reply to debate in Lok Sabha, July 26 1953 | |
| NO CHANGE OF BASIC POLICY | 118 |
| From speeches in Lok Sabha, September 17 1955 | |
| THE CLAIM OF RIGHT OF PASSAGE | 14 |
| From speech in Rajya Sabha, December 12, 1957 and statement at Press conference, New Delhi, June 24 1960 | |
| WE HAVE PREFERRED WAITING | 126 |
| From speech in Rajya Sabha, December 20, 1960 | |

PEOPLE OF INDIAN ORIGIN ABROAD

| | |
|---|-----|
| THE ROMANCE OF MIGRATION | 17 |
| From speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) December 4 1947 | |
| ISSUE OF CITIZENSHIP | 128 |
| From speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) March 8, 1948 and from reply to debate on Foreign Affairs in Lok Sabha, September 2, 1957 | |
| RIGHT POLICY FOR THE SETTLERS | 130 |
| From reply to debate on Foreign Affairs in Lok Sabha, December 17 1957 | |

COMMONWEALTH

| | |
|--|-----|
| HISTORIC DECISION | 132 |
| Broadcast from New Delhi, May 10, 1949 | |
| A NEW TYPE OF ASSOCIATION | 134 |
| Speech in the Constituent Assembly while moving that the decision to continue in the Commonwealth of Nations be ratified, May 16, 1949 | |
| WE HAVE NOT BOUND THE FUTURE DOWN | 146 |
| Speech in reply to debate in the Constituent Assembly on India's decision to remain in the Commonwealth of Nations, May 17 1949 | |
| COMMONWEALTH CITIZENSHIP | 153 |
| Speech in Lok Sabha on the Citizenship Bill, December 3 1955 | |
| A CHANGING PATTERN | 158 |
| From speech in Lok Sabha, July 23 1957 | |
| AN EXAMPLE OF CO-EXISTENCE | 159 |
| From speech at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference New Delhi, December 2 1957 | |

UNITED NATIONS

| | |
|--|-----|
| FIRM ADHERENCE TO OBJECTIVES | 162 |
| Speech in the U.N. General Assembly Paris, November 3 1948 | |
| A SYMBOL OF HOPE | 167 |
| Message broadcast by the United Nations Radio network from Lake Success, New York, May 5 1950 | |
| PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSALITY | 168 |
| From speech in Lok Sabha, February 18, 1953 | |
| DEFENCES OF PEACE | 170 |
| Speech at the Inauguration of the ninth general conference of U 1200 New Delhi, November 5, 1956 | |

UNITED NATIONS (Contd)

| | |
|---|-----------|
| TOWARDS A WORLD COMMUNITY | |
| Speech in the U.N. General Assembly | New York, |
| December 20 1958 | |
| THE STRUCTURE OF UNITED NATIONS | |
| From speeches in Lok Sabha, November 22 1960 and in Rajya | |
| Sabha, December 21 1960 | |

COLD WAR AND DISARMAMENT

| | |
|---|-----|
| A CRISIS OF SPIRIT | |
| Broadcast from New Delhi, April 3, 1948 | 182 |
| DRIFT TOWARDS CATASTROPHE | |
| Broadcast from London, January 12, 1951 | 184 |
| THE HYDROGEN BOMB | |
| Statement in Lok Sabha, April 2, 1954 | 187 |
| CONTROL OF NUCLEAR ENERGY | |
| Speech in Lok Sabha, May 10, 1954 | 191 |
| POWER VACUUM THEORY | |
| From speech during debate on Foreign Affairs in Lok Sabha, | 194 |
| March 25 1957 | |
| SUSPENSION OF NUCLEAR TESTS | |
| From speech in Lok Sabha on the Defence Minister's resolution | 195 |
| on nuclear explosions, May 22, 1957 and from speech in Rajya | |
| Sabha on private member's resolution on nuclear tests, | |
| May 24 1957 | |
| TOWARDS DISARMAMENT | |
| From speeches in Lok Sabha, September 2 1957 and in Rajya | 199 |
| Sabha, September 9 1957 | |
| APPEAL TO THE U.S.A. AND THE U.S.S.R. | |
| New Delhi, November 27 1957 | 201 |
| ON 'SPEAKING FROM STRENGTH' | |
| From speech in Lok Sabha, December 17 1957 | 203 |
| GROWING URGENCY | |
| From reply to debate in Lok Sabha on the President's Address, | 208 |
| February 18 1958 | |
| A GESTURE | |
| From speech in Lok Sabha, April 9 1958 | 206 |
| ON EDGE OF DISASTER | |
| From speech in Lok Sabha, August 19 1958 | 210 |
| COLD WAR PROBLEMS | |
| From speech in Lok Sabha, December 8 1958 | 211 |
| CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH NEEDED | |
| Statement at Press conference New Delhi, June 4 1960 | 14 |
| FLEXIBILITY IMPAIRED | |
| From speech in Rajya Sabha, August 17 1960 | 215 |
| PROBLEMS OF PEACE | |
| Speech in the U.N. General Assembly New York, October 3 1960 | 216 |
| FIVE-POWER RESOLUTION | |
| Speeches in the U.N. General Assembly New York, October 3 | 225 |
| and 5 1960, and from reply to debate on Foreign Affairs in | |
| Lok Sabha, November 23 1960 | |
| POINT OF NO RETURN | |
| From speech in Lok Sabha, November 22, 1960 | 234 |

PERSONNEL AND PUBLICITY

| | |
|--|-----|
| THE APPROACH TO EXTERNAL PUBLICITY | 237 |
| From speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) March 15 1948 | |
| FOREIGN RELATIONS | 239 |
| From speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) March 8, 1949 | |
| GROWTH OF DIPLOMATIC SERVICE | 11 |
| From speech in Lok Sabha, April 9 1958 | |
| A POLICY OF FRIENDSHIP | 243 |
| From speech in Lok Sabha, March 17 1959 | |
| HANDLING OF PUBLICITY | 245 |
| From speech in Lok Sabha, March 17 1960 | |

ASIA AND AFRICA

| | |
|--|-----|
| ASIA FINDS HERSELF AGAIN | 18 |
| Inaugural address at the Asian Relations Conference New Delhi, March 23 1947 | |
| ECONOMIC FREEDOM FOR ASIA | 54 |
| Inaugural address at the third session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, Cootacamund, June 1 1948 | |
| BEGINNING OF A NEW OUTLOOK | 261 |
| Speech delivered at the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, March 22, 1949 | |
| TORMENT IN THE SPIRIT OF ASIA | 264 |
| Speech at the eleventh session of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Lucknow October 3 1950 | |
| ASIA AND AFRICA AWAKE | 269 |
| Speech at the concluding session of the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, Indonesia, April 24 1955 | |
| THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE | 272 |
| Statement in Lok Sabha, April 30, 1955 | |
| AN ASIAN APPROACH | 280 |
| From reply to debate in Lok Sabha on the President's Address, February 18, 1958 | |
| RISE OF ARAB NATIONALISM | 281 |
| From speeches in Lok Sabha, August 14 and 19 1958 | |
| PROBLEMS OF ASIAN DEVELOPMENT | 285 |
| Address to the joint session of the meeting of the Boards of Governor of the IMF IBRD and IFC, New Delhi, October 6 1958 | |

Afghanistan

| | |
|---|-----|
| OLD CONTACTS RENEWED | 289 |
| From speech in Parliament, March 17 1950 | |
| IDENTITY OF VIEWS | 290 |
| From speech at banquet held in honour of His Royal Highness Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, New Delhi, February 5, 1959 and from speech delivered in Kabul, September 14 1959 | |

Burma

| | |
|--|-----|
| A FRIENDLY NEIGHBOUR | 292 |
| From speeches in Parliament, March 17 1950 and March 17 1953 | |

ASIA AND AFRICA (Contd.)

| | |
|---|-----|
| ABIDING GOOD RELATIONS | 293 |
| From speech at banquet held in honour of U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, New Delhi, November 13, 1960 | |
| Cambodia | |
| PATH OF CO-OPERATION | 293 |
| From speech at banquet held in honour of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk Varman of Cambodia, New Delhi, March 18, 1955 | |
| Ceylon | |
| PEOPLE OF INDIAN DESCENT IN CEYLON | 296 |
| From speeches in Lok Sabha, May 15 and September 30 1954 in Rajya Sabha, September 6 1955 and in Lok Sabha, April 9 1958 | |
| China | |
| 'LIBERATION' OF TIBET | 302 |
| From speeches in Parliament, December 6 and 7 1950 | |
| AGREEMENT ON TIBET | 301 |
| From speeches in Lok Sabha, May 13 and September 30 1954 | |
| TRADITION OF GOOD NEIGHBOURLINESS | 306 |
| Speech at banquet held in honour of Mr Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of China, New Delhi, June 26, 1954 | |
| THE NEW CHINA | 308 |
| Statement at Press conference, New Delhi, November 13 1954 | |
| THE CLASH IN TIBET | 313 |
| Statement in Lok Sabha, March 30 1959 | |
| DECISION OF THE DALAI LAMA | 318 |
| Statement in Lok Sabha, April 3 1959 | |
| HAPPENINGS IN TIBET | 319 |
| Statement in Lok Sabha, April 27 1959 | |
| ASYLUM FOR THE DALAI LAMA | 326 |
| From reply to debate on Tibet in Rajya Sabha, May 4 1959 | |
| INCURSIONS IN LADAKH | 328 |
| Statements in Lok Sabha, August 28 1959 and in Rajya Sabha, August 31 1959 | |
| INCURSIONS IN NEPA | 333 |
| Statement in Lok Sabha, August 28 1959 | |
| DEFENCE OF SIKKIM AND BHUTAN | 336 |
| Statement in Lok Sabha, August 28, 1959 | |
| CHINA'S REPLY TO INDIA'S PROTEST | 340 |
| Statement in Rajya Sabha, September 4 1959 | |
| INDIA'S APPROACH TO THE TIBETAN ISSUE | 341 |
| Statement in Lok Sabha, September 4 1959 | |
| INDIA'S BORDERS WITH CHINA | 346 |
| Replies to debate in Rajya Sabha, September 10, 1959 and in Lok Sabha, September 12, 1959 | |
| DISPUTE OVER BARA HOTI | 357 |
| Statement in Lok Sabha, November 17 1959 | |
| INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS | 359 |
| Speeches in Lok Sabha, November 25 and 27 1959 | |
| A LONG-TERM PROBLEM | 371 |
| Statements in Rajya Sabha, December 8 and 9 1959 | |
| METHOD OF NEGOTIATION | 379 |
| Statements in Lok Sabha, December 21 and 22 1959 | |

ASIA AND AFRICA (Contd.)

| | |
|--|-----|
| MUCH HAS TO BE UNDONE | 383 |
| Speech at banquet held in honour of Mr Chou En-lai, New Delhi, April 20 1960 | |
| MEETING OF THE PRIME MINISTERS | 385 |
| Statements in Lok Sabha, April 26 1960 and in Rajya Sabha, April 29 1960 | |
| SINO-BURMESE BORDER TREATY | 391 |
| Statement in Lok Sabha, February 15 1961 | |
| REPORT OF THE OFFICIAL DELEGATION | 393 |
| Statement Lok Sabha, April 1 1961 | |
| Indo-China States | |
| A POLICY OF NON-INTERFERENCE | 394 |
| From speech in Parliament, March 17 1950 | |
| APPEAL FOR CEASE-FIRE | 395 |
| From statements in Lok Sabha, February 22 and April 4 1954 and broadcast from Colombo May 2, 1954 | |
| THE GENEVA AGREEMENT | 401 |
| Statements in Lok Sabha, August 23 1954 and March 23 1957 | |
| CONFLICT IN LAOS | 403 |
| From speeches in Rajya Sabha, December 20 and 21 1960 | |
| Indonesia | |
| CRISIS IN INDONESIA | 407 |
| Presidential speech inaugurating the eighteen-nation Conference on Indonesia, New Delhi, January 20 1949 | |
| MUTUAL AFFECTION | 411 |
| From speech in Parliament, March 17 1950 | |
| FUTURE OF WEST IRIAN | 412 |
| From speech in Rajya Sabha, December 12, 1957 | |
| Iran | |
| REBUILDING OLD CONTACTS | 413 |
| From speech at banquet held in his honour by Dr Manmohan Eshghi, Prime Minister of Iran, Tehran, September 18 1959 | |
| Israel | |
| DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS | 414 |
| Statement at Press conference, New Delhi, August 7 1958 | |
| Japan | |
| CO-OPERATION IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE | 415 |
| From speech at banquet held in honour of Mr Kishi, Prime Minister of Japan, New Delhi, May 23 1957 | |
| Korea | |
| UNITED NATIONS ACTION | 416 |
| From speech in Parliament, December 6 1950 | |
| A PRACTICAL APPROACH | 419 |
| From speech in reply to debate on Foreign Affairs in Parliament, December 7, 1950, and broadcast from New Delhi, January 24 1951 | |
| SEARCH FOR SETTLEMENT | 421 |
| From speeches in Parliament, February 12 1951 and February 17 and May 15 1953 | |

ASIA AND AFRICA (Contd)

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| A MISSION OF PEACE From speeches in Lok Sabha, August 17 and September 17 1953 | 426 |
| A DELICATE TASK From speeches in Lok Sabha, December 24 1953, and February 22 and March 16 1954 | 430 |
| Malaya | |
| INDEPENDENCE OF MALAYA From speech in Lok Sabha, September 2, 1957 | 433 |
| Mongolia | |
| THE NEW CONTEXT From speech at banquet held in honour of M. Yamjaghu Tsedenbal, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, New Delhi, September 10, 1959 | 434 |
| Nepal | |
| STEP TOWARDS DEMOCRACY From speech in Parliament, December 6 1950 and broadcast from New Delhi, January 24 1951 | 435 |
| BONDS OF CULTURE From speech at banquet held in honour of Mr. Tanka Prasad Acharya, Prime Minister of Nepal, New Delhi, December 4 1956 | 437 |
| CLOSE CO-OPERATION From speech at banquet held in his honour by Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal, Kathmandu, June 11 1959 | 438 |
| COMMON PROBLEMS From speech at banquet held in honour of M. B. P. Koirala, Prime Minister of Nepal, New Delhi, January 24 1960, and from speech in reply at banquet held in his honour by Mr. B. P. Koirala, New Delhi, January 27 1960 | 439 |
| THE KING'S PROCLAMATION From speech in Rajya Sabha, December 20, 1960 | 441 |
| Pakistan | |
| INVASION OF KASHMIR Statement in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) November 5 1947 | 443 |
| REFERENCE TO UNITED NATIONS Statement at Press conference, New Delhi, January 2, 1948 | 447 |
| A GENEROUS GESTURE Statement from New Delhi, January 15 1948 | 449 |
| AN ACT OF FAITH Statement in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) March 5, 1948 | 4 |
| ADMISSION BY PAKISTAN Speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) September 7 1948 | 45 |
| MILLIONS ON THE MOVE From speech in Parliament, March 17 1950 | 456 |
| THE RIGHT APPROACH Speech in Parliament, August 7 1950 | 461 |
| THE LARGER CONTEXT From speech during debate on Foreign Affairs in Parliament, March 8, 1951 | 465 |

ASIA AND AFRICA (Contd.)

| | |
|--|-----|
| WE WANT FRIENDLY SETTLEMENT | 468 |
| From reply to debate in Parliament on the President's Address, August 11 1951 | |
| MILITARY AID TO PAKISTAN | 471 |
| From statement in Lok Sabha, February 22, 1954 in Rajya Sabha, March 6 1959 and statement laid on the table of both Houses of Parliament, March 13 1959 | |
| THE CANAL WATERS DISPUTE | 477 |
| From speech on the occasion of the opening of the Nangal Canal, July 8 1954 statement in Lok Sabha, September 1 1960 and statement at Karachi, September 19 1960 | |
| BASIC FACTS TO REMEMBER | 483 |
| From speeches in Lok Sabha, March 29 1956, in Rajya Sabha, September 9 1957 and in Lok Sabha, April 9 1958 | |
| NEHRU-NOON AGREEMENT | 491 |
| Statements in Rajya Sabha, August 26 1958 and in Lok Sabha, September 12, 1958 | |
| NEW REGIME IN PAKISTAN | 494 |
| Statement at Press conference New Delhi, November 7 1958 | |
| BORDER PROBLEMS | 496 |
| Statements in Lok Sabha, December 9 1958 and March 12 1959 | |
| Syria | |
| NEW CHALLENGES | 500 |
| From speech at civic reception, Damascus, June 14 1957 | |
| GROWTH OF THE AFRICAN PERSONALITY | 502 |
| From speech in Rajya Sabha, December 15 1958 | |
| A WHOLE CONTINENT IN FERMENT | 503 |
| From speeches in Rajya Sabha, August 17 1960 and in Lok Sabha, August 31 1960 | |
| Algeria | |
| A POPULAR UPSURGE | 505 |
| Statement in Lok Sabha, May 22, 1956 | |
| FREEDOM—BASIC ISSUE | 507 |
| From speeches in Rajya Sabha, December 13, 1957 and in Lok Sabha, February 18, 1958; statement at Press conference New Delhi, October 12, 1958; and from speech in Rajya Sabha, December 15 1958 | |
| PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION | 510 |
| From speech in Rajya Sabha, December 20, 1960 | |
| The Congo | |
| CRISIS IN THE CONGO | 512 |
| Statements in Lok Sabha, August 31 and November 22, 1960 | |
| A CONFUSED PICTURE | 516 |
| From speeches in Rajya Sabha, December 20 and 21 1960 | |
| TOWARDS A MORE VIGOROUS POLICY | 523 |
| Statement in Lok Sabha, February 15 1961 | |
| DESPATCH OF COMBAT FORCES | 526 |
| Statement in Lok Sabha, March 6 1961 | |
| Egypt | |
| NATIONALIZATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL | 527 |
| Statement in Lok Sabha, August 8, 1956 | |

ASIA AND AFRICA (Contd)

PLEA FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT

From speech in Lok Sabha, September 13 1956

ANGLO-FRENCH INTERVENTION

Statements in Lok Sabha, November 16 and 19 1956

WF TRIED TO BE OF SERVICE

From speech in Lok Sabha March 25 1957

Ghana

INDEPENDENCE OF GHANA

Speech at a meeting organised by the African Students Federation (India) Delhi, March 6 1957

SYMBOL

From speech at banquet held in honour of D. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, New Delhi, December 24 1958

Union of South Africa

DANGER OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

From speeches in Lok Sabha, April 9 and December 9 1958

GROWING DISAPPROVAL

From speeches in Rajya Sabha, December 15 1958 and in Lok Sabha, March 17 1959

FIRING IN LANGA TOWNSHIP

Statement in Lok Sabha, March 28 1960

SOUTH AFRICA LEAVES THE COMMONWEALTH

Statement in Rajya Sabha March 27 1961

EUROPE

Czechoslovakia

ADHERENCE TO PANCHSHEEL

From speech at banquet held in honour of Mr. Viliam Široký, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia New Delhi, January 4 1958

Finland

AN ELEMENT OF KINSHIP

From speech at banquet held in honour of Dr. V. J. Sukselainen, Prime Minister of Finland New Delhi, February 14 1960

Germany

WE WANT TO LEARN

From speech at banquet held in honour of Dr. Franz Eberth, Deputy Prime Minister of the German Federal Republic, New Delhi, January 11 1956

ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

From speech in Lok Sabha July 31 1956

Hungary

THE TRAGEDY IN HUNGARY

Statements in Lok Sabha, November 16 and 19 1956 in Rajya Sabha December 13 1956 and September 9 1957 and statement at Press conference New Delhi, July 3 1958

EUROPE (Contd.)

Norway

COMRADES IN PEACE

564

From speech at banquet held in honour of Mr. Einar Gerhardsen,
Prime Minister of Norway, New Delhi, November 28, 1958

Poland

AN EXAMPLE OF REBUILDING

565

From speech in Warsaw June 25 1955

Rumania

AVENUES OF CO-OPERATION

565

From speech at banquet held in honour of Mr. Chis, Stalin
Prime Minister of Rumania, New Delhi, March 8, 1958

Spain

MISSION IN MADRID

568

Statement in Lok Sabha, July 23 1957

Sweden

AN EXAMPLE FOR US

568

From speech at banquet held in honour of M. Tage Erlander
Prime Minister of Sweden, New Delhi, December 19 1957

United Kingdom

A NEW TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP

570

From speech at banquet held in honour of Sir A. Dixon, Edm.
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, New Delhi, March 1 1955

FROM CONFLICT TO CO-OPERATION

571

From speech at banquet held in honour of M. Harold
Macmillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, New Delhi,
January 9 1958

U.S.S.R.

VISIT TO RUSSIA

57

Statement at the Dynamo Stadium, Moscow June 1 1955

GUESTS FROM MOSCOW

56

From speech at banquet held in honour of Mr. Bulganin and
Mr. Khrushchev, New Delhi, November 20, 1955

NEW TRENDS IN RUSSIA

57

From statement in Lok Sabha, March 21 1956

BASIC FEELING OF FRIENDSHIP

From speeches at dinner held by M. A. A. Andropov, leader of the
Soviet Government delegation, New Delhi, February 26 1957
at chair reception to Mr. Khrushchev, Calcutta, March 1957

Yugoslavia

MORE THAN GOOD RELATIONS

Interview to *Tanjug* the Yugoslav New Agency, New Delhi,
November 29 1955

A VALUABLE GUIDE

From speech during debate on Foreign Affairs in Lok Sabha,
November 20 1956

AMERICA

Canada

Page

COMMON ENDEAVOUR

From speech in the Canadian Parliament, Ottawa October 4
1949 and from speech at banquet held in honour of M. John
Diefenbaker Prime Minister of Canada, New Delhi,
November 19 1958 583

Cuba

INTERVENTION IN CUBA

Statement in Rajya Sabha, April 20 1961

United States of America

A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

Speech in the House of Representatives and the Senate
Washington D.C., October 13, 1949 587

NEED FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

Address to the East and West Association, the Foreign Policy
Association, the India League of America and the Institute of
Pacific Relations, New York, October 19 1949 59

A COMMON FAITH

From television and radio interview, Washington, December
18 1956 597

INDIA AND AMERICA

100th speech at civic reception to President Eisenhower New Delhi
December 13 1959 61

FUTURE TAKING SHAPE

FRIENDS AND COMRADES, Jai Hind! Six days ago my colleagues and I sat on the chairs of high office in the Government of India. A new Government came into being in this ancient land, the Interim or Provisional Government we called it, the stepping stone to the full independence of India. Many thousands of messages of greeting and good wishes came to us from all parts of the world and from every nook and corner of India. And yet we asked for no celebration of this historic event and even restrained our people's enthusiasm. For we wanted them to realize that we were yet on the march and the goal had still to be reached. There were many difficulties and obstacles on the way and our journey's end might not be so near as people thought. Any weakness now any complacency would be fatal to our cause.

Our hearts were heavy also with the terrible tragedy of Calcutta and because of the insensate strife of brother against brother. The freedom we had envisaged and for which we had laboured, through generations of trial and suffering was for all the people of India, and not for one group or class or the followers of one religion. We aimed at a co-operative commonwealth in which all would be equal sharers in opportunity and in all things that give meaning and value to life. Why then this strife this fear and suspicion of each other?

I speak to you today not much of high policy or our programme for the future—that will have to wait a while—but to thank you for the love and affection which you have sent us in such abundant measure. The affection and spirit of co-operation are always welcome but they will be needed more than ever in the difficult days ahead of us. A friend sent me the following message "May you weather every storm, first pilot of the ship of State *bon voyage!*" A cheering message, but there are many storms ahead and our ship of State is old and battered and slow moving and unsuited to this age of swift change. It will have to be scrapped and give

place to another. But however old the ship and however feeble the pilot, when there are so many millions of willing hearts and hands to help, we can brave the high seas and face the future with confidence.

That future is already taking shape and India, this old and dear land of ours, is finding herself again through travail and suffering. She is youthful again with the bright eyes of adventure, and with faith in herself and her mission. For long years she had been narrowly confined and had lost herself in brooding. But now she looks out on the wide world and holds out her hands in friendship to the other peoples of the world even though that world may still be full of conflict and thoughts of war.

The Interim National Government is part of a larger scheme which includes the Constituent Assembly which will meet soon to give shape to the Constitution of free and independent India. It is because of this expectation of an early realization of full independence that we have entered this Government, and we propose to function so as progressively to achieve that independence in action both in our domestic affairs and our foreign relations. We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation. We hope to develop close and direct contacts with other nations and to co-operate with them in the furtherance of world peace and freedom.

We propose as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another which have led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples, and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races. We repudiate utterly the Nazi doctrine of racialism, wherever and in whatever form it may be practised. We seek no dominion over others and we claim no privileged position over other peoples. But we do claim equal and honourable treatment for our people wherever they may go and we cannot accept any discrimination against them.

The world, in spite of its rivalries and hatreds and inner conflicts, moves inevitably towards closer co-operation and the building up of a world commonwealth. It is for this One World that free India will work, a world in which there is the free co-operation of free peoples, and no class or group exploits another.

In spite of our past history of conflict, we hope that an independent India will have friendly and co-operative relations

with England and the countries of the British Commonwealth. But it is well to remember what is happening in one part of the Commonwealth today. In South Africa racialism is the State doctrine and our people are putting up a heroic struggle against the tyranny of a racial minority. If this racial doctrine is going to be tolerated it must inevitably lead to vast conflicts and world disaster.

✓ We send our greetings to the people of the United States of America to whom destiny has given a major role in international affairs. We trust that this tremendous responsibility will be utilized for the furtherance of peace and human freedom everywhere.

To that other great nation of the modern world, the Soviet Union which also carries a vast responsibility for shaping world events, we send our greetings. They are our neighbours in Asia and inevitably we shall have to undertake many common tasks and have much to do with each other.

We are of Asia and the peoples of Asia are nearer and closer to us than others. India is so situated that she is the pivot of Western, Southern and South-East Asia. In the past her culture flowed to all these countries and they came to her in many ways. Those contacts are being renewed and the future is bound to see a closer union between India and South East Asia on the one side, and Afghanistan, Iran, and the Arab world on the other. To the furtherance of that close association of free countries we must devote ourselves. India has followed with anxious interest the struggle of the Indonesians for freedom and to them we send our good wishes.

China, that mighty country with a mighty past, our neighbour has been our friend through the ages and that friendship will endure and grow. We earnestly hope that her present troubles will end soon and a united and democratic China will emerge, playing a great part in the furtherance of world peace and progress.

India is on the move and the old order passes. Too long have we been passive spectators of events, the playthings of others. "The initiative comes to our people now and we shall make the history of our choice. Let us all join in this mighty task and make India, the pride of our heart, great among nations, foremost in the arts of peace and progress. The door is open and destiny beckons to all

AN INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGN REPUBLIC

I beg to move that

(1) THIS Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a Constitution

(2) WHEREIN the territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian States, and such other parts of India as are outside British India and the States as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted into the Independent Sovereign India, shall be a Union of them all and

(3) WHEREIN the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter according to the Law of the Constitution shall possess and retain the status of autonomous Units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of government and administration save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom and

(4) WHEREIN all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India its constituent parts and organs of government are derived from the people and

(5) WHEREIN shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India *justice*, social, economic and political *equality* of status, of opportunity and before the law *freedom* of thought expression belief faith worship vocation association and action, subject to law and public morality and

(6) WHEREIN adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas and depressed and other backward classes and

(7) WHEREIN shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea and air according to justice and the law of civilized nations and

(8) THIS ancient land attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind

Sir this is the fifth day of this first session of the Constituent Assembly. Thus far we have laboured on certain provisional and procedural matters which are essential. We have a clear field to work upon. We have to prepare the ground and we have been doing that these few days. We have still much to do. We have to pass our rules of procedure and to appoint committees and the like,

before we can proceed to the real step to the real work of this Constituent Assembly—that is, the high adventure of giving shape, in the printed and written word, to a nation's dream and aspiration. But even now at this stage, it is surely desirable that we should give some indication to ourselves, to those who look to this Assembly to those millions in this country who are looking up to us and to the world at large, as to what we may do what we seek to achieve whither we are going. It is with this purpose that I have placed this Resolution before the House. It is a Resolution and yet it is something much more than a resolution. It is a Declaration. It is a firm resolve. It is a pledge and an undertaking and it is for all of us, I hope, a dedication. And I wish that this House, if I may say so respectfully should consider this Resolution not in a spirit of narrow legal wording, but rather look at the spirit behind the Resolution. Words are magic things often enough, but even the magic of words sometimes cannot convey the magic of the human spirit and of a nation's passion. And so, I cannot say that this Resolution at all conveys the passion that lies in the hearts and the minds of the Indian people today. It seeks very feebly to tell the world what we have thought or dreamt of so long, and what we now hope to achieve in the near future. It is in that spirit that I venture to place this Resolution before the House and it is in that spirit that I trust the House will receive it and ultimately pass it.

The House knows that there are many absentees here and many members who have a right to come here have not come. We regret that fact.

There is another person who is absent here and who must be in the minds of many of us today—the great leader of our people, the Father of our Nation—who has been the architect of this Assembly and all that has gone before it and possibly of much that will follow. He is not here because, in pursuit of his ideals he is ceaselessly working in a far corner of India. But I have no doubt that his spirit hovers over this place and blesses our undertaking.

As I stand here, Sir, I feel the weight of all manner of things crowding upon me. We are at the end of an era and possibly very soon we shall embark upon a new age and my mind goes back to the great past of India, to the 5 000 years of India's history from the very dawn of that history which might be considered almost the dawn of human history till today. All that past crowds upon me and exhilarates me and at the same time, somewhat oppresses me. Am I worthy of that past? When I think also of the future—the greater future I hope—standing on this sword's edge of the present between the mighty past and the mightier future

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From speech while moving the Objectives Resolution in the Constituent Assembly December 13, 1946

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I tremble a little and feel overwhelmed by this mighty task. We have come here at a strange moment in India's history. I do not know but I do feel that there is some magic in this moment of transition from the old to the new something of that magic which one sees when the night turns into day and even though the day may be a cloudy one, it is day after all, for when the clouds move away we can see the sun again. Because of all this I find a little difficulty in addressing this House and putting all my ideas before it and I feel also that in this long succession of thousands of years, I see the mighty figures that have come and gone and I see also the long succession of our comrades who have laboured for the freedom of India. And now we stand on the verge of this passing age, trying, labouring to usher in the new. I am sure the House will feel the solemnity of this moment and will endeavour to treat this Resolution which it is my proud privilege to place before it in a correspondingly solemn manner.

I think also of the various constituent assemblies that have gone before and of what took place at the making of the great American nation when the fathers of that nation met and fashioned a Constitution which has stood the test of so many years, more than a century and a half, and of the great nation which has resulted, which has been built up on the basis of that Constitution. My mind goes back to that mighty revolution which took place also over 150 years ago and the Constituent Assembly that met in that gracious and lovely city of Paris which has fought so many battles for freedom. My mind goes back to the difficulties that that Constituent Assembly had to face from the King and other authorities, and still it continued. The House will remember that when these difficulties came and even the room for a meeting was denied to that Constituent Assembly they betook themselves to an open tennis court and met there and took the oath which is called the Oath of the Tennis Court. They continued meeting in spite of kings, in spite of the others, and did not disperse till they had finished the task they had undertaken. Well, I trust that it is in that solemn spirit that we too are meeting here and that we too whether we meet in this chamber or in other chambers or in the fields or in the market place will go on meeting and continue our work till we have finished it.

Then my mind goes back to a more recent revolution which gave rise to a new type of State the revolution which took place in Russia and out of which has arisen the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, another mighty country which is playing a tremendous part in the world not only a mighty country but for us in India a neighbouring country.

So our mind goes back to these great examples and we seek

to learn from their success and to avoid their failures. Perhaps we may not be able to avoid failures, because some measure of failure is inherent in human effort. Nevertheless, we shall advance, I am certain in spite of obstructions and difficulties, and achieve and realize the dream that we have dreamt so long. We say that it is our firm and solemn resolve to have an Independent Sovereign Republic. India is bound to be sovereign, it is bound to be independent and it is bound to be a republic. I will not go into the arguments about monarchy and the rest, but obviously we cannot produce monarchy in India out of nothing. It is not there. If it is to be an independent and sovereign State, we are not going to have an external monarchy and we cannot begin a search for a legal heir from among local monarchies. It must inevitably be a republic. Now some friends have raised the question "Why have you not put in the word democratic here?" Well I told them that it is conceivable, of course that a republic may not be democratic, but the whole of our past is witness to the fact that we stand for democratic institutions. Obviously we are aiming at democracy and nothing less than democracy. What form or shape this democracy may take is another matter. The democracies of the present day many of them in Europe and some elsewhere, have played a great part in the world's progress. Yet it may be doubtful if those democracies may not have to change their shape somewhat before long if they have to remain completely democratic. We are not going just to copy I hope, a certain democratic procedure or an institution of a so-called democratic country. We may improve upon it. In any event, whatever system of government we may establish here must fit in with the temper of our people and be acceptable to them. We stand for democracy. It will be for this House to determine what shape to give to that democracy the fullest democracy I hope. The House will notice that although in this Resolution we have not used the word democratic because we thought it obvious that the word republic contains the meaning of that word and we did not want to use unnecessary words and redundant words, we have done something much more than using the word. We have given the content of democracy in this Resolution and not only the content of democracy but the content, if I may say so of economic democracy. Others might take objection to this Resolution on the ground that we have not said that it should be a Socialist State. Well, I stand for socialism and, I hope, India will stand for socialism and that India will go towards the constitution of a Socialist State and I do believe that the whole world will have to go that way. What form of socialism it should be, again, is another matter for your consideration. But the main thing is that in such a Resolution if, in accordance with my own

desire, I had put in that we wanted a Socialist State, we would have put in something which might be agreeable to many and might not be agreeable to some, and we wanted this Resolution not to be controversial in regard to such matters. Therefore, we have laid down not theoretical words and formulas but rather the content of the thing we desire. This is important and I take it there can be no dispute about it. Some people have pointed out to me that our mentioning a Republic may somewhat displease the rulers of Indian States. It is possible that this may displease them. But I want to make it clear personally—and the House knows it—that I do not believe in the monarchical system anywhere, and that in the world today monarchy is a fast disappearing institution. Nevertheless, it is not a question of my personal belief in this matter. Our view in regard to the Indian States has been, for many years, that the people of those States must share completely in the freedom to come. If the people of a particular State desire to have a certain form of administration even though it might be monarchical, it is open to them to have it. The House will remember that even in the British Commonwealth of Nations today Eire is a Republic and yet in many ways it is a member of the British Commonwealth. So it is conceivable.

Well, Sir we are going to make a Constitution for India and it is obvious that what we are going to do in India will have a powerful effect on the rest of the world, not only because a new free, independent nation comes out into the arena of the world but because of the very fact that India is such a country that by virtue not only of her large size and population but of her enormous resources and her ability to exploit those resources, she can immediately play an important and a vital part in world affairs. Even today on the verge of freedom as we are today India has begun to play an important part in world affairs. Therefore it is right that the framers of our Constitution should always bear this larger international aspect in mind.

We approach the world in a friendly way. We want to make friends with all countries. We want to make friends, in spite of the long history of conflict in the past, with England also. The House knows that recently I paid a visit to England. I was reluctant to go for reasons which the House knows well. But I went because of a personal request from the Prime Minister of Great Britain. I went and I met with courtesy everywhere. And yet at this psychological moment in India's history when we wanted, when we hungered for messages of cheer, friendship and co-operation from all over the world and more especially from England because of the past contact and conflict between us, unfortunately I came back without any message of cheer but with a large measure of

disappointment I hope that the new difficulties that have arisen as everyone knows, because of the recent statements made by the British Cabinet and by others in authority there, will not come in our way and that we shall succeed yet in going ahead with the co-operation of all of us here and those who have not come. It has been a blow to me, and it has hurt me that just at the moment when we were going to stride ahead, obstructions were placed in our way new limitations were mentioned which had not been mentioned previously and new methods of procedure were suggested. I do not wish to challenge the *bona fides* of any person, but I wish to say that whatever the legal aspect of the thing might be, there are moments when law is a feeble reed to rely upon specially when dealing with a nation which is full of the passion for freedom. Most of us here have taken part in the struggle for India's freedom for many years past, for a generation or more. We have gone through the valley of the shadow. We are used to it and if necessity arises we shall go through it again. Nevertheless through all this long period we have thought of the time when we should have an opportunity not merely to struggle, not merely to destroy but to construct and create. And now when it appeared that the time had come for constructive effort in a free India to which we looked forward with joy fresh difficulties are placed in our way at such a moment. It shows that, whatever force might be behind all this, people who are able and clever and very intelligent, somehow lack the imaginative daring which should accompany great offices. For if you have to deal with any people, you have to understand them imaginatively you should understand them emotionally and of course, you have also to understand them intellectually. One of the unfortunate legacies of the past has been that there has been no imagination in the understanding of the Indian problem. People have often indulged in, or have presumed to give us, advice, not realizing that India, as she is constituted today wants no one's advice and no one's imposition upon her. The only way to influence India is through friendship and co-operation and goodwill. Any attempt at imposition the slightest trace of patronage is resented and will be resented. We have tried I think honestly in the last few months, in spite of the difficulties that have faced us, to create an atmosphere of co-operation. We shall continue that endeavour. But I do very much fear that that atmosphere will be impaired if there is not sufficient and adequate response from others. Nevertheless, because we are bent on great tasks I hope and trust that we shall continue that endeavour and I do hope that if we continue we shall succeed. As I said we seek the co-operation of England, even at this stage when we are full of suspicion of each other. We feel that if that co-operation is

denied it will be injurious to India, certainly to some extent, probably more so to England and, to some extent, to the world at large. We have just come out of a world war and people talk vaguely and rather wildly of new wars to come. At such a moment is this New India taking birth—renascent, vital, fearless. Perhaps it is a suitable moment for this new birth to take place out of this turmoil in the world. But we have to be clear-eyed at this moment, we who have the heavy task of constitution building. We have to think of this tremendous prospect of the present and the greater prospect of the future and not get lost in seeking small gains for this group or that. In this Constituent Assembly we are functioning on a world stage and the eyes of the world are upon us and the eyes of our entire past are upon us. Our past is witness to what we are doing here and though the future is still unborn, the future too somehow looks at us, I think, and so I would beg of this House to consider this Resolution in the mighty perspective of our past of the turmoil of the present and of the great and unborn future that is going to take its place soon.

WE WISH FOR PEACE

WE CLAIM in this Resolution the right to frame a Constitution for a Sovereign Independent Indian Republic—necessarily republic. What else can we have in India? Whatever the State may have or may not have, it is impossible and inconceivable and undesirable to think in any terms but those of a republic in India.

Now what relation will that Republic bear to the other countries of the world to England and to the British Commonwealth and the rest? For a long time past we have taken a pledge, on Independence Day that India must sever her connection with Great Britain because that connection had become an emblem of British domination. At no time have we ever thought in terms of isolating ourselves in this part of the world from other countries or of being hostile to countries which have dominated over us. On the eve of this great occasion, when we stand on the threshold of freedom, we do not wish to carry a trail of hostility with us against any other country. We want to be friendly to all. We want

to be friendly with the British people and the British Commonwealth of Nations

But what I would like the House to consider is this: when these words and these labels are fast changing their meaning—and in the world today there is no isolation—we cannot live apart from the others. We must co-operate or we must fight. There is no middle way. We wish for peace. We do not want to fight any nation if we can help it. The only possible real objective that we, in common with other nations, can have is the objective of co-operating in building up some kind of world structure: call it One World, call it what you like. The beginnings of this world structure have been laid in the United Nations Organization. It is still feeble: it has many defects; nevertheless, it is the beginning of the world structure. And India has pledged herself to co-operate in its work.

Now, if we think of that structure and our co-operation with other countries in achieving it, where does the question come of our being tied up with this group of nations or that group? Indeed, the more groups and blocs are formed, the weaker will that great structure become.

Therefore, in order to strengthen this big structure, it is desirable for all countries not to insist, not to lay stress on separate groups and separate blocs. I know that there are such separate groups and blocs today and because they exist today there is hostility between them, and there is even talk of war among them. I do not know what the future will bring us, peace or war. We stand on the edge of a precipice and there are various forces which pull us on one side in favour of co-operation and peace, and on the other push us towards the precipice of war and disintegration. I am not enough of a prophet to know what will happen, but I do know that those who desire peace must deprecate separate blocs which necessarily become hostile to other blocs. Therefore, India, in so far as it has a foreign policy, has declared that it wants to remain independent and free of all these blocs and that it wants to co-operate on equal terms with all countries. It is a difficult position because, when people are full of fear of one another, any person who tries to be neutral is suspected of sympathy with the other party. We can see that in India and we can see that in the wider sphere of world politics. Recently an American statesman criticized India in words which show how lacking in knowledge and understanding even the statesmen of America are. Because we follow our own policy, this group of nations thinks that we are siding with the other and that group of nations thinks that we are siding with this. That is bound to happen. If we seek to be a free, independent, democratic Republic, it is not to dissociate ourselves from other countries, but rather as a free nation to co-operate

in the fullest measure with other countries for peace and freedom to co-operate with Britain, with the British Commonwealth of Nations, with the United States of America, with the Soviet Union and with all other countries, big and small. But real co-operation would only come between us and these other nations when we know that we are free to co-operate and are not imposed upon and forced to co-operate. As long as there is the slightest trace of compulsion, there can be no co-operation."

Therefore, I commend this Resolution to the House and I commend this Resolution, if I may say so not only to this House but to the world at large so that it can be perfectly clear that it is a gesture of friendship to all and that behind it there lies no hostility. We have suffered enough in the past. We have struggled sufficiently we may have to struggle again, but under the leadership of a very great personality we have sought always to think in terms of friendship and goodwill towards others, even those who opposed us. How far we have succeeded we do not know because we are weak human beings. Nevertheless, the impress of that message has found a place in the hearts of millions of people of this country and even when we err and go astray we cannot forget it. Some of us may be little men some may be big but whether we are small men or big for the moment we represent a great cause and therefore, something of the shadow of greatness falls upon us. Today in this Assembly we represent a mighty cause and this Resolution that I have placed before you gives some semblance of that cause. We shall pass this Resolution, and I hope that this Resolution will lead us to a Constitution on the lines suggested by this Resolution. I trust that the Constitution itself will lead us to the real freedom that we have clamoured for and that real freedom in turn will bring food to our starving people clothing for them, housing for them and all manner of opportunities for progress that it will lead also to the freedom of the other countries of Asia, because in a sense, however unworthy we may be, we have become—let us recognize it—the leaders of the freedom movement of Asia, and whatever we do, we should think of ourselves in these larger terms. When some petty matter divides us and we have difficulties and conflicts amongst ourselves over these small matters, let us remember not only this Resolution but this great responsibility that we shoulder the responsibility of the freedom of 400 million people of India the responsibility of the leadership of a large part of Asia the responsibility of being some kind of guide to vast numbers of people all over the world. It is a tremendous responsibility.

We shall frame the Constitution and I hope it will be a good Constitution but does anyone in this House imagine that when a free India emerges it will be bound down by anything that even

this House might lay down for it? A free India will see the bursting forth of the energy of a mighty nation. What it will do and what it will not, I do not know but I do know that it will not consent to be bound down by anything. And so now I commend this Resolution to the House and may I read the last paragraph of the Resolution? But, one word more, Sir before I read it.

India is a great country great in her resources, great in manpower great in her potential, in every way I have little doubt that a free India on every plane will play a big part on the world stage, even on the narrowest plane of material power. Nevertheless, today there is a conflict in the world between forces on different planes. We hear a lot about the atom bomb and the various kinds of energy that it represents and in essence today there is a conflict in the world between two things, the atom bomb and what it represents and the spirit of humanity. I hope that while India will no doubt play a great part in all the material spheres, she will always lay stress on the spirit of humanity, and I have no doubt in my mind that ultimately in this conflict that is confronting the world the human spirit will prevail over the atom bomb. May this Resolution bear fruit and may the time come when in the words of this Resolution, this ancient land will attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.⁴

A TRYST WITH DESTINY

LONG YEARS AGO we made a tryst with destiny and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.

At the dawn of history India started on her unending quest, and trackless centuries are filled with her striving and the grandeur

⁴ Speech delivered in the Constituent Assembly August 14 1947 on the eve of the attainment of Independence

of her success and her failures. Through good and ill fortune alike she has never lost sight of that quest or forgotten the ideals which gave her strength. We end today a period of ill fortune and India discovers herself again. The achievement we celebrate today is but a step an opening of opportunity to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us. Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenge of the future?

Freedom and power bring responsibility. The responsibility rests upon this Assembly a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India. Before the birth of freedom we have endured all the pains of labour and our hearts are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of those pains continue even now. Nevertheless, the past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now.

That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we may fulfil the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but as long as there are tears and suffering so long our work will not be over.

And so we have to labour and to work, and work hard, to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible so is freedom so is prosperity now and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

To the people of India, whose representatives we are we make an appeal to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill will or blaming others. We have to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell.

I beg to move Sir

"That it be resolved that

(1) After the last stroke of midnight, all members of the Constituent Assembly present on this occasion, do take the following pledge

At this solemn moment when the people of India through suffering and sacrifice have secured freedom, I a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, do dedicate myself in all humility to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attain her rightful place in the world and make her

full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind

(2) Members who are not present on this occasion do take the pledge (with such verbal changes as the President may prescribe) at the time they next attend a session of the Assembly

THE APPOINTED DAY

THE APPOINTED DAY has come—the day appointed by destiny—and India stands forth again after long slumber and struggle, awake, vital, free and independent. The past clings on to us still in some measure and we have to do much before we redeem the pledges we have so often taken. Yet the turning point is past, and history begins anew for us, the history which we shall live and act and others will write about.

It is a fateful moment for us in India, for all Asia and for the world. A new star rises, the star of freedom in the East, a new hope comes into being—a vision long cherished materializes. May the star never set and that hope never be betrayed!

We rejoice in that freedom, even though clouds surround us, and many of our people are sorrow stricken and difficult problems encompass us. But freedom brings responsibilities and burdens and we have to face them in the spirit of a free and disciplined people.

On this day our first thoughts go to the architect of this freedom, the Father of our Nation, who embodying the old spirit of India, held aloft the torch of freedom and lighted up the darkness that surrounded us. We have often been unworthy followers of his and have strayed from his message—but not only we but succeeding generations will remember this message and bear the imprint in their hearts of this great son of India, magnificent in his faith and strength and courage and humility. We shall never allow that torch of freedom to be blown out, however high the wind or stormy the tempest.

Our next thoughts must be of the unknown volunteers and soldiers of freedom who without praise or reward, have served India even unto death.

We think also of our brothers and sisters who have been cut off from us by political boundaries and who unhappily cannot

ago almost exactly—passed through strange transitions and changes. We function here far more independently than we did at that time. We function as a sovereign independent nation, but we have also gone through a great deal of sorrow and bitter grief during this period and all of us have been powerfully affected by it. The country for which we were going to frame this Constitution was partitioned and split into two. And what happened afterwards is fresh in our minds and will remain fresh with all its horrors for a very long time to come. All that has happened, and yet, in spite of all this, India has grown in strength and in freedom, and undoubtedly the growth of India, the emergence of India as a free country is one of the significant facts of this generation, significant for us and for the vast numbers of our brothers and sisters who live in this country significant for Asia, and significant for the world. And the world is beginning to realize—and I am glad to find this is so—that India's role in Asia and the world will be a beneficent role. Sometimes there may also be a measure of apprehension because India may play some part which some people some countries with other interests may not particularly like. All that is happening but the main thing is this very significant factor that India, after being dominated for a long period, has emerged as a free, sovereign democratic, independent country and that is a fact which changes and is changing history. How far it will change history will depend upon us, this House and other Houses like this which will come in the future representing the organized will of the Indian people.

That is a tremendous responsibility. Freedom brings responsibility. Of course, there is no such thing as freedom without responsibility. Irresponsibility itself means lack of freedom. Therefore, we have to be conscious of this tremendous burden of responsibility which freedom has brought—the discipline of freedom and the organized way of working freedom. But there is something even more than that. The freedom that has come to India by virtue of many things—history, tradition, resources, our geographical position, our great potential and all that—inevitably leads India to play an important part in world affairs. It is not a question of our choosing this or that. It is an inevitable consequence of what India is and what a free India must be. And because we have to play that inevitable part in world affairs, we have another and greater responsibility. Sometimes with all my hope and optimism and confidence in my nation, I rather quake at the great responsibilities that are being thrust upon us, and which we cannot escape. If we get tied up in our narrow controversies, we may forget this. Whether we forget it or not, that responsibility is there. If we forget it, we fall in that measure. Therefore, I would beg of this House to consider

these great responsibilities that have been thrust upon India—and on us in this House, because we represent India in this as in many other spheres—and to work together in the framing of the Constitution, always keeping that in view for the eyes of the world are upon us and the hopes and aspirations of a great part of the world are also upon us. We dare not be little if we do so, we do an ill service to our country and to the hopes and aspirations of other countries that surround us. It is in this way that I would like the House to consider this Constitution first of all to keep the Objectives Resolution before us and to see how far we are going to act up to it, how far we are going to build up as we said in the Resolution an Independent Sovereign Republic, wherein all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government, are derived from the people and wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India *justice* social, economic and political *equality* of status, of opportunity and before the law *freedom* of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality and this ancient land attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind”

I read that last clause in particular because that brings to our mind India's duty to the world.

The House will remember that when I brought the motion of the Objectives Resolution before this House, I referred to the fact that we were asking for or rather we were laying down that our Constitution should be framed for an Independent Sovereign Republic. I stated at that time and I have stated subsequently that this business of our being a republic is entirely a matter for us to determine, of course. It has little or nothing to do with what relations we should have with other countries, notably the United Kingdom or the Commonwealth that used to be called the British Commonwealth of Nations. That was a question which had to be determined again by this House and by no one else, independently of what our Constitution was going to be. I want to inform the House that in recent weeks when I was in the United Kingdom, this subject and allied subjects came up for private discussion—there was no public discussion or decision, because the Commonwealth Conference which I attended did not consider it at all in its sessions. Inevitably these were private discussions, because it is a matter of high moment not only for us, but also for other countries as to what, if any relation we should have, what contacts, what links we should bear with these other countries. Invariably the first thing that I had to say in all these discussions was that I could not as an individual—even though I had been honoured with the

high office of Prime Ministership—I could not in any way or in any sense commit the country nor even the Government which I had the honour to represent. This was essentially a matter which the Constituent Assembly of India alone could decide. I made that perfectly clear. Having made that clear I further drew their attention to the Objectives Resolution of the Constituent Assembly. I said it was, of course, open to the Constituent Assembly to vary that Resolution as it could vary everything else, because it was sovereign in this and other matters. That was the direction which the Constituent Assembly had given itself and to its Constitution Drafting Committee and as long as it remained as it was—and I added that, as far as I knew it would remain as it was—the Constitution would be in terms of the Objectives Resolution. Having made that clear Sir I said that it had often been said on our behalf that we desired to be associated in friendly relationship with other countries, with the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth. How in this context it can be done or it should be done is a matter for careful consideration and ultimate decision, naturally on our part by the Constituent Assembly on their part by their respective governments or peoples. That is all I wish to say about the matter at this stage, because in the course of the session this matter no doubt, will come up before the House in more concrete form. But in whatever form it may come up whether now or later the point I should like to stress is this, that it is something apart from and in a sense independent of the Constitution that we are considering. We pass the Constitution for an independent sovereign democratic India, for a republic, as we choose, and the second question is to be considered separately at whatever time it suits this House. It does not in any sense fetter our Constitution or limit it, because this Constitution coming from the people of India through their representatives represents their free will with regard to the future government of India.

Now may I beg again to repeat what I said earlier? Destiny has cast a certain role on this country. Whether anyone of us present here can be called men or women of destiny or not I do not know. That is a big word which does not apply to average human beings, but whether we are men or women of destiny or not, India is a country of destiny and so far as we represent this great country with a great destiny stretching out in front of her we also have to act as men and women of destiny viewing all our problems in that long perspective of destiny and of the world and of Asia, never forgetting the great responsibility that freedom, that this great destiny of our country has cast upon us, not losing ourselves in petty controversies and debates which might be useful but which would in this context be either out of place or out of tune. Vast numbers of minds and eyes look in this direction. We have to remember

them. Hundreds of millions of our own people look to us and hundreds of millions of others also look to us and remember this that while we want this Constitution to be as solid and as permanent a structure as we can make it, nevertheless there is no permanence in Constitutions. There should be a certain flexibility. If you make a thing rigid and permanent, you stop a nation's growth, the growth of a living vital, organic people. Therefore, it has to be flexible. We should not, as some other great countries have done make a Constitution so rigid that it cannot be easily adapted to changing conditions. Today especially when the world is in turmoil and we are passing through a period of very swift transition, what we do today may not be wholly applicable tomorrow. Therefore, while we make a Constitution which is sound and as basic as we can make it, it should also be flexible and for a period we should be in a position to change it with relative facility.

INDIA AND ASIA

THE INDIAN UNION is an infant State, infant free State, a year and a half old but remember that India is not an infant country India is a very ancient country with millennia of history behind her—a history in which she has played a vital part not only within her own vast boundaries, but in the world and in Asia in particular India now in this last year or more, emerges again into the main trend of human affairs.

Now that is something of great historical significance. I could have said that Asia emerges in this main trend of history Asia, in the long millennia of her history has played a very important part. So has India, of course but during the last two hundred years or so, certain developments of science and technology in Europe, and in America a little later led to the domination of Asia by Europe and to a restriction of her activities in the world at large. She became confined and restricted. Various changes took place internally in India and in Asia during this period. But generally speaking India and the other countries of Asia withstood the political and economic domination of Europe. That period and epoch has ended and India now comes, I think, into the forefront in national events and world affairs.

One of the major questions of the day is the readjustment of the relations between Asia and Europe. When we talk of Asia, remember that India, not because of any ambition of hers, but because of the force of circumstances, because of geography because of history and because of so many other things, inevitably has to play a very important part in Asia. And not only that India becomes a kind of meeting ground for various trends and forces and a meeting ground between what might roughly be called the East and the West.

Look at the map. If you have to consider any question affecting the Middle East, India inevitably comes into the picture. If you have to consider any question concerning South-East Asia, you cannot do so without India. So also with the Far East. While the Middle East may not be directly connected with South East Asia, both are connected with India. Even if you think in terms of regional organizations in Asia, you have to keep in touch with the other regions. And whatever regions you may have in mind, the importance of India cannot be ignored.

One of the major questions of the day is the readjustment of the relations between Asia and Europe. In the past, especially by virtue of her economic and political domination, the West ignored Asia, or at any rate did not give her the weight that was due to her. Asia was really given a back seat and one unfortunate result of it was that even the statesmen did not recognize the changes that were taking place. There is, I believe, a considerable recognition of these changes now but it is not enough yet. Even in the councils of the United Nations, the problems of Asia, the outlook of Asia, the approach of Asia have failed to evoke the enthusiasm that they should. There are many ways of distinguishing between what may be called the approach of Asia and the approach of Europe. Asia today is primarily concerned with what may be called the immediate human problems. In each country of Asia—under developed countries more or less—the main problem is the problem of food, of clothing, of education, of health. We are concerned with these problems. We are not directly concerned with problems of power politics. Some of us, in our minds, may perhaps think of them.

Europe, on the other hand is not so concerned with these problems, except in the devastated regions. Europe has a legacy of conflicts of power and of problems which come from the possession of power. They have the fear of losing that power and the fear of someone else getting greater power and attacking one country or the other. So that the European approach is a legacy of the past conflicts of Europe.

I do not mean to say that we in Asia are in any way superior ethically or morally to the people of Europe. In some ways I imagine

we are worse. There is, however a legacy of conflict in Europe. In Asia, at the present moment at least, there is no such legacy. The countries of Asia may have their quarrels with their neighbours here and there, but there is no basic legacy of conflict such as the countries of Europe possess. That is a very great advantage for Asia and it would be folly in the extreme for the countries of Asia or for India to be dragged in the wake of the conflicts in Europe. We might note that the world progressively tends to become one—one in peace as it is likely to be one in a sense, in war. No man can say that any country can remain apart when there is a major conflagration. But still one can direct one's policy towards avoiding this conflict and entanglement in it.

So the point I wish the House to remember is this first of all, the emergence of India in world affairs is something of major consequence in world history. We who happen to be in the Government of India or in this House are men of relatively small stature. But it has been given to us to work at a time when India is growing into a great giant again. So because of that, in spite of our own smallness, we have to work for great causes and perhaps elevate ourselves in the process.

NON-ALIGNMENT

THE MAIN SUBJECT in foreign policy today is vaguely talked of in terms of "Do you belong to this group or that group?" That is an utter simplification of issues and it is all very well for the hon. Maulana Hasrat Mohani to hold forth that India will go to war under this banner or that banner. But that surely is not the way that a responsible House or a responsible country views the situation.

"We have proclaimed during this past year that we will not attach ourselves to any particular group. That has nothing to do with neutrality or passivity or anything else. If there is a big war there is no particular reason why we should jump into it. Nevertheless, it is a little difficult nowadays in world wars to be neutral. Any person with any knowledge of international affairs knows that. The point is not what will happen when there is a war. Are we going to proclaim to the world taking the advice of Maulana Hasrat Mohani that when war comes, we stand by Russia? Is that his idea of foreign policy or any policy? That shows to me an amazing ignorance of how foreign affairs can be conducted. We are not going to join a war if we can help it and we are going to join the side which is to our interest when the time comes to make the choice. There the matter ends."

But talking about foreign policies, the House must remember that these are not just empty struggles on a chess-board. Behind them lie all manner of things. Ultimately foreign policy is the outcome of economic policy and until India has properly evolved her economic policy her foreign policy will be rather vague, rather inchoate, and will be groping. It is well for us to say that we stand for peace and freedom and yet that does not convey much to anybody except a pious hope. We do stand for peace and freedom. I think there is something to be said for it. There is some meaning when we say that we stand for the freedom of Asian countries and for the elimination of imperialistic control over them. There is some meaning in that."

Undoubtedly it has some substance, but a vague statement that we stand for peace and freedom by itself has no particular meaning, because every country is prepared to say the same thing, whether it means it or not. What then do we stand for? Well, you have to develop this argument in the economic field. As it happens today in spite of the fact that we have been for some time in authority as a government, I regret that we have not produced any constructive economic scheme or economic policy so far. Again my excuse is that we have been going through such amazing times which have taken up all our energy and attention that it was difficult to do so. Nevertheless, we shall have to do so and when we do so that will govern our foreign policy more than all the speeches in this House.

"We have sought to avoid foreign entanglements by not joining one bloc or the other. The natural result has been that neither of these big blocs looks on us with favour. They think that we are undependable, because we cannot be made to vote this way or that way."

Last year when our delegation went to the United Nations, it was the first time that a more or less independent delegation went from India. It was looked at a little askance. They did not know what it was going to do. When they found that we acted according to our own will, they did not like it. We were unpopular last year at the United Nations. I do not mean individually but in regard to our policy. They could not quite make out what we were or what we were aiming at. There was a suspicion in the minds of the first group that we were really allied to the other group in secret though we were trying to hide the fact, and the other group thought that we were allied to the first group in secret though we were trying to hide the fact.

This year there was a slight change in this attitude. We did many things which both the groups disliked but the comprehension came to them that we were not really allied to either group that we were trying to act according to our own lights and according to the merits of the dispute as they seemed to us. They did not like that, of course, because the position today is that there is so much passion and so much fear and suspicion of each other between these great rival powers and groups that anybody who is not with them is considered against them. So they did not like what we did in many instances nevertheless, they respected us much more, because they realized that we had an independent policy that we were not going to be dragooned this way or that, that we might make a mistake just like anyone else, nevertheless, we were going to stick to our own policy and programme so that while possibly we irritated some of our friends even a little more than last year we got on

much better with everybody because they understood that we did stand for something.

To give the House an instance of how we acted, take the Palestine affair which has given rise and will give rise to a great deal of trouble. We took up a certain attitude in regard to it which was roughly a federal State with autonomous parts. It was opposed to both the other attitudes which were before the United Nations. One was partition which has now been adopted the other was a unitary State. We suggested a federal State with, naturally, an Arab majority in charge of the federal State but with autonomy for the other regions—Jewish regions.

After a great deal of thought we decided that this was not only a fair and equitable solution of the problem, but the only real solution of the problem. Any other solution would have meant fighting and conflict. Nevertheless, our solution—which, as the House will remember was the solution given in the minority report of the Palestine Committee—did not find favour with most people in the United Nations. Some of the major powers were out for partition they therefore, pressed for it and ultimately got it. Others were so keen on the unitary State idea and were so sure of preventing partition at any rate or preventing a two-thirds majority in favour of partition that they did not accept our suggestion.

When during the last few days somehow partition suddenly became inevitable and votes veered round to it, owing to the pressure of some of the great powers, it was realized that the Indian solution was probably the best and an attempt was made in the last 48 hours to bring forward the Indian solution, not by us but by those who had wanted a unitary State. It was then too late. There were procedural difficulties and many of the persons who might have accepted this solution had already pledged themselves to partition. And so ultimately partition was decided upon by a two-thirds majority with a large number abstaining from voting, with the result that there is trouble in the Middle East now and the possibility of a great deal of trouble in the future.

I point this out to the House as an instance, that in spite of considerable difficulty and being told by many of our friends on either side that we must line up this way or that, we refused to do so and I have no doubt that the position we had taken was the right one and I still have no doubt that it would have brought about the best solution.

This applies to many other things. But inevitably it means that to some extent we have to plough a lonely furrow in the United Nations and at international conferences of this type. Nonetheless, that is the only honourable and right position for us to take and I am quite sure that by adopting that position, we shall ultimately

gain in national and international prestige, that is to say when we take a long view of the situation, not a short view of getting immediately a vote here or there.

I have no doubt that fairly soon, in the course of two or three years, the world will find this attitude justified and that India will not only be respected by the major protagonists in the struggle for power but a large number of the smaller nations which today are rather helpless will probably look to India more than to other countries for a lead in such matters.

May I in this connection say that during this last session of the United Nations General Assembly many very difficult and very controversial issues were raised, and our delegation had to face extraordinarily intricate situations? I should like to pay a tribute to our delegation, especially to the leader of the delegation. Hon. Members often put questions about the appointment of ambassadors, members of delegations and the like and rightly so because the House should be interested in such important appointments. May I say to the House that nothing is more difficult than to make these appointments, because they are not just appointments of able persons, but appointments of particular persons to particular places where they must fit in, which is an extraordinarily difficult thing?

In the key places of the world the ideal ambassador must be some kind of a superman. It is so difficult now not only to understand the intricacies—that is not difficult—but to remain friends with everybody and yet to advance your cause. After all we have in the past discussed foreign affairs from the outside, in other assemblies, or here perhaps in a rather academic way rather as in a college debating society. That is, we talked of high policies, but we did not come to grips with them when we had to say "yes" or "no" to a question and face the consequences.

If the House will forgive my saying so, even in today's debate many of the speeches were of an academic kind which did not take into account the vital questions which concern the world today which may mean peace or war. But when the House does have to face the question and take a decision which may lead to war or peace, when one comes face to face with realities one cannot rely merely on idealistic principles.

Foreign affairs are utterly realistic today. A false step, a false phrase makes all the difference.

It is against this background that I should like the House to consider international affairs. We have to get over the notion that it is merely some naughty men playing about and quarrelling with one another, some statesmen in America and the U.S.S.R. or British imperialism lurking behind the curtain in the distance.

To come to grips with the subject in its economic, political

and various other aspects, to try to understand it, is what ultimately matters. Whatever policy we may lay down, the art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country. We may talk about international goodwill and mean what we say. We may talk about peace and freedom and earnestly mean what we say. But in the ultimate analysis, a government functions for the good of the country it governs and no government dare do anything which in the short or long run is manifestly to the disadvantage of that country.

Therefore, whether a country is imperialistic or socialist or communist, its foreign minister thinks primarily of the interests of that country. But there is a difference, of course. Some people may think of the interests of their country regardless of other consequences, or take a short-distance view. Others may think that in the long term policy the interest of another country is as important to them as that of their own country. "The interest of peace is more important, because if war comes everyone suffers so that in the long-distance view self-interest may itself demand a policy of co-operation with other nations, goodwill for other nations, as indeed it does demand."

Every intelligent person can see that if we have a narrow national policy it may excite the multitude for the moment, just as the communal cry has done, but it is bad for the nation and it is bad internationally because we lose sight of the ultimate good and thereby endanger our own good. "Therefore, we propose to look after India's interests in the context of world co-operation and world peace, in so far as world peace can be preserved."

We propose to keep on the closest terms of friendship with other countries unless they themselves create difficulties. We shall be friends with America. We intend co-operating with the United States of America. We intend co-operating fully with the Soviet Union. We have had as the House knows, a distinguished representative of the United States here for some time past. Within a week or two we shall have a distinguished representative of the Soviet Union here, in the Soviet Embassy which is being opened in New Delhi.

I do not want to say much more at this stage about foreign affairs partly for lack of time, partly because it is a little difficult to discuss these matters. Some of the hon. Members might, perhaps, want to talk about what should be done in China, Japan, Siam and Peru, but I fear it would be a little irresponsible of me to talk about these various matters.

* Naturally India is interested in Asian countries even more than the rest of the world. We have had an Asian Conference and at this moment we have a distinguished visitor here the Prime Minister

of Burma. The Prime Minister of Burma is interested as many of us have been, in closer association, not only between Burma and India, but between various other countries of Asia also. We have discussed that, not with a view to coming suddenly to decisions, because these things take a little time to grow. It all indicates the new spirit of Asia which wants Asian countries to draw closer together in their own defence and to promote world peace."

I am grateful to the House for the kind sentiments and the expressions of goodwill for our attempt to follow a certain rather vague policy in regard to foreign affairs. I wish it were a more definite policy. I think it is growing more definite, and in this connection may I say that at the present moment no country including the big powers, with their long traditions in foreign affairs, has anything which could be called a precise and definite foreign policy because the world itself is in a fluid condition?

WE LEAD OURSELVES

IN CRITICIZING the foreign policy of the Government of India during the last year I should like this House for an instant to turn its mind to any country today and think of its foreign policy—whether it is the U.S.A., the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., China or France. These are supposed to be the great powers. Let them think of their policy and tell me if they would say that the foreign policy of any one of these countries has succeeded from any point of view from the point of view of moving towards world peace or preventing world war or succeeded even from the mere opportunist and individual point of view of that country.

I think if you will look at this question from this point of view you will find that there has been a miserable failure in the foreign policy of every great power and country. It is in that context that we shall have to view these matters. It is not really the failure of the foreign policy of any particular power though perhaps two or three major powers do influence foreign policy greatly.

Surely the responsibility for the deterioration of the international situation might lie with some powers. In India, our responsibility is very little. We may have acted well or badly on the international stage but we are not, frankly speaking influential enough to affect international events very much. Therefore, if

a great deterioration has taken place in the international sphere it is not due to our policy. We suffer from it just as every other nation suffers from it and I think it is this vague feeling that we have suffered that induces the members of the House to search for reasons why we have suffered.

I think that is a very right approach, because we must find the reasons for our having erred—how we might have bettered our lot and so on and so forth. Nevertheless I think the real reason is that the causes lie entirely outside any policy that we have pursued. There are bigger and deeper causes affecting the world and we, like the strongest of nations, are pulled hither and thither by these forces. That is one fact that I should like the House to bear in mind.

Another factor—and that is more applicable to us—is that owing to the unfortunate events that have happened in India since the 15th August, 1947 anything we did in the world outside suddenly lost weight or lost weight for a time. We counted for something—not very greatly of course, and more potentially than in actuality. Indeed, potentially we counted for a great deal, though actually we need not have counted for much. But the events that occurred after the 15th August in India and Pakistan—Pakistan I might say naturally did not count for much because it had no background—it was a newcomer—it was we who counted—those events suddenly brought down our credit in the international domain tremendously.

It affected the United Nations when they met last October to consider the South Africa issue. Undoubtedly the events in India affected the decision of the United Nations General Assembly in regard to the South Africa issue—so also in regard to other matters. All these facts have nothing to do with foreign policy.

The point I wish to make before the House is this—that it may be desirable for us to adopt this or that foreign policy—one of which is called a policy of neutrality or—as Pandit Kunzru said, a more positive one.

But all this has no relationship. It has nothing to do with what has happened. Other factors govern it. If you like, it was a fault, but we have been rather passive about all these matters, and where we have been somewhat active are the very things in which some of the hon. Members desire us to be even more active. We are asked to collect the smaller nations of the world round us and so on. But the point is the very activity—call it idealistic. I do not think it is purely idealistic. I think it is, if you like, opportunist in the long run—this policy that we have so far pursued before we became a Government, and to some extent after we became a Government, that is, the policy of standing up for the weak and the oppressed in various continents—is not a policy which is to the liking

of the great powers who directly or indirectly share in their exploitation. It is this that puts us in the wrong with them.

There has been a lot said about other matters. Here is Indonesia. It is a clear issue before this House. We have done precious little by way of actual active help—we are not in a position to do so. But we have sympathy for the Indonesians and we have expressed it as publicly as possible. Because we give our sympathy and some degree of help to Indonesia and because this offends and irritates some of the major powers of the world, are we to withdraw that help? Are we to submit tamely and say 'No this might irritate this power or that'? For it does irritate this or that power and there is no doubt about it.

Naturally we cannot as a Government go as far as we might have done as a non-official organization in which we can express our opinions as frankly and as aggressively as possible. Speaking as a Government we have to moderate our language. We have sometimes to stop doing things which we might otherwise do. Nevertheless, the fundamental thing is whether we sympathize and openly sympathize with a country like Indonesia in her struggle for freedom, or not. That applies not to Indonesia only but to several other countries. In each case we have to face the passive hostility of various interests, not only the direct interests involved, but also the indirect interests involved, because the direct and the indirect interests hang together in such matters.

It is an astonishing thing to see how for many months, the Good Offices Committee has functioned in Indonesia. They are all good people, and it happens that the Secretary of the Committee is an Indian. The way it has functioned and the results it has produced are not at all satisfactory. If this House is dissatisfied with what the Security Council has done this year or considered in regard to Kashmir they would be still more dissatisfied, I think, if they considered the Indonesian Good Offices Committee's work. Unfortunately their approach to such problems is an approach with which this House cannot agree on account of our past traditions, on account of our ideals.

I am not talking in terms of this bloc or that bloc. I am talking independently of the blocs as they have appeared on the world stage. We have either to pursue our policy generally within limitations—because we cannot pursue it wholeheartedly nevertheless openly—or give it up. I do not think that anything could be more injurious to us from any point of view—certainly from an idealistic and high moral point of view but equally so from the point of view of opportunism and national interest in the narrowest sense of the word—than for us to give up the policies that we have pursued, namely those of standing up for certain ideals in regard

This leads to another matter to which reference has been made by an hon. Member. It is an odd contrast today that while in the official councils of the United Nations we may not perhaps pull the weight we ought to, nevertheless, in the unofficial councils outside our weight has considerably increased. Why is this so? Because, progressively people see that within the United Nations things are done far from the idealistic, moral way or in terms of the underdog—the smaller nations, or the Asian nations. Therefore, more and more of these people try to find someone else and in their search for someone else who might perhaps give a lead in these matters, almost automatically their eyes turn towards India.

I do not wish to enter into any comparisons with other countries, and certainly we have done nothing in India to merit leadership of anybody. It is for us to lead ourselves—then only can we lead others properly and I do not wish to place the case of India at any higher level. We have to look after ourselves.

That is why I am if I may say so in spite of being Minister in charge of External Affairs, not interested in external affairs so much as internal affairs at the present moment. External affairs will follow internal affairs. Indeed there is no basis for external affairs if internal affairs go wrong. Therefore, I am not anxious to widen the scope of our representation all over the world. It is fairly wide already. That too we have been almost compelled by circumstances to do because as an independent nation we simply cannot do without that representation, but I am not anxious to extend it any further unless some very special reason arises.

That being so the fact remains that we stand for certain things. Now when we come into contact with the external world, do we stand for them or do we not? We have to choose. I have no doubt at all, as I said right at the beginning of my remarks, that in the long run it is to the great advantage of India to try to attract to itself the sympathy and the hope of millions of people in the world without offending others. It is not our purpose to offend others or to come into conflict with others. The world, however is in a pretty bad way and it is easy enough for people to tell me—Oh, you talk idealistically you should be practical.

May I remind the House that we have seen these many years, the results of persons and things being very practical? I have had about enough of this practicalness, which leads to incessant conflict and which leads to all the misery and suffering that we have seen. If that is the meaning of being practical the sooner we are not practical the better.

But that is not being practical. That is being grossly impractical to march without looking to the left or to the right, each group just contracting into an ever smaller circle full of danger for the

other group trying to win over other small or big nations by offering some immediate advantage. I do not say that this is good enough for this country and we really are not even compelled by circumstances to submit to it. We might have been compelled by circumstances, but we are not compelled by circumstances to give up because it does amount to giving up our independence in order to gain the goodwill of this country or that country.

I think that not only in the long run but also in the short run independence of opinion and independence of action will count. This again does not mean that we should not associate closely with particular countries in certain activities. Pandit Kunzru referred to the necessity for our developing economically, militarily and otherwise. Surely this House realizes that nothing is more important in the opinion of this Government than to make India strong economically and militarily—not strong in the big power sense, because that is beyond our capacity but as strong as we can to defend ourselves if anybody attacks us.

We want to do that. We want the help of other countries we are going to have it and we are going to get it too in a large measure. I am not aware of this having been denied to us to any large extent. Even in accepting economic help, or in getting political help it is not a wise policy to put all our eggs in one basket. Nor should we get help at the cost of our self respect. Then we are not respected by any party we may get some petty benefits, but ultimately even these may be denied us.

Therefore, purely from the point of view of opportunism, if you like, a straightforward honest policy an independent policy is the best.

But there is a curious confusion in the speeches of some hon. Members when, on the one hand, they talk about our standing up for the weak and the oppressed against imperialism, and on the other hand, they ask us more or less to side with a power here or there which may stand for imperialism. It may be that sometimes we are forced to side with this power or that power. I can quite conceive of our siding even with an imperialist power—I do not mind saying that in a certain set of circumstances that may be the lesser of the two evils. Nevertheless, as a general policy it is not a worthy policy or a worthwhile policy.

May I state another fundamental difficulty before us? Because of our past record in India that is, the anti imperialist record, we have not been *persona grata* with many groups and peoples outside. We have not yet overcome their antipathy. With the best will in the world, those people do not like us. Those people govern opinion elsewhere they govern the Press. It is amazing how a certain section of the Press, say in the United Kingdom deliberately

and offensively misrepresents us. Now as I was sitting here a telegram came to me, a telegram from a foreign correspondent in this country sending a long message to his paper in London, which is the most offensively false thing that I have seen.

We have been extraordinarily lenient towards the Press, Indian and foreign. We have gone out of our way to tell them that we will not do anything even if they send messages which are extremely disagreeable to us. But there is a limit to falsehood and that limit has been reached, I think, in regard to some messages.

Well, it is in this context that I should like hon. Members to see the picture. Mr. Kamath said in a kind of peroration that we must join this bloc or that. He said, "I do not know which, but join this bloc or that." I remember later he inclined towards one bloc, but that was his first statement—evidently in the course of his speech he changed his mind.

What does joining a bloc mean? After all it can only mean one thing—give up your view about a particular question, adopt the other party's view on that question in order to please it and gain its favour. It means that and nothing else as far as I can see, because if our view is the view of that party then there is no giving up and we do go with that bloc or country. The question only arises when we are opposed to it on that point—therefore we give up our viewpoint and adopt the other one in order to gain a favour.

I am prepared to agree that on many occasions, not only in international conferences, but in this House one gives up one's point to gain a compromise, and I am not prepared to rule out the possibility of our subordinating our viewpoint in international conferences in order to gain something worthwhile. That is perfectly legitimate and it is often done. But this general approach is the worst possible approach to get anything from another country. I should like this House to realize that even if we wanted to adopt that policy this approach is the worst approach to get a thing done.

The fact of the matter is that in spite of our weakness in a military sense—because obviously we are not a great military power—we are not an industrially advanced power—India even today counts in world affairs, and the trouble that you see in the United Nations or the Security Council is because she does count, not because she does not count. That is a fact you should remember. If we had been some odd little nation somewhere in Asia or Europe it would not have mattered much. But because we count and because we are going to count more and more in the future, every thing we do becomes a matter for comment, and many people do not like our counting so much. It is not a question of our viewpoint or of attaching ourselves to this or that bloc. It is merely the fact that we are potentially a great nation and a big power and possibly

it is not liked by some people that anything should happen to strengthen us.

There are these various things to be considered. It is not such a simple matter for us to affiliate ourselves to this organization or that organization just by a resolution and get all the privileges of membership of that organization. That kind of thing is not going to happen. So far as our fundamental approach to the problem of foreign policy is concerned, I just do not see how we can vary it. As occasion arises we adapt ourselves to circumstances—that I can understand—but the fundamental approach, I do think, has to remain the same, because the more you think about it, the more you will find there is no other way. It is not a question of your adopting a certain policy because idealistically you think it a good one. I do submit that if you give it up there is no other policy for this country to adopt with the slightest advantage.

FRIENDLY CO-OPERATION

THE PROBLEMS we have to face in world affairs at the present moment bear a great deal of relation to the conflicts that are going on. We have stated repeatedly that our foreign policy is one of keeping aloof from the big blocs of nations—rival blocs—and being friendly to all countries and not becoming entangled in any alliances, military or other that might drag us into any possible conflict. That does not, on the other hand, involve any lack of close relationships with other countries.

The House will remember that sometime back I mentioned the question of India's possible relationships with the Commonwealth and I informed the House of the broad lines of our approach to this problem and I gathered that the House agreed to it. Subsequently the question was considered by the National Congress at its Jaipur session and in broad lines they also laid down the policy to be pursued. As far as we are concerned, we propose strictly to adhere to those directions. Of course, changing circumstances have to be understood and interpreted in different ways, but the broad lines of our policy have been laid down and they are

(a) that India will naturally and inevitably, in the course of a few months become an Independent Republic and

(b) that in our external internal or domestic policy in our political policy or in our economic policy we do not propose to accept anything that involves in the slightest degree dependence on any other authority

Subject to that we are prepared to associate ourselves with other countries in a friendly way. We are associated today in the United Nations with a great number of countries in the world. Anything else that we might do will naturally have to be something that does not go against our association with the United Nations. It is only in terms of independent nations co-operating together that we can consider the problem of our association with the Commonwealth. There may be, as some people have suggested, alliances with this or that nation. Alliances usually involve military and other commitments and they are more binding. Other forms of association which do not bind in this manner but which help in bringing together nations for the purpose of consolidation and, where necessary of co-operation are therefore, far more desirable than any form of alliance which does bind.

Recently there was a conference on Indonesia held at India's instance in New Delhi and many countries from Asia attended it besides Egypt, Ethiopia, Australia and New Zealand. That conference forcibly brought several matters before the world's eye and one of the resolutions passed at that conference was that we should explore methods of close co-operation. We are pursuing that line of enquiry and perhaps in the course of a month or two or perhaps more we may have some more definite results to consider. Possibly we might have another conference to consider the possible lines of co-operation. Again, that co-operation can only be the co-operation of independent nations without the least commitment of one to the other. But it is a fact that there are so many matters in common between us that it is helpful for us to co-operate with one another. We have not yet decided what the region of co-operation might be because India is interested in several regions in Asia. Whether all should be grouped together or separately I do not know. That is for us to consider together and to decide what is more feasible, but in any event two facts have to be borne in mind. One is that whatever structure of co-operation we may build up will be entirely within the scope of the Charter of the United Nations. Secondly there will be no binding covenant in it, and this will largely be an organization for the consultation and co-operation that naturally flow from common interests.

So our policy will continue to be not only to keep aloof from power alignments, but try to make friendly co-operation possible. Fortunately we enter upon our independence as a country with no hostile background in regard to any country. We are friendly to

all countries. Our hostility during the last 200 years was mainly directed towards the dominating power here and because of India's independence that hostility has largely vanished, though it may survive in some people's minds. So we approach the whole world on a friendly basis and there is no reason why we should put ourselves at a disadvantage, if I may say so by becoming unfriendly to any group. I think that India has a vital role to play in world affairs.

The various ideologies that confront the world today—the various "isms" which threaten conflict repeatedly—may have a great deal, I think, to commend themselves, but all of them have been derived, if I may say so from the background of Europe. Well, the background of Europe is not something apart from the background of the world and there is much in the background of Europe which is present in India or in other countries. Nevertheless, it is true that the background of Europe is not completely the background of India or the world and there is absolutely no reason why we should be asked to choose between this ideology or the other in 1946.

India is a country with a tremendous vitality which it has shown through its history. It has often enough imposed its own cultural pattern on other countries not by force of arms but by the strength of its vitality, culture and civilization. There is no reason why we should give up our way of doing things, our way of considering things, simply because of some particular ideology which emanates from Europe. I have no doubt at all that we have to learn a great deal from Europe and America and I think that we should keep our eyes and ears completely open. We should be flexible in mind and we should be receptive, but I have also no doubt at all that we should not allow ourselves, if I may use the words of Gandhiji, to be swept off our feet by any wind from anywhere.

We should approach these problems, whether domestic or international problems, in our own way. If by any chance we align ourselves definitely with one power group, we may perhaps from one point of view do some good but I have not the shadow of a doubt that from a larger point of view—not only of India but of world peace—it will do harm. Because then we lose that tremendous vantage ground that we have of using such influence as we possess (and that influence is going to grow from year to year) in the cause of world peace. What are we interested in world affairs for? We seek no domination over any country. We do not wish to interfere in the affairs of any country, domestic or other. Our main stake in world affairs is peace—to see that there is racial equality and that people who are still subjugated should be free. For the rest we do not desire to interfere in world affairs and we do not

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desire that other people should interfere in our affairs. If, however there is interference, whether military political or economic, we shall resist it. It is with this friendly approach that we look at the world.

It is not for me to criticize other nations and their policies. But I do not see why India should act in a rigid way or should become a part of the manoeuvring that is going on in the world. We have to keep aloof from that and at the same time develop the closest relations with all the countries. It so happens that because of history and chance, our relations—economic and trade—are far greater with some countries than with others. Well, we will continue them, always seeing that they do not come in the way of our growth and do not hamper us in our progress. Otherwise, we keep them so that we can play a very important part in world affairs.

The supreme question that one has to face today in the world is how we can avoid a world war. Some people seem to think that it is unavoidable and therefore, they prepare for it and prepare for it not only in a military sense, but in a psychological sense and thereby actually bring the war nearer. Personally I think that is a very wrong and a very dangerous thing. Of course, no country dares take things for granted and not prepare for possible contingencies. We in India must be prepared for all possible danger to our freedom and our existence. That is so. But to think in terms of the inevitability of world war is a dangerous thinking. I should like this House and the country to appreciate what a world war means, what it is likely to mean. It just does not matter who wins in the world war because it will mean such utter catastrophe that for a generation or more everything that we stand for in the way of progress and advancement of humanity will be put an end to. That is a terrible thing to contemplate and everything should be done to avoid this catastrophe.

I feel that India can play a big part, and perhaps an effective part, in helping to avoid war. Therefore it becomes all the more necessary that India should not be lined up with any group of powers which for various reasons are full of fear of war and prepare for war.

We are at the present moment on friendly terms with all countries. With our neighbour Pakistan, I think the situation is improving from day to day. It is much better than it was a few months ago. I hope it will improve more. With Afghanistan and Nepal we are on the friendliest terms. With other countries in Asia and in Europe our relations are getting closer and closer—our trade is extending.

We should utilize this position. I think in the United Nations

and elsewhere to fulfil the cause of peace, and it is possible that a number of other countries which are not happy at the prospect of war may also support the attitude that India may take up. We have dealt with questions in the United Nations as individual, separate questions—for instance, in regard to Korea, in regard to Palestine, in regard to some other matters too. And we have displeased people because we have dealt with individual questions and given our opinion on their merits. Of course, the merits cannot be divorced from various other possible consequences. I think people have realized often enough that the advice which India gave and which was not accepted then was the right advice and that the trouble would have been far less if the advice had been accepted.

I would beg the House to look upon the matter from the wider point of view—that is, the emergence of India and Asia in the modern trend of human affairs, the inevitability of India playing an important part by virtue of her tremendous potential, by virtue of the fact that she is the biggest political unit in terms of population today and is likely to be in terms of her resources also. She is going to play that part. If we have to play that part we have to look upon this question from the bigger point of view and not from the small difficulties and problems that may face us and that part must essentially be one of promoting peace and freedom in the world of removing racial inequalities.

And may I in this connection say that it has been a matter of deep grief to us to learn of the racial riots that took place at Durban in South Africa? I do not wish to say much in regard to this except that if racialism is encouraged anywhere it is bound to yield such trouble. But it is a matter of deep grief to us that Indians and Africans should be involved in such rioting. It has been, not today but over years past, our definite instruction to our envoys in Africa and elsewhere that we do not want Indians to have any special interests at the cost of Africans anywhere. We have impressed upon them the need for co-operation with Africans in order to gain freedom for these Africans and we have repeated these instructions. I hope that after the unfortunate experience of Durban Indians and Africans will come together again. Indeed, there is evidence from East Africa and elsewhere of a great measure of co-operation between Indians and Africans.

I hope that this House and this country will approve of the general lines of policy that I have suggested and indicate that it is India's desire to play this important part in favour of world peace and thereby perhaps help in avoiding that supreme catastrophe—a world war.

AN EVOLVING POLICY

FOREIGN POLICY IN THE PAST I suppose related chiefly to the relations of a country with its immediate neighbours—whether they were friendly or otherwise

As our Chairman reminded you, our neighbours now are all the countries of the world so that we cannot relate our foreign policy just to a few countries around us, but have to think of practically every country in the world and take into consideration all the possible areas of conflict trade economic interest, etc. It has been recognized now that if there is a conflict on a big scale anywhere in the world it is apt to spread all over the world, that is war has become indivisible and, therefore peace is indivisible. Therefore our foreign policy cannot limit itself to the nearby countries. Nevertheless, the nearby countries always have a special interest in one another and India must, inevitably think in terms of her relations with the countries bordering her by land and sea. What are these countries? If you start from the left Pakistan I would also include Afghanistan, although it does not touch India's borders Tibet and China Nepal Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and Ceylon. In regard to Pakistan, the position has been a very peculiar one owing to the way Pakistan was formed and India was divided. And there have been not only all the upsets that you all know but something much deeper and that is a complete emotional upset of all the people in India and Pakistan because of this. It is a very difficult thing to deal with a psychological thing which cannot be dealt with superficially. A year and a half or more has passed and there is no doubt at all that our relations have improved and are improving. There is also no doubt at all in my mind that it is inevitable for India and Pakistan to have close relations—very close relations—sometime or other in the future. I cannot state when this will take place but situated as we are with all our past, we cannot really be just indifferent neighbours. We can be either rather hostile to each other or very friendly with each other. Ultimately we can only be really very friendly whatever period of hostility may intervene in between because our interests are so closely interlinked.

As far as the other countries are concerned our relations with them are quite friendly. Take for instance Afghanistan. Our relations with Afghanistan are exceedingly friendly and our relations with Tibet Nepal and all the neighbouring countries are also very friendly. In fact I think I am justified in saying that there is

no country in this wide world today with which our relations may be said to be inimical or hostile. Naturally we will be attracted more towards some or our trade or economic interests might link us more with some countries and less with others but there can be no doubt about it that we are friendly with all and I think that is a good thing and some achievement.

If our neighbouring countries have in a sense the first place in our minds, then the second place goes to the other countries of Asia with whom we are also fairly intimately connected. Now India is very curiously placed in Asia and her history has been governed a great deal by the geographical factor plus other factors. Whichever problem in Asia you may take up, somehow or other India comes into the picture. Whether you think in terms of China or the Middle East or South-East Asia India immediately comes into the picture. It is so situated that because of past history traditions, etc., in regard to any major problem of a country or a group of countries of Asia, India has to be considered. Whether it is a problem of defence or trade or industry or economic policy India cannot be ignored. She cannot be ignored, because as I said, her geographical position is a compelling reason. She cannot be ignored also, because of her actual or potential power and resources.

Therefore, whatever our own views may be, by virtue of her practical position and other reasons, India is bound to play an important part in Asia—in all parts of Asia—whether it is Western Asia or the Far East or South East Asia. It so happens, of course that even culturally speaking our bonds are very great with all these parts of Asia, whether it is Western Asia or the Far East or South East Asia and these bonds are very old and very persistent.

A very curious thing happened when roughly speaking British power came to India and British dominion was established here. This was the reason why we were cut off from our neighbouring countries of Asia. Our contacts were then with England across the seas, and while to some extent we struggled against that domination and resented those contacts, nevertheless, they were there and we saw the world more and more through that window the British window. Very few people went to the other Asian countries from India and very few came here from there. And even those few people from Asia we met, we met in Europe and not in Asia. Now in recent years that process has been reversed or is being reversed for a variety of reasons. Initially I suppose the one major factor was air travel. Air travel brought us immediately into close contact with our neighbours, because if we went to Europe, we passed through Baghdad and Teheran and other places. Air travel is not

the only factor there are also political reasons that are now bringing about this change. And more especially since India became a free and independent country you find several things happening. As we know the Asian Conference was convened two years ago and various matters of common interest were discussed there. When a proposal was made to hold the conference—when it was tentatively put forward—we did not quite know what the reaction to it would be. And invitations were sent to a number of countries and we were amazed to find what the reaction was. It was an overwhelming reaction in favour of it and the conference, as we very well know was a great success.

So we see something working in the mind of Asia, not only in India, but all over Asia. We find something germinating and whenever we give it a chance to come out it comes out. We are convinced that there is a keen desire on the part of Asian countries to work together to confer together and generally to look to one another. Possibly this is due to a certain resentment against the behaviour of Europe in the past. It is also due, undoubtedly to a feeling that the Asian countries might still be exploited or dominated by Europe or the countries elsewhere. I think all this arises from a certain slowback in memory of our ancient contacts, for our literature is full of them. We earnestly hope that we shall be able to develop our contacts still more for our future growth. That is why whenever any step is taken such as the recent Conference on Indonesia in Delhi, there is immediately a good response. This conference was held at a very short notice. But it attracted all these people. It attracted them, no doubt, because they were interested in Indonesia, but I think even more important was the desire to confer together and co-operate closely and a certain looking in the direction of India on the part of all these countries, the feeling that India might possibly play a fairly important part in bringing Asian countries together.

Some people talk rather loosely and, if I may say so rather foolishly of India becoming the leader of this or the leader of that or the leader of Asia. Now I do not like that at all. It is a bad approach, this business of leadership. But it is true that, because of the various factors I have mentioned a certain special responsibility is cast on India. India realizes it, and other countries realize it also. The responsibility is not necessarily for leadership but for taking the initiative sometimes and helping others to co-operate.

Now foreign policy is normally something which develops gradually. Apart from certain theoretical propositions we may lay down it is a thing which if it is real has some relation to actuality and not merely to pure theory. Therefore we cannot precisely lay down our general outlook or general approach, but gradually it

develops. We are as an independent country a fairly young country at present, although we are a very ancient country and we have all the advantages and disadvantages of being an ancient country. Nevertheless, in the present context of foreign policy we are a young country and, therefore, our foreign policy is gradually developing and there is no particular reason why we should rush in all over the place and do something that comes in the way of this gradual development. As I said, our general policy has been to try to cultivate friendly relations with all countries, but that is something which anyone can say. It is not a very helpful thought. It is almost outside, if I may say so, of politics. It may be just a verbal statement or a moral urge. It is hardly a political urge. Nevertheless, something can be said for it even on the political plane. We cannot perhaps be friendly always with every country. The alternative is to become very friendly with some and hostile to others. That is the normal foreign policy of a country—very friendly with close relations with some, with the consequence that you are hostile to others. You may be very friendly to some countries and you cannot just be equally friendly with all countries. Naturally you are more friendly with those with whom you have closer relations, but that great friendliness, if it is active friendliness, is good. If it merely reflects hostility to some other country then it is something different. And ultimately your hostility provokes other people's hostility and that is the way of conflict and leads to no solution. Fortunately India has inherited no past hostility to any country. Why should we then start this train of hostility now with any country? Of course if circumstances compel us it cannot be helped, but it is far better for us to try our utmost to keep clear of these hostile backgrounds. Naturally again, we are likely to be more friendly to some countries than to others, because this may be to our mutual advantage. That is a different matter but even so our friendship with other countries should not, as far as possible, be such as brings us inevitably into conflict with some other country. Now some people may think that this is a policy of hedging or just avoiding pitfalls, a middle-of-the-road policy. As I conceive it, it is nothing of the kind. It is not a middle-of-the-road policy. It is a positive constructive policy deliberately aiming at something and deliberately trying to avoid hostility to other countries, to any country as far as possible.

How can we achieve this? Obviously there are risks and dangers and the first duty of every country is to protect itself. Protecting oneself unfortunately means relying on the armed forces and the like and so we build up, where necessity arises, our defence apparatus. We cannot take the risk of not doing so although Mahatma Gandhi would have taken that risk, no doubt, and I dare

not say that he would have been wrong. Indeed, if a country is strong enough to take that risk it will not only survive, but it will become a great country. But we are small folk and dare not take that risk. But in protecting ourselves, we should do so in such a way as not to antagonize others and also so as not to appear to aim at the freedom of others. That is important. Also we should avoid in speech or writing anything which worsens the relationship of nations. Now the urge to do or say things against countries, against their policies and sometimes against their statesmen is very great, because other people are very offensive at times they are very aggressive at times. If they are aggressive we have to protect ourselves against their aggression. If there is fear of future aggression we have to protect ourselves against that.

If war comes, it comes. It has to be faced. To some extent it has to be provided for and all the consequences of war have to be accepted with it if it comes. But surely we do not want war. As I said some time ago I take it that the vast majority of people of the world do not want war. Then our policy should primarily aim at avoiding war or preventing war. The prevention of war may include providing for our own defence and you can understand that, but that should not include challenges, counter-challenges, mutual cursing threats, etc. These certainly will not prevent war but will only make it come nearer because they frighten the other Governments and the other Governments issue similar challenges and then you are frightened and so everybody lives in an atmosphere of fear and anything may come out of such an atmosphere of fear.

Today international questions are looked upon from the point of view of how they will affect some future conflict with the result that we find groupings on either side forgetful of the actual merits of the case. And a country like India which talks in a different language is looked upon as a nuisance in every way unfortunately not only as a nuisance, but every group suspects it of joining hands with the opposite group. But now I think, there is a certain amount of realization by other countries that we really mean what we say. It is not some deep game or plot and we mean to consider these questions on their merits, and of course merits include other factors also in relation to which we consider such questions. Take our attitude in regard to two or three recent issues—Korea, Palestine and atomic energy. This atomic energy business came up in the last session of the U.N. General Assembly in Paris and there was a fierce debate on it as to what should be done. India was made a member of the committee appointed to consider this and our distinguished representative on the committee who is an ideal person for this kind of thing and who never gets excited—while others get excited he gives calm and dispassionate thought to the

problem—was able to change the atmosphere in the committee. Whether any wonderful result was achieved or not is not the point, but the way to achieve the result was shown by us. Some countries refuse to be thrown off their feet whatever happens. Now I do not say that we are so wise and steady on our feet that nothing pushes us off our balance. Of course not. It is anyhow an attempt to stand on our feet, not to hop about or dance about or fall down.

May I say that I do not for an instant claim any superior vantage point for India to advise or criticize the rest of the world? I think we are merely trying not to get excited about these problems and anyhow there is no reason why we should not try. It follows, therefore, that we should not align ourselves with what are called power blocs. We can be of far more service without doing so and I think there is just a possibility—and I shall not put it higher than that—that at a moment of crisis our peaceful and friendly efforts might make a difference and avert that crisis. If so it is well worth trying. When I say that we should not align ourselves with any power blocs, obviously it does not mean that we should not be closer in our relations with some countries than with others. That depends on entirely different factors, chiefly economic, political, agricultural and many other factors. At the present moment you will see that as a matter of fact we have far closer relations with some countries of the Western world than with others. It is partly due to history and partly due to other factors, present-day factors of various kinds. These close relations will, no doubt, develop and we will encourage them to develop but we do not wish to place ourselves in a position where politically speaking we are just lined up with a particular group or bound up to it in regard to our future foreign activities. India is too big a country herself to be bound down to any country however big it may be. India is going to be and is bound to be a country that counts in world affairs, not I hope in the military sense but in many other senses which are more important and effective in the end. Any attempt on our part, that is, the Government of the day here, to go too far in one direction would create difficulties in our own country. It would be resented and we would produce conflicts in our own country which would not be helpful to us or to any other country. While remaining quite apart from power blocs, we are in a far better position to cast our weight at the right moment in favour of peace and meanwhile our relations can become as close as possible in the economic or other domain with such countries with whom we can easily develop them. So it is not a question of our remaining isolated or cut off from the rest of the world. We do not wish to be isolated. We wish to have the closest contacts, because we do from the beginning firmly believe in the world coming

are diverse ways of living and functioning and thinking in it, then let us try to get rid of the evil in the world and allow the variety of the world to continue. There are forces strong enough to unify it today and probably it will come together and the diversity will probably grow less. It would be unfortunate if it were to disappear one day and we were to become one regimented whole. It is a terrible thought.

NEED FOR REALISM

As I sat listening to the speeches of hon. Members, many pictures floated before my mind—pictures of the Korean battlefields, of marching armies and dying people, of statesmen holding earnest converse in a room in Washington to find a way out of the present predicament, and countless other pictures.

There is hardly anybody concerned with foreign affairs who is not carrying a heavy burden and not trying to grope for a solution of our problems. I use the word *gripe* because darkness surrounds us. Some hon. Members are full of light—they have no need to grope. They know exactly what should be done at any given moment. I envy them for this feeling of lightness and confidence. Mr. M. R. Masani said in the course of his speech that it would be a great tragedy if Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson decided to appease China. It is a pity Mr. Masani is not at the White House in Washington to advise them.

Many hon. Members have repeatedly referred to our policy as being unrealistic—there have been hints that we are sitting on the fence and that we are doubtful and uncertain.

Our foreign policy, naturally, has to do with world affairs but if any hon. Member thinks that the Government of India moulds world affairs he is very much mistaken. I do not say that we cannot or have not affected the world to some extent. But obviously we affect or influence it in a very small measure. If the world goes wrong, then it may of course be due to some error of ours but surely it would be the resultant of a large number of policies, in particular the policies of the powerful and influential countries that dominate the policies of the smaller and weaker countries.

Some hon. Members seem to think that because the policies of other countries have failed, our policy must have been wrong.

I have little to say to that but I would beg of hon. Members to look at the history of the past five years. Since the last world war ended, the policies that have been pursued by various countries have failed more often than not. We have had little to do with these policies. We have expressed an opinion at best. Sometimes we have played a passive role, sometimes, a small active role. But there are moments when even a small thing can make all the difference.

Listening to the speeches of other hon. Members, I felt that some of them talked in what I consider a most unrealistic fashion. They talked at length of power blocs and argued whether there were two blocs or only one. Mr. Masani felt that there was only one bloc. If there is only one bloc, the matter ends there the question of our joining one or the other does not arise.

I should like to remind the House with all respect that these questions and arguments are completely out of date. They do not count today. The world marches rapidly and changes, new situations develop and we have to deal with each situation as it comes. For a person to think in terms of blocs today means that he is yesterday's man and that he is not keeping pace with the changes in the world.

We have to deal with matters as they come up. In matters of foreign policy especially one has to decide almost every hour what has to be done. We had this debate in the House because new situations have arisen and new dangers threaten the world.

It is in a spirit of realism that I want you to approach the question of our foreign policy. I am sure it is in the same spirit that President Truman and Mr. Acheson are meeting in Washington and conferring together. They have to deal with a positive situation, they have to issue orders and they have to decide what is to be done or not done. They cannot afford to talk of vague theoretical things and waste their time with "idealistic" or "moral" approaches to the situation.

I hope there is nothing immoral about the part I have played in our foreign policy. In any case, I want no moralizing, especially about this. We should use our good sense as much as possible. Idealism alone will not do. What exactly is idealism? Surely it is not something so insubstantial as to elude one's grasp! Idealism is the realism of tomorrow. It is the capacity to know what is good for the day after tomorrow or for the next year and to fashion yourself accordingly. The practical person, the realist, looks at the tip of his nose and sees little beyond the result is that he is stumbling all the time.

I should like the Members of this House to consider the last five or six years of diplomatic history. In spite of every effort, the world has repeatedly failed to achieve harmony. The astonishing

thing is that failure does not teach us a lesson and we make the same mistakes over again. This is really extraordinary. I should have thought that the lesson of the two great world wars was obvious enough to anybody willing to give thought to it.

It may be that the crisis today is due to the fault of a nation or a group of nations. It may be Russia's fault or the fault of the communist group of nations. What do we do when a group of nations functions in an objectionable way?

People talk a great deal about communism and as an hon. Member pointed out, some Members thought that we had turned this discussion into an anti-communist conference. Communism is certainly an interesting subject and one that is worthy of discussion but it does not have much bearing on the issue. I am sure that those who think only in terms of communism and anti-communism are going hopelessly astray and will never reach any goal. The difficulty is that much of the thinking—not so much here as elsewhere—revolves round these words.

The House knows very well what the policy of the Government of India has been in regard to communist activities in this country. It has not been a tender policy and it is not going to be a tender policy. We must look at the world as it is and recognize that mighty forces are at work and millions of people have come under their influence. We must try to understand them and try as far as we can to divert them into right channels and prevent them from going into wrong ones. That is our problem. Some hon. Members seem to think that I should issue an ultimatum to China, that I should warn them not to do this or that or that I should send them a letter saying that it is foolish to follow the doctrine of communism. I do not see how it is going to help anybody if I act in this way. Remember the world has many countries. Some of them are called great powers by virtue of their influence. They are nations with great resources behind them and inevitably play a significant part in the world's history today.

The United States of America is a great democratic power. The United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R. even though their policies differ greatly influence the world's history and no one can deny China the status of a great power today. China is in a position to shape her own destiny and that is a great thing. It is true that she is controlled by communists as Russia is. It would be interesting to know whether or not her type of communism is the same as Russia's, how she will develop and how close the association between China and Russia will be.

The point at issue is that China is a great nation which cannot be ignored, no matter what resolution you may pass. Nor can you ignore the United States of America. Some people talk of American

imperialism and American dollars in a hostile fashion. You cannot condemn or ignore the whole nation just because you do not approve of some aspect of the myriad shapes of American life. We have to take facts as they are. The most relevant fact at the moment is that there are some great nations in the world with concentrated power in their hands that influence all the other nations. That being so, there is a conflict between these powerful nations—an ideological conflict as well as a political conflict. Either these nations will have a war and try to suppress or defeat one another or one group will triumph over the other. There seems to be no other way. Although there is a great deal of talk about ideologies, I doubt if they come into the picture at all except as weapons.

The only way seems to be the avoidance of war. All nations must be free to develop as they like without any external interference. This does not mean that they will not influence one another in a variety of ways. It is possible that the existing contradictions may gradually be solved in that manner. On the other hand, they may not. I am not a prophet. I do not know. In any case, the way of war does not solve them. The concentration of power in the hands of these great nations and the fact that the power is not too unevenly matched, means a very disastrous war. It also means no ultimate victory. There may be a military victory but there will be no real victory if by victory you mean the achievement of certain objectives.

I doubt if, after the terrible disaster of a world war, democracy can survive. The democratic nations may win the war—mind you, I have little doubt that they will—but I doubt if after the disaster of a world war democracy can survive at all. I even doubt whether any high standards of living can survive. I have no doubt that the great nations wish to avoid war because they are aware of its consequences. No one can assert that America wants war. I cannot imagine anything more unlikely. If America wanted war, who could have stopped her? She obviously does not. She wants to avoid war because she is aware of the great disasters a world war will cause. England also wants to avoid war. In spite of this, forces are impelling these nations in a direction which may lead to war. The biggest task today is to prevent that and that is the task for England, for America, for us and for all other countries.

I do not know what people mean when they talk of this or that group nor do I understand them when they accuse our Government of sitting on the fence in matters of foreign policy. People who talk like that know nothing of what they are talking about and do not study or read or understand what is happening around them. I have repeatedly said in this House that I have no desire to get entangled in foreign affairs. That is not my ambition. My work in this country

is big enough and difficult enough. But in spite of our policy we sometimes cannot help getting entangled in foreign affairs. The way we participate in world affairs is to take part daily and hourly in the deliberations at the United Nations, at Lake Success, and in the various capitals of the world. I should like to say that we have been served very well by our representatives in the important capitals of the world. They are often criticized but it is difficult for them to reply to that criticism nor is it easy for me to talk about our ambassadors. But I want to say clearly that we have been served very well by our ambassadors at Lake Success in Washington in London in Peking and in Moscow.

I am not thinking in terms of blocs, because it does not interest me very much. I am only concerned with my policy on each specific issue. Acharya Kripalani accused us of judging each question in isolation from everything else. I am aware that this can only be done in academic talk. No person dealing with realities can afford to do so. In fact, every question that comes before us has to be seen from a hundred different viewpoints. We have to weigh carefully its possible effects and consequences. I can only say that in every matter that comes up we have friendly consultations with a large number of countries. We do hardly anything without consulting the countries of the Commonwealth. Of course, we are in close touch with the U.S.A. and with other countries. We have been in close contact with the countries of South East Asia, like Burma and Indonesia. They are constantly keeping us informed of what they do. This process goes on all the time with the result that we arrive at a decision which fits in with what a number of countries think. If it does not wholly fit in, we always try to make it fit in. If our viewpoint is different you cannot expect me to give up our view point or the results that we have arrived at because some other nations think differently. I just would not do that. I do not understand long and repeated arguments about this. I am on my country's side and on nobody else's.

We have many friends and we collaborate and co-operate with them. But I am not prepared to surrender my judgement or my country's judgement or my country's position to any single country or group of countries.

I beg this House to consider Asia specially—Asia in a tremendous ferment of change. One does not know whether that change is good or bad. It may be bad but to my mind it does not concern Asia alone. Many things are taking place which I dislike intensely. I am not, for the moment, talking of war which is bad enough but rather about the temper of people as a whole and of all that one holds precious in life which gradually seems to be fading out whichever country you may consider. People have become

more brutal in thought, speech and action. All the graciousness and gentleness of life seems to have ebbed away. The human values seem to have suffered considerably. Of course, plenty of human values still remain. I am not saying that everything worthwhile is completely destroyed but I do say that the process of coarsening is going on apace all over the world, including our own country. We are being coarsened and vulgarized all over the world because of many things but chiefly because of violence and the succession of wars. If this process continues, I wonder whether anything of value in life will remain for sensitive individuals.

We talk of victory and defeat, war and peace. Surely we fight a war to gain some objectives and not merely to boast that we have knocked the other party down. The very objectives for which human life and human society have stood all these years now seem to be challenged. They are challenged, sometimes, by a theory or an ideology. They are challenged by authoritarianism which crushes the individual and they are challenged even in democratic societies, not by democracy but by this growth of violence and by the mentality that war breeds. In this state of affairs, are we to allow ourselves to be swept away and lose all our integrity of thought or action or should we hold fast to it and try to understand and co-operate with our friends?

Of course, where we feel that there is a wrong course of action, we part company. I do not see how any hon. Member can have any doubt when such a thing happens. One has to follow the right course and follow it regardless of consequences. We talk of possible invasions of India, of our frontiers being threatened of something that may happen even though far from India, which may be a danger to the world. I hope we have still enough moral fibre and spirit left in us to face any danger not only on the borders of our country but far away if we think that it is a danger to the world.

THE LARGER SCHEME OF THINGS

IN THE WORLD TODAY there are problems wherever you go be it Korea, Iran, Egypt, Tunisia, America or Germany. And every problem is an unsolved one because every problem has to do with the entire world situation in all its complexity. The world

situation may of course, take a turn for the better sometimes but as a whole it presents a very tragic aspect.

I do not claim that our policy has always been successful but I wish this House would realize that the present issue concerns some of the most tremendous problems of the age and is not merely a matter for debate or eloquence. To have to consider and face these problems and to decide what is to be done about them is a tremendous responsibility for any government, individual or parliament. It would be sheer arrogance for us to imagine that India, great as she is, can decide the fate of the world. Of course not. It may well be, however that India's help in coming to a decision may make a difference and that difference may come between war and peace. If we can tilt the balance towards peace, it will be a great service to the world.

I approach these problems in all humility. Hon. Members have said that my whims and caprices sometimes fashion our foreign policy. How they refer to me is of no consequence but when they refer to the policy of this great nation as the whim and caprice of an individual, whoever he might be, it is not a small matter. Our policy as I have repeatedly said has grown out of our past way of thinking and our declarations and I do claim that, in so far as we could in the changed circumstances, we have stuck to those declarations and ways of thinking.

I may be wrong others may be better judges but I personally feel sure that it is so. I wish to stand behind everything I have uttered about our remaining in the Commonwealth and those who express doubts about it do not understand what they are saying. It amazes me how some hon. Members of the Opposition with all their eloquence and their fine qualities have lost all ability to understand the changed position. They are like religious fundamentalists who refuse to look right or left and go only in one direction. The whole world may change but their mental habits do not. Whether it is morning noon or night matters little to them. They continue to repeat the same slogan, no matter what happens.

Of course, we all want peace. The great nations and the various power blocs all talk of peace and yet peace is considered a dangerous word in some great countries. One's loyalty is doubted if one so much as mentions peace. On the other hand, there are countries where peace is talked of so aggressively and in such deafening tones that it almost sounds like war. After all, peace is a quality it is a way of approach it is a way of doing things. It is an objective we want to reach. If you prepare for war while you talk of peace then surely there is something wrong with the peace you talk about. We have plenty of peace conferences but I doubt if anything will come of them. Perhaps some hon. Members have seen an advertisement

in England "Join the British Navy and see the world." We might just as well say "Join the peace movement and have free trips all over the world. There are conferences all the time and people are rushing back and forth free of charge.

Surely it is necessary for us to function as a mature nation. It is very easy to talk against imperialism as some hon. Members did. I do not deny that imperialism exists but I would venture to say that imperialism, as it exists today is hardly what it was in the past. Let hon. Members understand what it is. Let them also understand that there are other imperialisms that are growing. Surely no one in this House can say that British imperialism, for instance, is the same thing that it was in the past. An hon. Member mentioned Malaya in this connection. British imperialism does flourish in Malaya, in Africa and elsewhere but British imperialism today is an exhausted thing. I hope this House has respect for the way England has tackled her problems since the war and the courage with which she has faced them. In many places, England certainly does things with which neither I nor this House can agree but that is beside the point. Let us see things in their historical perspective. As far as power is concerned Britain is no longer what she used to be before the last war. Today there are, for good or ill, other and greater powers. I repeat that since the war years I have nurtured considerable respect for England, because I like brave people fighting against odds and the British people have fought against heavy odds. That does not, however mean that I agree with whatever England says or does.

There are still some colonies that belong to certain powers. I have no doubt that an end should be put to them all, be they British, French, Dutch, Belgian or any other. The fact, however remains that today none of the colonial powers have any strength behind them. The colonies perhaps have the strength of tradition and they have been supported by other powers. But, as I said they have no inherent strength now. Let us by all means put an end to what remains of colonialism in Asia, in Africa and wherever else it exists but let us understand what the real conflict is about.

I beg this House not to consider our foreign policy in terms merely of our own petty success or failure because the success or failure of any foreign policy today involves the success or failure of the whole world. If and when disaster comes it will affect the world as a whole and, therefore, it hardly matters what your policy or my policy is. Be that as it may our first effort should be to prevent that disaster from happening. If that proves to be beyond us, we must, at any rate, try to avoid disaster or to retain a position in which we shall be able to minimize as much as possible, the consequences of disaster even if it comes.

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I should like an ever-increasing number of countries in the world to decide that they will not have another war whatever happens. I should like the countries in Asia—I speak about our neighbours—and other countries also to make it clear to those warring factions and those great countries that are so explosively bitter against each other that they themselves will remain cool and not enter the arena of warfare whatever happens and that they will try at least to restrict the area of conflict save their own regions and try to save the rest as best they can. I should also like to declare that we are against the use of these horrible modern weapons of war and get other countries to do the same. You have heard of the atom bomb and of the hydrogen bomb which is yet to come. The latter is believed to be far worse than the atom bomb. From the way hon. Members talked about bacteriological warfare I got the impression that they expect this Government to rush in everywhere and express its opinions without taking the trouble to find out exactly what should be said, when it should be said or how much weight should be attached to what is said. I am afraid Governments do not function in that way. I might say however that I think all nations should raise their voices against any form of bacteriological or germ warfare.

Clearly it is not an easy matter to check this drift towards catastrophe and disaster. The world is in a ferment of passion and prejudice and I am certain it will do little good to join the crowd of excited people who are shouting at the top of their voices. That will only make things worse. If you are shouting it does not matter if it is peace you are shouting about. Your job is to try and make people less excited somehow. Your object is not merely to show that you were right or to prove the strength of your convictions but to gain ultimate results. For this it is necessary to calm people down, to prevent them from fighting and then to set about winning them over. Even though they are in the wrong you cannot win them over if you tell them that they are bad, very bad and that they should be punished and crushed. I do not mean that we should not condemn what we feel to be wrong but according to what I have been taught about civilized behaviour it is far better to know our own weaknesses and failings than to point out those of others.

I submit that this is my approach to foreign policy. You may call it neutral or whatever else you like but I for my part fail to see how this approach is neutral. Neutrality as a policy has little meaning except in times of war. If you think there is a cold war today we are certainly neutral. We are not going to participate in a cold war which, I think, is worse than a shooting war in many ways. A shooting war is, of course, very disastrous but a cold war is worse in the sense that it is more degrading. It does not matter who is right

and who is wrong but we shall certainly not join in this exhibition of mutual abuse.

Many subjects have come up for discussion in the course of this debate but there are one or two points I would especially like to put before this House. It has repeatedly been said that we incline more and more towards the Anglo-American bloc. It is perfectly true that during the last few years we have had more economic and other bonds with the United Kingdom and the United States of America than with other countries. That is a situation we have inherited and unless we develop new bonds we shall have to continue as we are doing. We maintained our old ties with these countries because a nation cannot live in isolation. We wanted certain things that we could not get from elsewhere. In similar circumstances, any country would have acted as we did. That some people obsessed by passion and prejudice disapprove of our relations with the Anglo-American bloc is not sufficient reason for us to break any bond which is of advantage to us.

I cannot deny that there is danger and risk when a country begins to depend upon another. Whatever the form it takes, dependence is always bad and one should be on one's guard against it. Yet a country placed as India is today has inevitably to depend on other countries for certain essential things. We are not industrialized enough to produce all that we need. We have to depend on other countries for most of the things our Army or our Air Force or our Navy requires and are, therefore, dependent. However big our army it is of little use unless we have the necessary equipment. Of course, we must try to build up basic industries so that we can produce things for our essential needs, but what are we to do in the meanwhile? We have got to get them from somewhere and we have tried to get them from those countries where our existing economic contacts made it easier for us to do so. It is very difficult for us to build new channels of trade and commerce overnight. We are perfectly prepared to explore these possibilities. For instance, we are perfectly prepared to deal with the Soviet Union or any other country that can supply us with the particular goods we need. But the fact remains that at the moment it is simpler and easier for us to import things from America, England, France and other countries.

I should like to give you the example of our defence services. They have been built up after a certain model and we have, as it were, inherited them. We may or may not change that model later. It is a satisfactory model as far as it goes, because our defence services are efficient and our Army is good. It is, of course, organized after the British model. They started it and built it up over a large number of years. Surely you do not expect us to break it up and start afresh.

I can understand the argument that our Army should come closer to the people. Let us, by all means, consider it and explore the possibilities but to wish to break up a magnificent fighting unit, simply because it irks us that the British built it, is to my mind extremely childish. We cannot suddenly disrupt our defence services. What we can do is to make the changes we desire gradually. Now an army has to have equipment and it is easier for us to continue to get the kind of equipment we have been using, because there are sources which can supply it. If we try to invent an entirely new type of equipment, the arms we are producing in this country now will be rendered useless and that will create all kinds of difficulties.

An hon. Member asked why our advisers are British and not of German or Japanese or some other nationality. Well, things are being done in a particular way and the most important thing is that there should be no breakdown in the organisational machinery of our defence. We cannot have advisers who think along different lines who use different equipment and different types of ammunition coming here and quarrelling amongst themselves while they advise us. We must follow a single system till we decide to change it.

The House will remember that we attained independence through co-operation and friendship. I think history will record that to our credit and, I am not ashamed to say to England's credit too. Having achieved our goal we went forward step by step. The House will remember that for the first two years while we were framing our Constitution, we were a Dominion. However on the very first day our Constituent Assembly met, we declared that our object was to become a republic. That was in the December of 1946. As soon as our Constitution was completed and given effect to we became the Republic of India. Later the question of whether or not we should be in the Commonwealth came up. The Republic of India has nothing to do with England, constitutionally or legally. Of course there are the normal bonds that exist between two countries that have had mutual dealings in the economic or cultural sphere. If we decide to remain associated with England or with a particular group of nations, there is no harm, provided no binding factor or inhibition accompanies that association. Dr S. P. Mookerjee who was himself in the Cabinet when these questions were considered said that the time had come for us to leave the Commonwealth. I should like him to point out in what way the fact of our being associated with the Commonwealth has affected or diverted our policy during the last three or four years. I do not think our membership of the Commonwealth has affected our policy in the slightest. To insist that it has, therefore amounts, so far as I am concerned to acting in a huff. Nations must act with dignity and strength; adopt what they consider the right course and adhere

to it. It is open to us to be associated in an alliance with any country. We have avoided alliances which might entangle us. Dr. Lanka Sundaram referred to a number of treaties of friendship which we had concluded and to some minor differences in their phraseology. I hope hon. Members will excuse me if I do not go into these trivial points, because they have no importance whatsoever. So far as we are concerned, we are prepared to enter into a treaty of friendship with every country in the world. In an alliance, one invariably takes something and gives something in return. Each country binds itself down to a certain extent and relinquishes its freedom of action to the extent to which it commits itself in the alliance or agreement. An alliance, nevertheless, need not stand in the way of the independence of a country.

Our association with the Commonwealth is remarkable in that it does not bind us down in any way whatsoever and, if I may repeat, it has not done so during the last two or three years either. It has given us certain advantages without our having to accept any liabilities in return. I know that some hon. Members do not like the idea of our being in the Commonwealth. Their dislike is regrettable and I cannot help it, since we are concerned only with the advantages our country gains. Now Ceylon and South Africa are both members of the Commonwealth and we may well be asked why we put up with what is happening in these countries. If any hon. Members want us to withdraw from the Commonwealth on principle, my answer would be that what they object to is precisely the reason why we should remain in the Commonwealth. I shall explain what I mean. By doing so, we have better chances of being able to influence the larger policies of the Commonwealth than we otherwise would. Being in the Commonwealth means a meeting once or twice a year and occasional consultations and references. Surely that is not too great a price to pay for the advantages we get. If the Commonwealth had the right to interfere with any constituent country then I should certainly cease to be in the Commonwealth. If any hon. Members think that the nations of the Commonwealth have common war or defence policies, allow me to assure them that they are completely mistaken. We have never discussed defence policies in the Commonwealth, either jointly or separately.

Since an hon. Member asked why our Commander-in-Chief should have had to go to London, I shall repeat that our Army is built on the British model. We have a very big department in London for military stores. We have to maintain it because we need the type of things it supplies—we have sometimes to get them through the good offices of the British War Office. Our Commander-in-Chief has, therefore, to go there in order to look into these things. It is not the business of our commanders to discuss policies—that is

left to the Ministers. The fact is that we have inherited certain ways from the British. We can decide either to reject them or to accept them. We have rejected many; we have also decided to keep many till we are able to change them if we so desire.

Now one of the things we have inherited and to the use of which hon. Members opposite have not objected is the English language. There has been no word of protest from the Opposition against the use of the English language and that, if I may say so, is also a sign of the mental subservience about which we are reminded so often. I have no doubt that it is the English language more than anything else that ties us to the Anglo-American bloc and yet I have not heard it cited as a reason for our so-called subservience to the Anglo-American bloc. It brings us nearer to their thoughts, their activities, their books, newspapers, cultural standards and so on, whereas we are cut off from those parts of the world with which we have no linguistic ties. I should like our country to know the other languages of the world besides developing our own so that we may grow and come in contact with more people of the world. It is strange that some hon. Members should object even to the things that are advantageous to us simply because they happen to emanate from America or England or some other country in the West, while they accept without any protest whatsoever the English language which is our greatest bond with Anglo-American bloc. I certainly do not have any objection to the use of the English language and am not saying anything against it. My argument is that it is not sensible deliberately to lose a good thing just because we have inherited it from the British. It is true that we have decided ultimately to use our own language in the country and we shall make the change gradually. I hope English will remain even after that not as an official language but because it is a great language. I hope the other languages of the world will also be introduced in India but the relevant thing at this moment is that if we adopt an attitude of suspicion towards everything that comes from England or America, it will not help anybody.

We have often expressed ourselves in a way that displeased the great nations and filled them with anger, but we have preferred that to changing our policy. Recent history will testify as to how readily some great nations have shifted their allegiance and how they have had alliances, enemies have come together as allies and then become enemies again. In the last world war the Soviet Union was allied to Nazi Germany; it was later attacked by Nazi Germany and it fought Hitler's armies with enormous endurance and courage. I am not condemning any country. I am merely pointing out that at that time the rulers of the Soviet Union thought it right and desirable to have a close alliance with a country

which they had condemned earlier and with which they were to fight to the death later. I believe all of us are liable to error and I rebel against the notion that an organization or idea or a country can be infallible.

I submit again that, so far as our policy is concerned, in spite of the fact that we deal largely with the United Kingdom and the U.S.A.—we buy our things from them and we have accepted help from them—we have not swerved at all from our policy of non-alignment with any group. We stuck to our policy even though we had to deny ourselves the offered help. That is why other countries realize that we cannot be bought by money. It was then that help came to us and we gladly accepted it. We shall continue to accept help provided there are no strings attached to it and provided our policy is perfectly clear and above board and is not affected by the help we accept. I realize—I frankly admit—that there are always certain risks involved. There may be no apparent risk but our sense of obligation might affect our policy without our knowing it. All I can say is that we should remain wide awake and try to pursue our policy consistently and honestly.

There have been times when one word from us would have brought us many of the good things of life. We preferred not to give that word—not a few individuals but millions in this country. If at any time help from abroad depends upon a variation, however slight, in our policy we shall relinquish that help completely and prefer starvation and privation to taking such help and, I think, the world knows it well enough.

We have associated ourselves with the United Nations. This association does not deprive us of our independence. Of course, it limits our freedom in the sense in which it limits the freedom of every member country. That some limit should be placed on our field of action is the natural consequence of joining an organization of that nature.

We associated ourselves with the United Nations because we felt that some such world organization was very essential. The League of Nations had failed. The U.N.O. seemed to be a similar attempt under wider and perhaps better auspices and so we joined it. I still think that the Charter of the United Nations is a very fine and noble document. An hon. Member said, "Go and scrap the Charter." I do not understand what he meant. I think the Charter is a very fine thing but it is true that the world is not living up to it. I feel more and more that the United Nations has somehow swerved from the basic provisions of that Charter in theory as well as in practice. I think that is a very serious matter for us and for other countries.

The Atlantic Pact is between certain Western Atlantic countries. What other countries do for their defence is not my concern. As

a Government we do not come into the picture nor can we object to anything that they do. One thing about the Atlantic Pact, however, has become more and more evident. It began as a pact for defence against aggression but it has apparently widened its scope and taken upon itself the defence of the colonial possessions of the nations concerned. That, so far as we are concerned is a very serious matter. It means that certain countries must give assurances, whether formal or informal that they will protect and maintain colonial rule wherever it exists. We are as you know unalterably opposed to colonial rule wherever it exists.

So I wish to point out to hon. Members of this House that we have taken as serious a view of this as we did of the Security Council's refusal to discuss the Tunisian question. Apart from the merits of the Tunisian question itself which should in any case be settled, nearly every country in Asia and many countries in Africa are wanting a consideration of the Tunisian issue. This is being denied because two powerful countries have voted against it. That is a very extraordinary state of affairs. If Asia and Africa together cannot get a subject discussed in the Security Council, because two or three great powers object to it then a time may come when the countries of Asia and Africa may feel that they are better off outside than in the United Nations. That would, indeed, be tragic because I do feel that, in spite of its faults, the United Nations serves an essential purpose. If it did not exist today undoubtedly all the countries would come together to build up something like it again. I do not want that to happen. I attach the greatest importance to the United Nations but I must repeat that the United Nations has swerved from its original moorings and gradually become a protector of colonialism in an indirect way. This is a dangerous deviation. Instead of looking upon it as a great organization for peace some of its members have gradually begun to think of it as an organization through which war can be waged. The original idea behind the formation of the United Nations was vastly different and though the old Charter remains, somehow facts begin to belie it more and more. We have ventured to point this out to the member countries of the United Nations and I think that our words have had some effect.

We are a responsible Government dealing with other Governments and if we shout about our opinions in public, the effect of our approach is lost. That is not the way modern diplomacy is carried on. Because we do not shout hon. Members opposite must not think that we are supine.

CORRECT PERSPECTIVE

I AM A LITTLE AFRAID that this House in its enthusiasm might perhaps imagine that we are doing more than we are really doing. I am referring particularly to the international sphere, because some hon. Members in their speeches seemed to make out that India was playing a very important role, almost a dominating role, in regard to some world problems. Let us have a more correct perspective.

I believe that we have helped, occasionally in regard to the solution of some problems, and in the relaxation or lessening of tension. We might take due credit for that, but let us not go beyond that. After all a country's capacity to influence events is determined by various factors. You will find that India is lacking in most of those factors. If we have been successful in some measure, the success has been due not obviously to any kind of military strength or financial power but because we took a correct view of events. If I may say so in all modesty we understood them more correctly than others, because we were more in tune with the spirit of the age. We do not have the strength to threaten anybody nor do we want to.

We feel, in so far as international policy is concerned, that right or wrong counts. But it is not the rightness of a proposition that makes it listened to but rather the person or the country which says so and the strength behind that country. The international policy of a country depends ultimately on the domestic state of affairs in that country—the two have to be in line and they cannot be isolated from each other. Indeed it is the internal state of affairs of a country that enables it to speak with some strength, force and authority in the international sphere. I do not wish to indulge in invidious comparisons. But hon. Members can look at our country as it is today and a number of other countries and decide for themselves how far India has progressed in the last six or seven years compared with most other countries. It is indeed due to this feeling that India is marching forward, that India is a country which is firmly established and is dynamic, that people in the rest of the world look upon us with a measure of respect.

One hears frequently about pacts and military alliances in Europe, in the Middle East, in South East Asia and elsewhere. There are in the world today two mighty powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. There are some other great powers also the United Kingdom and one or two others, who are

Speech in Lok Sabha during debate on the President's Address,
February 25 1955

also big in varying degree. I can understand, although I would not approve, military alliances between great powers. That would have some meaning. But I do not understand military pacts and alliances between a huge giant of a power and a little pigmy of a country. It has no meaning in a military sense to me. In this nuclear age the only countries that count, from the point of view of nuclear war, are those great countries which are, unfortunately, in a position to use these bombs. But to attach small countries to themselves in alliance really means—and I say so with all respect to those countries—that they are becoming very much dependent on these countries. Such associates do not add to their defensive power for they have little or no military value. Perhaps such alliances have some psychological value. I wish to refrain from saying anything which might militate against others. But in this nuclear age, to think of war itself is insanity. Any person who has given thought to it—many generals, in England, France, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union have done so—would realize that war today is unthinkable, because a war is fought to achieve certain results, not to bring ruin on oneself. War today will bring ruin to every country involved, not only one. All the great countries appear to be clear about it and are absolutely certain that there is no country in the world which wants war. To talk about warmongers and the rest is completely wrong. There may be some individuals who might want war, but no country wants it. If that is so, what is the value of this policy of military alliances and armaments? It does not logically follow from the first assumption. The development of the thermonuclear bomb has changed the whole picture of fighting today. What might have been good a few years ago is no longer good.

The fact that one country has a few more bombs than the other is of no great relevance. The point is that even the country that has less has reached the saturation point, that is, it has enough to cause infinite damage to the other country. There is no real defence against nuclear weapons; you can at best damage or ruin the other country. When you have arrived at the saturation point, you have arrived at the stage of mutual extermination. Then the only way out is to prevent war to avoid it. There is no other way. All talk of reduction of armaments, good as it is, does not help much. That is the first point we should remember.

Secondly, we must consider what use alliances and pacts really have in this age of nuclear warfare. As I said earlier, they do not help in a military sense, though they may psychologically. I am not asking these countries to disband their armies or their air forces. The only effect of these pacts and alliances, it appears to me, is to hold a kind of threat. These threats are being thrown about by both the power blocs. But even this business of threatening through

military pacts has become obsolete in this nuclear age. You cannot threaten a big power which has nuclear weapons, for it is not likely to be frightened. You can at best threaten small countries.

As things are today we have reached a certain balance—it may be a very unstable balance, but it is still some kind of balance—when any kind of major aggression is likely to lead to a world war. That itself is a restraining factor. Whether aggression takes place in a small country or a big one, it tends to upset the unstable balance in the world and is, therefore, likely to lead to war. It is because of this that in the Geneva Conference there was so much argument about the Indo-China States. Either of the major parties was afraid that if any of these States linked up with or was coerced into joining one group, it would be to the disadvantage of the other. For instance, suppose countries like Laos and Cambodia were overwhelmed and drawn into the sphere of China, the countries on the other side would naturally be frightened. On the other hand, if Laos and Cambodia became hostile to China and could be used as bases for an attack on China, naturally China would object to it very strongly. What is the way out of the difficulty? Either you have war to decide who is stronger or you place Laos, Cambodia and all the Indo-China States more or less outside the spheres of influence, outside the alignments, and outside the military pacts of the two groups, so that both could feel, at least to some extent, secure in the knowledge that these Indo-China States were not going to be used against them. There is no other way out. So at Geneva they wisely decided, more or less, though not in clear language, that the Indo-China States should keep out of military pacts or alliances on either side, or in other words, remain neutralized.

If you extend the argument, you will see that the only way to avoid conflicts is to accept things more or less as they are. No doubt, many things require to be changed, but you must not think of changing them by war. War does not do what you want to do. It does something much worse. Further, by enlarging the area of peace, that is, of countries which are not aligned to this group or that, but which are friendly to both, you reduce the chance of war.

As the House knows the policy adopted by India and followed consistently during the last few years has been appreciated by many countries. Some other countries of Asia, not because of us, but because of their own reasons, have followed a similar policy. Even countries which have not followed it have begun to appreciate our policy. We are following it because we are convinced that it is the right policy. We would follow it even if there was no other country in the world that followed it. It is not a question, as some hon. Members seem to imagine, of balancing the considerations and

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sitting on the fence. Ours is a positive policy and we follow it with conviction and faith.

The House knows of some countries which are our good friends in Asia, like Burma and Indonesia, who have been following a similar policy in international affairs. Recently when the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had come here, he and I issued a statement in which reference was made to Panchsheel, the Five Principles. That indicates how the idea is spreading. I can assure this House that even though many Governments may not publicly approve of Panchsheel, people in many countries have been attracted to it more and more.

Among the many schools of thought and action in international affairs today is the school of strong action, as it calls itself. I suppose it is a relic of the old days when a warship or cruiser was sent down to frighten into submission any small country which misbehaved. Strong action might bring results when a very big country shows the mailed fist to a small country but strong action does not go very far when the other country has also got a big fist. Then there is the school which talks about negotiation through strength. It is true that nobody will listen to you if you are weak. But, as you develop your strength to negotiate, unfortunately the other party also goes on developing its strength.

Then there is the school of—shall I say—learned confusion. It talks very learnedly about international affairs, delivers speeches, writes articles, but never gets out of a confused state of mind. There is a fourth school, equally prominent, of ignorant confusion. So that, between all these various schools it is a little difficult to get to know where we are and what we are, more especially when the problem relates to Asia, because most of the currents of thought today in international affairs come from Europe and America. They are great countries to be respected but the greatness of a country does not necessarily endow it with greater understanding of some other country and the fact that Asia has changed and is changing has not wholly been grasped by many people in other continents. Therefore, their confusion is the greater when thinking of Asia.

The world seems to be divided into two mighty camps, the communist and the anti-communist, and either party cannot understand how anyone can be foolish enough not to line up with itself. That just shows how little understanding these people have of the mind of Asia. Talking of India only and not of all Asia, we have fairly clear ideas about our political and economic structure. We function in this country under a Constitution which may be described as a parliamentary democracy. It has not been imposed upon us. We propose to continue with it. We do not intend changing it. We intend to function on the economic plane too in our own

way. With all respect to some hon. Members opposite, we have no intention to turn communists. At the same time, we have no intention of being dragooned in any other direction. Putting it simply we mean no ill to anybody. Every country has a right to choose its own path and go along it. We have chosen our path and we propose to go along it, and to vary it as and when we choose, not at somebody's dictate or pressure and we are not afraid of any other country imposing its will upon us by military methods or any other methods. The only way for us is to build up our own strength which we intend doing. Meanwhile we want to be friendly with other countries. Our thinking and our approach do not fit in with this great crusade of communism or crusade of anti-communism.

Many people in those countries do not understand this approach of ours. And yet many countries of Asia have inevitably to follow this policy unless they are much too weak to stand on their own feet. When they seek shelter and help it is because they cannot rely upon themselves. There is a type of help which countries take in friendship which we are willing to take, of course, but there is another type of help which countries take because they are too weak to stand on their own legs. Well that help does not help at all because it weakens. And hence we have been careful in this matter to make it clear always that our policies cannot be affected by and there must be no strings attached to any kind of help that we get, and that we would rather struggle through ourselves without any help than have our policies affected in any way by outside pressure.

I was mentioning just now the change in Asia which is taking many forms. Presently in the course of about seven weeks, there is going to be a conference at Bandung in Indonesia—an Asian African conference it is called—to which a number of independent countries of Asia and Africa have been invited. So far as I know every country that has been invited is likely to attend. I am not quite sure that all the replies have come, but I think they will all attend. What this conference is going to do is not up to me or even the sponsoring countries to say. It is the conference which will draw up its own agenda and decide. I was, therefore, a little surprised when the hon. Member Mr Asoka Mehta, said something about the conference drawing up a vast programme for the liberation of suppressed countries. We are all for the liberation of suppressed countries, but the idea of associating the conference with a programme of this type seems to me completely to misunderstand its purpose. The House will remember it will be an official-level conference in which Governments will be represented. In fact, Prime Ministers will be attending it, from countries with completely different ideologies and political and economic structures. There will be countries in this conference which are aligned to this or

that great power bloc, and there are countries, like India and Burma and Indonesia, which are not aligned with any. This assortment of countries of Asia and Africa will, therefore, have much in common and also much not in common. It is going to be an extraordinary meeting. The mere fact of our meeting is of the highest significance. It is the first time that such a meeting is taking place. It represents, rather unconsciously, subconsciously Asia and Africa coming to the forefront. I do not know whether this idea was present wholly in the mind of the original sponsor of this conference, but because the proposal was made at the right time, it accorded with the spirit of the times.

By its very nature, a conference of this type is hardly likely to discuss controversial issues as between the countries represented there. Also, if I may express my own opinion, I hope it will not function as if it was setting up a group in rivalry to the others. It is essentially an experiment in co-existence, for the countries of Asia and Africa—some of which are inclined this way and some the other way in regard to the power blocs—are meeting together in a friendly way and trying to find what common ground there is for co-operation in the economic, cultural and political fields. Therefore, it is a development of great importance from the point of view not only of Asia but of the world.

WORLD AFFAIRS IMPINGE ON US

ANY PART we want to play in world affairs depends entirely on the internal strength, unity and conditions of our country. Our views might create some impression on others for the moment but they will attach importance to our voice only in proportion to the strength they know we have. Therefore, both from the point of view of our primary needs and from the point of view of any desire we might have to play a part in world affairs we have to pay the first attention to our own country's affairs. But it is impossible for us to take a parochial attitude. We cannot understand our own problems that way. Because of our general inheritance which is in favour of freedom and against colonialism, our sympathies go out in certain directions. Apart from that, if certain things happen in the world our own programmes—planning and so on—go to pieces because the whole world goes to pieces. It is incumbent on us,

From reply to debate on Foreign Affairs in Lok Sabha, September 2, 1957

therefore, to see what is happening in the world. The world and world affairs impinge upon us all the time. We are interested

Take, for instance, the situation in West Asia. At the present moment, it is probably the most difficult and explosive area on the world's surface. We were interested, emotionally psychologically and politically in what happened last year in the area, when other powers intervened in the Suez Canal dispute. We took up a fairly clear and unequivocal line, and we were of some help in finding a solution there. But what happened there affected our Five Year Plan and our economy. Something happens now let us say in Syria. Even if they are the small beginnings of a conflict, we shall be affected. But nowadays there is hardly such a thing as a small conflict. Every conflict, however small, has the shadow of a big conflict behind it, and the big conflict has the shadow of a world war behind it.

There is a dangerous and explosive situation in Syria. We have seen previously how things happen in the Middle East. We should be warned by what has happened and we should not make any country in the Middle East a plaything of policy. It is a dangerous thing. There may be no immediate crisis in the sense of war. Nevertheless, it may suddenly burst out. Therefore, I repeat my appeal that it is unsafe for policies to be pursued in which the particular countries of the area become merely checker boards for other major conflicts to be played out. The major power groups are too powerful to be sat upon by each other.

If we look at the history of the Middle Eastern countries during the last three or four years, we shall find how one step has led to another. A step presumably meant to protect the interests of one group has actually led to an injury to these interests, because somebody else takes a counter-step and then a third step is taken and so on—whether it is the Baghdad Pact or something else. These have not brought the area peace or security or any measure of freedom from conflict. They have in fact led to a worsening of affairs. One fact has led to another one interference to another. Instead of learning from this and leaving these countries to work out their own destiny all kinds of pressure tactics are being exercised. I earnestly hope that our appeal will have some effect on those who may hear them.

We do not wish to interfere in international affairs except where we feel that we might be able to be of some help where something affects us directly—for instance, in regard to Goa or when military help is given to Pakistan. Then we have to express our views clearly strongly and unequivocally. We are too humble to pursue a crusading policy. We know our limitations. But where world peace is concerned, naturally we want to have our say as

a member of the world community. Where India's interests are directly threatened, whether in Goa or in Pakistan, we must have our say, a loud say, a positive say. There we cannot remain quiet.

I referred to Pakistan. It is really quite extraordinary how many false statements are made from Pakistan. The other day the Foreign Minister of Pakistan stated that Russian planes were landing in Kashmir and that Kashmir—or India—had become a Russian base. One would expect of a Foreign Minister some slight adherence to truth. India is not a closed land, nor is Kashmir. There are thousands and thousands of tourists in Kashmir and in India. I invite Pakistan to give the names of every foreign person employed directly or indirectly in the defence services or in the construction of anything connected with defence, like airfields or barracks, and I am prepared to do the same. I am prepared to publish every name. Let them publish the names of all the foreigners they are employing in their defence services, not only on active duty but as advisers, builders and trainers. Vast crowds function there in those capacities.

The exodus from East Pakistan into India, a thing we can never lose sight of, shows the state of affairs in East Pakistan and in Pakistan generally. But few foreign countries realize it. That mere fact brings out the picture of our relations with Pakistan more vividly than any argument that we could put forward.

Some hon. Members said that our Defence Minister had made an appeal to the United Kingdom and the United States of America about Goa. I understand from him that he made no appeal. What he said was that the case of Goa was such that countries like the U.K. and the U.S.A. should express themselves clearly as to where they stood. Did they support colonialism there or not? It was a kind of enquiry. I have said previously in this House that Goa is incontestably a case of colonial domain. It does not matter how long Portugal has been there. It is colonialism functioning.

When people in other countries talk about colonialism vanishing and their being opposed to colonialism, we are justified in politely asking them, how does this continuation of Portuguese rule in Goa fit in with your anti-colonial declarations? Apart from this major question with regard to Goa, a pain and torment for all of us is the continuation of hundreds and hundreds of Goans in prison. And, in the past, many have been put to death or subjected to all kinds of torture. It is a horrible thing and it surprises me that this is ignored by the great powers and the small powers.

It does not surprise me that in the context of world events Pakistan and Portugal in Goa are knit together and are close friends. And yet it is extraordinary. There was the Bandung Conference which talked about colonialism. And Pakistan had actually

supported it. We did not expect Pakistan to stand out as a crusader of anti-colonialism. They could well have remained silent over the issue but they have gone out of their way to support Portuguese dominion in Goa. I believe the present Prime Minister before he became Prime Minister was the legal adviser and advocate for Portugal. It is extraordinary that simply because of their hatred of India they should descend to such levels.

THE WAY WE FUNCTION

THE SITUATION in the world today while not without some hope, is very serious and grave. Thoughtful persons all over the world are perturbed at this trend of events. I should like this House to pay some attention to these broad aspects. It is easy for us to express our opinions boldly about any issue if we do not care for the consequences. It is easy to lay down high principles, but the difficulty comes in when high principles have to be acted upon. In any debate we might have here, it is essential that we should be aware of the consequences and be clear about our method of approach. Whether we are considering a question of peace, or a lessening of passions, we must ask ourselves if we are actively trying to achieve some results, however small, or just trying to lighten our minds by giving expression to our views about the world in general. I do not say that even our Parliament can achieve major results in world policy because nobody can pretend that our influence is such as to mould world opinion or world actions.

We are criticized sometimes, in some amendments tabled, for not taking up a bold and gallant attitude in regard to some matters. That kind of Rajput chivalry does not apply to modern politics. Neither will it do to be drawn into the controversy of the cold war and to cast all the blame on the other party for lack of success in efforts towards peace. That is not the best way of winning over the other party.

I do not say that our country is superior or that we are above passion and prejudice, hatred and fury. But as things are, there are certain factors which help us. First of all we are geographically so situated that we are not drawn into controversies with that passionate fury that some other countries are. This is not due to our goodness or badness, but is a matter of geography. The other thing is that

the past few years—not only since independence but previously too—have under the inspiration of the Father of the Nation, trained us to some extent not to lose ourselves in a policy based merely on fear and passion. Because of these factors we are some times in a position to help a little. Whether it is in the United Nations or bilaterally with other countries we place our viewpoint as fairly and as clearly as possible but always emphasizing the common points and not the differences. Recently within the last few days, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was held here. The House knows how we differ completely from the South African Government, but the South African delegation came here and we welcomed them as individuals, and treated them as our guests, regardless of our differences. The conference was attended by a variety of people.

I should like to place before the House some other instances of how we endeavour to function. Recently a resolution was passed in the United Nations on Algeria. Now Algeria has become one of the major problems of the day. A terrible war has been going on there. The House knows that we in India, naturally and inevitably are in favour of the freedom and independence of Algeria—of the Algerian people. At the same time we have said that this question should be settled by peaceful methods. Unfortunately terrible things have happened there and passions have been excited. It is not easy for any approach to be made to the Algerian problem which would bring people nearer to each other. The United Nations, constituted as it is, can help but cannot force down any kind of solution. Yet in co-operation with some other countries, India prepared a resolution which was passed unanimously by the Assembly. It is an extraordinary thing to have unanimity there. It may be that the resolution itself does not go very far. But it is extraordinary that over an issue which has roused so much passion as Algeria, a simple resolution should be passed. Whatever the wording of the resolution, the mere fact of its having been passed has created a temper which leads to peaceful negotiations, to a lessening of tension and to an attempt to appreciate the problem in its reality.

I have given the example of Algeria to show how we function in such matters.

Then there is the question of the people of Indian descent in Ceylon—a problem affecting many hundreds of thousands of people. Essentially it is a problem for the Ceylon Government and the people of Indian descent there but we are naturally interested and we should like to help in solving it. We treat it as a human problem and not as a political one and in spite of the fact that much progress has not been made towards a solution it is an advantage that we

discuss it with Ceylon in the friendliest manner I had a very friendly talk with the Prime Minister of Ceylon who was here. We understood each other I think, fairly thoroughly I confess we are nowhere near solving the problem, but if we do not solve it today there is hope of our solving it tomorrow.

The Kashmir issue has recently been before the Security Council and our position has been stated there with fullness and clarity by the leader of our delegation, Mr Krishna Menon. His exposition of our case was a fine one and I should like to pay a tribute to him. A resolution was brought forward by a number of countries there which, we thought, was very wrong in that it ignored and bypassed what we considered the main issue in the case. We made it very clear that we could not accept it. Thereupon the Soviet Union made it known that they would, if a resolution was put to the vote, vote against it, which meant that they vetoed it. The sponsors decided not to put it to the vote and, after some further consideration, brought forward a very different type of resolution, which ultimately was passed. So far as we are concerned, we do not accept even this resolution although I must say that it does not contain most of the objectionable features of the first one.

This resolution requests Dr Graham to go to India. He can, of course, come to India any time. Dr Graham is welcome to India now as before. But we have made it clear that this visit should not be regarded as any kind of continuation of the old talks he had been having as regards demilitarization and so on.

I should now like to say a few more words about the problem of war and peace. The cold war whatever virtue it might have had in the past, is completely illogical, and it leads us nowhere. This business of people saying that they must be tough and speak from strength becomes rather meaningless, when strength is matched by strength and toughness by toughness. The ultimate recourse to put an end to any toughness is war but even those who preach toughness proceed on the assumption that there must be no war. Why? Because war will not only destroy our adversary but it will destroy ourselves. That was the position even before the recent advances in ballistic weapons. Obviously no one country is going to have a monopoly in regard to these weapons. At the present moment the United States has some weapons which the Soviet Union does not have. But, without doubt, the Soviet Union will develop them. The Soviet Union has the Sputnik which the United States has thus far not got. Without doubt, the United States will have it in a month or two. What is more, not only the United States of America and the Soviet Union, but gradually other countries also will possess these weapons. The United Kingdom has the hydrogen bomb. So whether one of the countries is a little ahead

of the other or not, the fact is that either of these giants has enough bombs to destroy the other completely. Therefore, any attempt on the part of one, however powerful to coerce the other through military means, involves destruction of both. It becomes more and more obvious that policies of toughness and the brandishing of the sword do not lead anywhere.

An eminent American expert on Russian matters, Mr. George Kennan recently delivered a series of lectures in which he put forward certain suggestions for disengagement. The suggestions are not novel. They were made here at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference by Mr. Gaiskell. But the point is that these conclusions have been arrived at by the experts. This sort of grappling together all the time like two wrestlers is not good enough. They must disengage themselves. Mr. Kennan has suggested, as a first step towards disengagement, that the various foreign armies in Europe should gradually be withdrawn—the Soviet armies from the countries where they are stationed, and the Western armies from Germany. Now in our own small way we have often suggested that the keeping of foreign forces in other countries is bad. More and more people are realising it, even though many of them may not say it out because of the feeling that the other country might think that they are weakening. But the fact remains that people are driven inevitably to the conclusion that there is no hope in pursuing the policies at present pursued. This constant wrestling, this cold war, this piling up of armaments, this frantic search for a more powerful weapon, the ultimate weapon—where does it all lead to? Nowhere except destruction. The situation, which is hard enough, has not been made easier by the new discoveries such as the Sputnik. Not that the Sputnik can do much. It has no military value. But it opens out the possibilities of greater and more destructive weapons which can destroy the whole world. It was these thoughts which weighed with me and which made me issue a respectful appeal to the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union. I was not presumptuous enough to think that I could advise them in this very difficult situation. Nevertheless, the burden on my mind was so great that I had the presumption to issue an appeal to them, for a new approach to be made in these problems. A new approach can only be made by people coming together and I do hope that this will take place.

A war today will be completely different from the last world war. The weapons are different. Any general who thinks in the terms of the last world war and prepares for the next war on that basis will have the surprise of his life. He has to think on different lines. Similarly international affairs, which are so intimately connected with defence and war potentials, have to be approached on different

runs so much as the cold war mentality. I think it is so belogged by passion and anger and hatred in this mentality that there might be some kind of incident which even Governments may not know—any odd general may do something in excitement or a fit of madness, or from loss of nerve. That may bring about a general catastrophe without even the knowledge of the Government concerned, because once somebody lets loose these terrible weapons, the others will follow.

Therefore, our approach in this matter is not to stress the differences but rather to stress the similarities. It is an approach of reconciliation, and I hope that progressively the people of other countries, and their leaders, will adopt that approach. We are small fry in this matter we have no presumption that we can play an important part, but we do wish to play an independent part, because that is the only way we can serve our country and the rest of the world.

NO THIRD FORCE

AN HON. MEMBER on the other side said that we should stand for a Third Force. What the Third Force means I have been wholly unable to understand. I think any idea or advocacy of a Third Force has absolutely no relation to reality. It would be a wrong step amounting to ourselves coming into the arena of power politics. Possibly this so-called Third Force will try sometimes to join this group and sometimes the other and on occasions keep apart.

How is force measured today? By armed strength, nuclear strength, ballistic strength, monetary strength—call it what you like. India has none of these nor has any country which is likely to be a member of the so-called Third Force any pretensions to armed might or financial power. I do not know what exactly this collection of countries together would do, apart from the fact that they will not collect together.

So let us give up these rather fanciful ideas. We have to deal with a situation in which there are two giant powers with enormous military might. But they are also afraid of each other's might, afraid that the other party might get a certain lead. Sometimes one is a little ahead, sometimes the other. It really matters very little

now who has the lead because both have passed that mark which gives them enough power to destroy. If they have passed that mark, it does not really make too much difference whether the world is destroyed completely once or twice over. If you are dead you are dead. It is no good trying to make you 'deader'.

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SOMETIMES it is suggested—I think it was Acharya Kripalani who did so—that the small countries of the world should band themselves together. If that implies what has been called a Third Force, it is a contradiction in terms, because numbers do not create a force. They may create moral pressures, but not a force. It will not make the slightest difference to the great military powers of today if the militarily weak countries band themselves together. If it takes the shape of banding together even the ability to exert moral pressure goes into the background, and the physical side comes up.

Of course it is right that countries of a like way of thinking should come close together should confer together should jointly function in the United Nations or elsewhere. That exactly has been the policy of India. We do not presume to call ourselves leaders and we dislike being called the leaders of Asia. We have tried to work together with other countries on the basis of comradeship and we have done so without breaking our friendly ties with other countries. But it would be a wrong approach to gather together a number of like countries which, like us, are militarily weak, and raise our voice in hostility to the great powers. We have therefore opposed the idea of a Third Force. The moment we talk in these terms, we adopt to some extent the cold war approach and language of hostility.

Here or in the United Nations we have criticized other countries' activities, but we have always endeavoured to do so not in the manner of the cold war and denunciation. Who are we to denounce? Who are we to hold forth the light to others, we who have enough darkness in our own land and in our own minds? For my part, I would rather that we were cut off from the world for a while and looked after our own affairs. But that is physically not possible.

Two curious criticisms are made. One is that we interfere too much. The other is that we do not take the initiative and allow it to go into other hands. I do not know whether the Member who made this comment expects us to be a knight-errant jumping about all over the place. I do not propose to do so. We have sometimes

behind the scenes, quietly, modestly and without pushing ourselves forward. We are a modest people, and we certainly are a modest Government. We have enough problems of our own, and such influence as we have in the world is because of our modesty not because of our shouting

ACCORDING TO OUR BEST JUDGEMENT

WHEN WE SAY our policy is one of non-alignment, obviously we mean non-alignment with military blocs. It is not a negative policy. It is a positive one, a definite one and, I hope, a dynamic one. But, in so far as the military blocs today and the cold war are concerned, we do not align ourselves with either bloc. This in itself is not a policy—it is only part of a policy. Countries talk and act so much in terms of military blocs and the cold war in the world today that one has to lay stress on the fact that we are not parties to the cold war and we are not members of or attached to any military bloc.

The policy itself can only be a policy of acting according to our best judgement, and furthering the principal objectives and ideals that we have. Every country's foreign policy first of all, is concerned with its own security and with protecting its own progress. Security can be obtained in many ways. The normal idea is that security is protected by armies. That is only partly true—it is equally true that security is protected by policies. A deliberate policy of friendship with other countries goes farther in gaining security than almost anything else.

Apart from this, from the larger point of view of the world also, we have laboured to the best of our ability for world peace. We realize that our influence in such matters can only be limited, because we are not in possession of, nor have we the capacity to possess, weapons like the modern nuclear weapons. Still our influence has not been negligible. This is not because we ourselves are influential, but because we do believe that what we have said in regard to peace has found an echo in people's minds and hearts in all countries. In spite of governmental policies, the people have appreciated what we have said and reacted to it favourably.

Whatever our influence on governments, I can say with some assurance that our influence on peoples generally all over the world

in regard to the matter of peace has been very considerable. Any hon. Member who happens to go to any part of the world will always find India's name associated with peace. It is a privilege to be associated with peace, but it brings a great responsibility. We should try to live up to it. In our domestic sphere also we should work on lines which are compatible with peace. We cannot obviously have one voice for the world outside and another voice internally.

Our foreign policy has thus this positive aspect of peace. The other positive aspects are an enlargement of freedom in the world, replacement of colonialism by free and independent countries and a larger degree of co-operation among nations. It is completely incorrect to call our policy 'Nehru policy'. It is incorrect because all that I have done is to give voice to that policy. I have not originated it. It is a policy inherent in the circumstances of India, inherent in the past thinking of India, inherent in the whole mental outlook of India, inherent in the conditioning of the Indian mind during our struggle for freedom, and inherent in the circumstances of the world today. I come in by the mere accidental fact that during these few years I have represented that policy as Foreign Minister. I am quite convinced that whoever might have been in charge of the foreign affairs of India and whatever party might have been in power in India, they could not have deviated very much from this policy. Some emphasis might have been greater here or there because as I said, it represents every circumstance that goes towards making the thought of India on these subjects.

I say this because some people in foreign countries imagine that this policy has suddenly grown out of nothing and that it is merely a policy of sitting on the fence. There is no question of sitting on the fence or trying to woo this person or that person or this country or that country. We want to be friends with all of them. It is said there are only two ways of action in the world today and that one must take this way or that. I repudiate that attitude of mind. If we accept that there are only two ways, then we certainly have to join the cold war—and if not an actual military bloc, at least a mental military bloc. I just do not see why the possession of great armed might or great financial power should necessarily lead to right decisions or a right mental outlook. The fact that I have got the atom bomb with me does not make me any the more intelligent, wiser or more peaceful than I otherwise might have been. It is a simple fact, but it needs reiteration. I say this with all respect to the great countries. But I am not prepared even as an individual, much less as the Foreign Minister of this country to give up my right of independent judgement to anybody else in other countries. That is the essence of our policy.

Mr S. A. Dange said we were friends with all, but sometimes

more friendly with some people than with others. It may be true that occasionally because of some of our activities or some of our expressions, people who themselves feel strongly about these matters on one side feel that we are inclining too much on the other. The fact is that we follow our own course of action as we judge right. In various matters—economic and other—we have past contacts which we certainly carry on. In the past, our economic life, rightly or wrongly was in a certain direction. We have not tried to uproot it. While developing in other directions too, we have not tried to uproot the old directions, old contacts, old trade ways.

Mr Dange objected to our Chiefs of Staff going to England for certain conferences of military officers there and he thought that that meant some kind of lining up with the military apparatus of some countries of the Commonwealth. He also objected to our Navy joining in manœuvres with some Commonwealth navies, and chiefly the British Navy. I do not think he is justified in his objections even from his own point of view. We send our Chiefs of Staff to London occasionally to participate in what is called a joint exercise. We send them because it is a very good opportunity for gaining wider knowledge of modern methods in so far as one can get them there. I do not say that there are no other places where we can get them. But it does not involve taking part in manœuvres, or thinking of a defence policy *vis-à-vis* other countries.

For instance, whenever there is a Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference, there is usually side by side with it, a conference on defence matters. We do not attend it. I think Ceylon, too, does not attend it. We have not attended it because we have nothing to do with the defence approach or the peace and war approach of the United Kingdom or the Commonwealth countries.

But it is quite another matter for us or for our representatives to see an exercise. An exercise means really discussing modern methods of war usually in a room. We do not have too many opportunities to do that by ourselves in this country. Where an opportunity offers itself, as it sometimes happens in a limited way we have to take advantage of it—even in countries apart from the Commonwealth countries.

AN INTEGRATED APPROACH

ONE OF THE MAIN THINGS which in the years following independence have attracted the world's attention to India has been our broad approach to international affairs, particularly the policy of non-alignment." This policy has become a distinguishing mark of India. It was, to begin with, liked by some and disliked by others, but in the course of these years the disapproval has lessened a great deal. The suspicion of the policy has also gradually faded out. People at least think that we might be wrong but are earnestly wrong. I venture to say that the essence of the policy, the thought behind it and its practical significance have affected the thinking of other countries also.

Each country has to be judged by a variety of factors, including historical accidents which have conditioned the country. Take this particular matter of alignment or non-alignment with military blocs. The countries of Europe, big and small, emerged out of a terrible war but stood facing fresh dangers, according to the thinking, and were oppressed by various fears and apprehensions. These affected other countries also. The cold war thus grew up. India was fortunate in this respect, because she had not gone through the same harrowing experiences of wartime. Nevertheless, on grounds of principle and even of expediency I was then convinced as I am now that the cold war outlook is not a good outlook.

When India became independent, she did not inherit the conflicts, the jealousies and the apprehensions of post war Europe. I use the word Europe for short because, as we know after the second world war the most dominant countries were the United States of America on the one side and the U.S.S.R. on the other. Fortunately India started with a clean slate in regard to her basic attitudes. She suffered from one major drawback, and that was due to the partition which gave rise to bitterness of feeling between India and Pakistan. That was unfortunate because it affected our policies in many ways. What was worse it affected the feelings of our people as it affected the feelings of the people of Pakistan. But, even this bitterness had no ancient roots. We had inherited no hatreds against any country including Britain which had ruled, and according to us misruled over us, for so long. Therefore there was no reason whatsoever why India should have entered the lists of Europe as the champion of this or the opponent of that or got entangled in the animosities and past history of Europe which had bred these quarrels. It would have been sheer folly to do that.

except for one possible reason, namely the reason of fear. For example, some countries outside the cockpit of Europe, in Asia and Africa, which have not inherited these old conflicts, have got entangled in the politics of the cold war solely because of fear. Any policy based on fear is, normally speaking, not a good policy. Geography no doubt, counts. There is no denying that. So far as India was concerned, placed as she was historically and geographically it would have been quite astonishingly foolish to fall into this business of the cold war either on grounds of principle or on grounds of expediency.

Looking back, India's policy has not been some sudden bright inspiration of an individual, but a gradual growth evolving from even before independence. The inevitable line that we took subsequently has followed that thinking as a matter of course. The internal policy and foreign policy of a country affect each other. They should, broadly be in line with each other and have to be integrated. By and large, there has been in India an attempt at this integration.

Some people ask "Do you still believe in this policy of non-alignment, in spite of the danger on your frontiers?" I am surprised at this kind of argument which shows a lack of understanding as to what this policy is. What has the danger on the frontier got to do with the policy of non-alignment? I do not see any connection. In fact, if I see it at all, this is the very moment when I should stick to the policy of non-alignment even more firmly because it is now the testing time for my thinking, for India's thinking. When danger comes, are our hands to shiver, our feet to grow cold, and are we to seek shelter under somebody's umbrella? Is this the way to relate our past policies to present conditions? I am convinced that a proud nation does not behave in this fashion. I do not think, and try not to think, that war will descend upon us. Nevertheless, when there is danger facing us, we prepare to meet it to the best of our ability and strength. Naturally we want the goodwill and sympathy of the world in our thinking, and in our action and other developments may take place which I cannot envisage today. When the spark of war lights up, we do not know how far it may spread, and what results it may produce, specially in the modern conditions. What I wish to emphasize is that the line of thinking which led India to adopt a particular policy was not based on fear. We have been conditioned during the Gandhian era not to base our policies on fear.

There was a time when Europe dominated the world. International politics then meant what the great European countries said or did. That was in the 19th century. The 20th century with its first world war made a big change. While Europe continued to play an important part, the United States of America became

the dominating power in world affairs. By the time of the second world war further enormous changes took place the United States became the richest and the most powerful nation in the world at the same time the Soviet Union in terms of power and development also became a very great nation and after the war there has been this conflict of these powers and their groups.

Meanwhile something else also has been happening. Vast changes have occurred in Asia and Africa. A number of countries have won freedom, and have come up. Sometimes there has been a fight between the rival blocs for the soul of these newly independent countries. Even so the old colonial tradition of viewing things is disappearing under stress of events, and a new element of benevolence in speech and action has come in. But the significant fact is not this display of benevolence but that these new countries of Asia have thought for themselves. They have not taken the tabloid policies and thoughts of other countries but have had to think for themselves, without lining up with this bloc or that bloc.

After long years of alien domination, colonialism and suppression, the countries of Asia and Africa want to think and act for themselves. They have rejected the idea of being told what to do and what not to do. If they are convinced of a particular line of action, they co-operate that is the basic idea, conscious or sub-conscious in the countries of Asia. That is the basic idea, conscious or sub-conscious in the mind of Africa which is changing with the speed almost of lightning. That change has affected and will affect the whole context of world events.

The world has changed and is changing. We stand at the crest of this change looking at it, and a tremendous drama is unravelling before our eyes. But we are not mere onlookers. We are actors in this drama. We propose to be actors in it in our own way actors with friendship to other countries. Where we do not agree we express our disagreement but in friendly terms.

A POSITIVE POLICY

SOME PEOPLE use the word "neutral" in regard to India's policy. I do not like that word at all, having myself been in the past, perhaps even now to some extent, not exactly a negative individual but a positive individual working for positive causes, working with all the vigour and strength that I could command for those causes, and having if I may say so with all respect, a certain contempt for a neutral person who has no views at all. One or two of the books I have written bring this out. All my outlook on life is a positive one, not a negative one, not a complacent one. Therefore, I do not think that the word "neutral" suits me at all. That positive aspect of life is derived from the conditioning I have had in my life. These factors are many but the principal factor is the Indian national movement with Gandhi as its leader.

What applies to me applies, in a greater or less degree, to large numbers of people in India. When independence came we naturally thought of more or less following that policy which was in our minds, in the international sphere. By and large we have tried to follow it. It was, therefore, a continuation of the previous ten or twenty years of thinking and resolution. Our present policy has thus, grown out of ourselves. It has not been thrust upon us by anybody. It is not a question of balancing ourselves between groups or blocs of nations which have arisen. That kind of sitting on the fence or balancing has not occurred to us at all. We are adopting a positive policy which we think is right. We may of course, have been wrong occasionally. Sometimes we have had to tone down our own voices, even when we felt strongly. I have ventured to explain this in an attempt to make you appreciate somewhat the background of India out of which we have all grown and which, apart from our internal problems, affects our international outlook. Naturally that outlook is influenced by events. In the last ten or twelve years many events have happened that have influenced us this way or that way but basically our outlook is derived from that old outlook which Gandhi gave us and made us powerfully in favour of peace and peaceful methods.

As I HAVE SAID repeatedly, I do not like the word "neutral" as being applied to India. I do not even like India's policy being referred to as "positive neutrality" as is done in some countries. Without doubt, we are unaligned—we are uncommitted to military blocs—but the important fact is that we are committed to various policies, various urges, various objectives, and various principles very much so. When proposals have been made that we should form some kind of a bloc of "neutral" countries, I have not taken very kindly to them. While I do not like the system of blocs as such, we meet and discuss, have some measure of common thinking, sometimes common action, and we co-operate.

Till three or four years ago, the great and powerful countries, and the leaders of these big armed blocs, used to speak rather slightly of the "neutrals" who according to them had no moral basis, and, therefore, sat perched up on a hedge as it were, not daring to come down this way or that way. That attitude has now changed a great deal. It has changed into one of considerable respect for these countries which are unaligned, and a realization has come that the position and the policy to which they adhere are certainly good for them. And now, with a large group of independent countries from Africa also more or less joining this unaligned group—not a formal group—it has made a big difference. Whether it is in the United Nations or elsewhere, this major fact is emerging, namely, that the world cannot wholly be disposed of by one mighty armed group or the other, even though they play a great part in its affairs; the others have a say also, and sometimes, an important say. This development is taking place because, in spite of the terrible importance of nuclear bombs and the like, human beings and their ideas and their urges count. These provide the hope for the world. One of the major things we now see is a growing conviction that the problems of this changing, exciting and turbulent world cannot be solved by threats or by military means. The misfortune is that while that is realized fully, the resources, money and human energies are being directed far more to the development and advancement of the military apparatus of a country than to other positive aspects. Once we get over this major hurdle, the outlook of the people and the reaction in their minds to events will change. As it is, there is a definite indication that peoples and countries want to get out of the ruts of thinking and action they are in.

OPPOSITION TO MILITARY PACTS

THE SOUTH EAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION

THE GENEVA TALKS ended in an agreement and the war that had been going on for seven and a half years in Indo-China came to a stop. For the first time in many years there was no national war in the world. A new atmosphere of concord and of relative peace was established in Indo-China. In Asia, tensions relaxed. But nobody was foolish enough to think that problems had been solved. No problem had, in fact, been solved either in Indo-China or in Korea or elsewhere, but certain steps had been taken towards creating an atmosphere which would help in the solution of the problems. Even that was something, and the whole world, I believe heaved a deep sigh of relief that at last we were going towards some kind of peace.

Another conference has been held recently in Manila in the Philippines. We had been invited to that conference, but we expressed our inability to attend or participate in it in any way. Normally it is our desire to participate in conferences, particularly of countries which are our neighbours, in order to understand their viewpoints and to put forward our own. Why did we not participate in the Manila conference? Apart from every other reason, big or small, it is obvious that our participation in the Manila conference would have meant our giving up our basic policy of non-alignment. We were not going to give up that basic policy which we have followed for so many years, merely to participate in that conference.

Secondly our going there would obviously have affected our position as Chairman of the three Commissions in Indo-China. We were chosen for these responsible posts because we were thought to follow a certain policy. If we had changed that policy and gone back upon it, our whole position in Indo-China would have changed. That would have been a very improper thing to do.

I have often wondered what was the special urge or the special drive towards having this Manila conference and the South East Asia Treaty that emerged from it. What was the sudden fear that brought these countries together? Was any aggression going to take

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Till three or four years ago, the great and powerful countries, and the leaders of these big armed blocs, used to speak rather slightly of the neutrals who according to them had no moral basis, and therefore sat perched up on a hedge, as it were, not daring to come down this way or that way. That attitude has now changed a great deal. It has changed into one of considerable respect for these countries which are unaligned, and a realization has come that the position and the policy to which they adhere are certainly good for them. And now with a large group of independent countries from Africa also more or less joining this unaligned group—not a formal group—it has made a big difference. Whether it is in the United Nations or elsewhere, this major fact is emerging namely that the world cannot wholly be disposed of by one mighty armed group or the other even though they play a great part in its affairs—the others have a say also and sometimes, an important say. This development is taking place because, in spite of the terrible importance of nuclear bombs and the like, human beings and their ideas and their urges count. These provide the hope for the world. One of the major things we now see is a growing conviction that the problems of this changing, exciting and turbulent world cannot be solved by threats or by military means. The misfortune is that while that is realized fully, the resources, money and human energies are being directed far more to the development and advancement of the military apparatus of a country than to other positive aspects. Once we get over this major hurdle the outlook of the people and the reaction in their minds to events will change. As it is, there is a definite indication that peoples and countries want to get out of the ruts of thinking and action they are in.

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I have often wondered what was the special urge or the special drive towards having this Manila conference and the South-East Asia Treaty that emerged from it. What was the sudden fear that brought these countries together? Was any aggression going to take

place? Was the peace of South East Asia or the Pacific threatened suddenly? Why was that particular time chosen just after the Geneva Treaty? I have been unable to find the answer I can understand, for example, the French fears and their trying to balance them. I can understand fears in the Asian countries roundabout, in Australia and in New Zealand. It is no good denying the fact. But how do we meet these fears, and how do we counteract them and deal with the situation in a manner which will create more security?

I put it to the House to consider whether this Manila Treaty has relaxed tensions in South-East Asia or increased them. Has it taken South-East Asia or any other part of the world more towards peace and security or has it not? Has it created any bulwark for peace and security? I confess I see neither any lessening of tension nor any advance towards peace. The reverse is the truth. The Treaty itself as a matter of fact, does not go very far. Those who were previously of a certain viewpoint have, I presume, expressed their opinion in a more corporate way. The Manila Treaty does not add to their strength. Positively therefore, it has little contribution to make. Negatively it has definitely added to the tensions and fears of the situation.

It would be unrealistic for me to suggest that any country in South East Asia or India should live in a sense of false security or tell themselves, "Let us sing the song of peace, and nothing will happen." I realize that responsible governments and countries cannot behave in that manner. They have to take precautions against any eventuality. But they should also I suggest fashion their policy in such a manner that they will go in the direction of peace.

There is another curious aspect of this SEATO or SEADO—what ever it is called. I can understand a number of countries coming together for their own defence and thus making an alliance. This particular Treaty although not very strong so far as the military aspect is concerned, goes somewhat beyond those very countries. There is constant reference in the Treaty to its defensive area. This area does not comprise merely the territory of the countries which are parties to that Treaty but goes beyond it. This area can be designated by those countries by merely declaring that any given place is also in their area. Thus, I submit is a dangerous extension of the idea of defence. I am not for the moment challenging or criticizing the motives of the countries which are parties to the Manila Treaty. I do not know what their motives are. I presume they want a measure of security and I do not challenge that desire. But I do submit that they have set about it in the wrong way. The area which they have mentioned is partly determinate and partly

indeterminate, because the countries concerned can expand that area, if they so agree unanimously by saying, 'This is also in our area. If anything happens in that area—that is, even outside the territories of the Treaty powers concerned—they can take such steps as they feel like taking

Hon. Members may remember the old days when the great powers had spheres of influence in Asia and elsewhere. The countries of Asia were then too weak to do anything about it. The quarrel was between the big powers and they sometimes came to an agreement about dividing the countries in spheres of influence. It seems to me that this particular Manila Treaty is inclined dangerously in the direction of spheres of influence to be exercised by powerful countries. After all, it is the big and powerful countries that will decide matters and not the two or three weak and small Asian countries that may be allied to them.

Another fact to which I should like to draw hon. Members attention is the reference made in this Treaty to aggression. One can understand mention of external aggression in a defence treaty but there is reference also to a fact or situation created within this area which might entitle them to intervene. Observe these words. They do not refer to external invasion. It means that any internal development in that area might also entitle these countries to intervene. Does this not affect the whole conception of integrity, sovereignty and independence of the countries of this area? A great part of this SEATO Treaty reads well. There are phrases about the United Nations Charter about these countries desire for peace, about their desire even to encourage self-government in colonial territories provided they are ready and competent to shoulder this heavy burden. All this reads well. But after reading the Treaty carefully I feel that its whole approach is wrong and dangerous from the point of view of any Asian country. I repeat that I realize that the motives may be quite good. Countries in Asia as well as outside may have certain justifiable fears. But, I say the approach of this Treaty is wrong and may antagonize a great part of Asia. Are you going to have peace and security by creating more conflicts and antagonisms and by making people think that instead of bringing security you bring insecurity into that region?

We in India have ventured to talk about an area of peace. We have thought that one of the major areas of peace might be South-East Asia. The Manila Treaty rather comes in the way of that area of peace. It takes up that very area which might be an area of peace and converts it almost into an area of potential war. I find this development disturbing.

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A North Atlantic Treaty Organization was created some years ago. When it first came into being it was intended to be a

of certain countries associated in joint defence. I must say that at that time it seemed to me nothing but a justifiable reaction for certain countries who were afraid of certain developments to join together in defence. But observe how this NATO developed. In the first place it developed geographically. Supposed to be the North Atlantic community it spread to the Mediterranean, to the coasts of Africa, to Eastern Africa and to distant countries which had nothing to do with the Atlantic community. Internally too it began to extend itself. The various resolutions of the NATO powers, meeting from time to time, gradually extended the organization's scope. When the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was first envisaged it was for defence. But gradually we found that it was supposed to cover the colonial possessions of all those powers also. How the maintenance and continuation of the authority of those colonial powers over their dependent countries is a matter of defence of the North Atlantic community is not quite clear to me. However that idea has extended itself and become a North Atlantic Treaty giving a protecting cover to the colonial domains of the powers concerned.

This House will remember that recently a reference has been made by the Portuguese authorities to the North Atlantic Treaty covering Goa too in its wide scope. We are not bound down by any treaties to which we are not a party. We have stated it plainly. I am not quite sure if the North Atlantic powers, or most of them, are themselves quite happy about this assertion by the Portuguese Government that Goa is also the NATO countries' concern. What I wish to point out is how these treaties, meant for a particular purpose, might gradually begin to extend their scope and nature and ultimately become something much bigger and wider than what people imagined them to be. If the North Atlantic Treaty has managed to extend its scope to Goa, I wonder whether the South-East Asia Treaty too will extend likewise. It starts at our door step, where might it not go?

In the South East Asia Treaty there are certain colonial powers, certain powers not colonial in themselves but interested in colonialism and certain associated countries, all of which try to decide or control the fate of this great area of South-East Asia. I think the world is too small now for any few countries, including the Asian countries, to say that nobody else can interfere with an area and that that area is their sole concern. What happens in South East Asia is also the concern of the rest of the world, not only of South East Asia, but I submit that when decisions of vital significance are made for an area excluding the views of the vital part of that very area, then there is something wrong in the procedure. I have said this about the South-East Asia Treaty

Organization because we feel strongly about it. By itself the Treaty may not have carried events very far but we feel that it is going along a dangerous direction. This may not be obvious at the present moment to everybody but I have no doubt that, unless something is done about it, it will become more and more harmful to the interests of peace in South East Asia and the world at large.

In regard to the United Nations, this House knows that we have stood for the People's Government of China being represented there. Recently the United Nations has passed a resolution that this matter will not be considered for a year or so. I have long been *convinced of the fact that a great part of our present-day difficulties*—certainly in the Far East, but I would like to go farther and say in the world—is due to this extraordinary shutting of one's eyes to the fact of China. It is totally immaterial whether you like China or dislike it. Here is a great country and the United Nations, or some countries of the United Nations, refuse to recognize it. There are all kinds of conflicts as a result. I am convinced that there would have been no Korean war if the People's Government of China had been in the United Nations, because people could have dealt with China across the table. This non-recognition has thus added to the complexities and difficulties of the world's problems.

Remember that it is not a question of the admission of China to the United Nations. China is one of the founder-members of the United Nations. It is merely a question of who represents China. This fact is not adequately realized. It is not a question really for the Security Council or anybody else to decide. The Security Council has to decide when new countries come in. China is not a new country. It is a founder member of the United Nations. It is really a question of credentials as to who represents China. It is a straightforward question. And it amazes me how this straightforward question has been twisted around and made the cause of infinite troubles. There would be no settlement in the Far East or South-East Asia till this major fact of the People's Government of China is recognized. I say one of the biggest factors towards ensuring security in South East Asia and in the Far East is the recognition of China by these countries and China coming into the United Nations. There would be far greater assurance of security that way than through this South East Asia Treaty Organization and the rest.

If China comes in, apart from the fact that you deal with China face to face in the United Nations and elsewhere, China assumes certain responsibilities in the United Nations. The position today is very odd. Sometimes the United Nations passes resolutions giving certain directions to the People's Government of China. The response from China is "You do not recognize us we are

not in the United Nations how can we recognize your directions? This is an understandable response. Instead of adding to the responsibility and laying down ways of co-operation you thus shut the door of co-operation and add to the irresponsible behaviour of nations in this way and call it security. The result inevitably is that the influence of the United Nations lessens. I do not want it to lessen, because it is one of our biggest hopes of peace in the world.

May I refer to one other matter? One of the reasons why the Asian countries, particularly the countries of South-East Asia, fear this great country China, has been the large Chinese populations in these countries. In some countries, like Malaya, a very difficult problem arises. I believe all of us here are in favour of Malayan independence. But remember that the problem in Malaya is not an easy one. It is difficult because, oddly enough, in Malaya the people of Malaya are in a minority. The Chinese are there in great numbers, the Indians may be 10 or 15 per cent. No single group is in a majority. The indigenous people of Malaya are not at all keen on something happening which might give power to non-Malayans there. I am pointing out the difficulties which we have to understand. Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, Indo-China and Thailand have large Chinese communities. This fact rather frightens them. In the old days and until now the Government of China did not recognize the right of any Chinese person to divest himself of Chinese nationality. A very peculiar situation was created as a result. On occasions there was some kind of dual nationality. That also was a factor in making the position of the Chinese communities in all these South-Asian countries very embarrassing to those countries. When the foreigners in a country are almost fifty per cent it creates difficulties.

An interesting development is taking place and reference has been made to it recently both by the Prime Minister of China, Mr. Chou En-lai and the Chairman of the Republic, Chairmao Mao Tse-tung. They say that Chinese communities living outside will have to make a choice as regards their allegiance. These communities will have to choose either to become nationals of the country they are living in or to retain Chinese nationality. In the latter event they must not interfere in the internal affairs of the other country. That I think, is a helpful move which will remove some of the difficulties and apprehensions in these South East Asian countries.

Frankly most of these countries are afraid not of what governments do officially but what they might do *sub rosa* through the activities of the communist parties in these countries. The fact of the matter is that one of the serious difficulties that have arisen in international affairs is the growth of what might be called

international groups which are tied up with an outside nation. Previously one country was against another and you knew where you were. There might be a handful of people in your country who might sympathize with the other country. But now we have these international groups who oppose the national group and who psychologically, emotionally, and intellectually are tied up with another nation's national group. This is one of the essential difficulties of the situation. I am not discussing communism, its theory and practice. I am merely pointing out the essential difficulty of these countries. If there was such a thing as a national communist party in a country that is, a party which had nothing to do with another country that would be a different matter. It would be one of various parties, with a definite political and economic policy. But the difficulty comes in because that party in a country is, as I said, intellectually, mentally and otherwise tied up with other groups in other countries. Those other countries might well utilize such a party for their own advantage. That is the fear that Burma and Thailand and other South East Asian countries have. In the old days there was the Comintern, that international communist organization which was wound up some time during the last war. Later came the Cominform which was, I suppose, something of the old type in a different garb. I think that similarly these organizations and the activities that flow from that area have caused a good deal of apprehension and disturbance in various countries and nations. And now as a reaction, we have other forms of international interference in national affairs growing up in various countries, not in the ideological way but in a practical, governmental, *sub rosa* way. This kind of thing is thus growing on every side, not one side only.

If you want peace in the world, you have to come to grips with this problem. It cannot be done by threats or by having these military alliances. Once you recognize, as I believe it is recognized the world over that war is no solution, and that the two major protagonists are too powerful to be demolished one by the other then you have to co-exist, you have to understand, you have to be restrained and you have to deal with each other. If you reject co-existence, the alternative is war and mutual destruction.

should be persisted in. I am not saying that the military approach can be completely given up in this world. I am not speaking like a pacifist. But I submit that thinking of the world's problems in terms of military power and trying to solve them only in terms of military power are doomed to failure and have failed. A weak country in Asia will stand up—as India will—and Asia has shown that it will not surrender to military might. Against this rising tide of nationalism and all those forces that had been suppressed for a century or more, it is not wise or profitable merely to put up military power and military solutions. It appears from the various announcements that have been published that members of the Baghdad Pact have given renewed assurances about coming to each other's rescue in case something happened. It is not quite clear what that something is.

Previously it was said that the Baghdad Pact, as well as SEATO, was meant to face the challenge of what is called international communism or a communist attack from the north. How far it succeeded in doing that I do not know. My own reading of events in the past few years is that the Baghdad Pact was remarkably successful in encouraging and helping the very forces that it was intending to restrain or suppress. However, I am interested naturally in knowing what the present position of these assurances is, not from the point of view of communism and anti-communism but because it has been our misfortune to have to deal with this question in another aspect.

Pakistan, our neighbour country with whom we want to be friendly, is a part of the Baghdad Pact and thereby gets the help and assurance and backing of some of the most powerful nations in the world. As a result Pakistan itself is prevented from adopting that friendly attitude to us which it otherwise might have adopted. Moreover, there is the question of the supply of large quantities of military equipment. A question was asked here a little while ago whether there were any foreign bases in Pakistan and the Pakistan Government has denied it. Whether there are foreign bases or not—and even if we accept the Pakistan Government's denial—the fact is that the military equipment of Pakistan has grown and grown, and vast airfields have been built all over. Whether one calls them foreign or domestic bases, they are there. All this arming of Pakistan is a matter of some concern to us. Why? Pakistan is an independent country. We have no right to interfere with what it chooses to do but it becomes a matter of concern to us when such arming is accompanied by the type of outlook exhibited in the speech of Mr. Daultana, which I have just read to this House. It is a matter of concern to us because the quintessence of hatred for India plus accumulation of arms may lead to bad results.

A FALSE CONCEPTION OF SECURITY

THERE HAS BEEN A PROPOSAL about Pakistan entering into a defence pact with us. No doubt, our relations with Pakistan have improved to some extent, and we hope that this process will continue. All the same, what does this business of military pacts mean? Does it mean foreign armies, in large numbers, marching across our territory? Is the idea feasible? It is not. We will not have foreign armies on our soil, and we will not make any exception to this, whatever be the consequences. We have had enough of them in the past and we should at least learn from experience. If we enter into military alliances, we may derive some advantage, like getting some kind of military equipment. That is a possibility. But it is open to us to get that from any country we choose.

What happens when we go and line up as faithful standard bearers of this group or that group except that India ceases to have any individuality and ceases to stand on its own feet? It does not take us forward. SEATO and CENTO and all the odd things that have arisen in the last few years have done no good to anybody. I would like to know if any country belonging to SEATO or CENTO has profited by or has been strengthened by either. A large part of the world which had in the past doubted India's policy in this regard has become more and more convinced of its fundamental rightness. We had set before ourselves and the world a certain policy. It was in line with the policy which we had broadly thought of even before we became independent. This policy, where our material interests as well as our wider urges have fitted in, is rooted in the thinking of India for a long time past. No Government of India, as far as I could judge, could have followed any other policy. It is rooted in a certain line of action which is wholly opposed to the purely military line of thinking. The military problem is, of course, considered in the military sphere, but is not to govern the political sphere. We are fortunately not used to considering political problems from the purely military point of view and I hope we will never be used to that. However, one of the chief difficulties in the wide world today is that grave political problems are being considered from the military point of view only. This comes in the way of any other kind of approach which takes into consideration many other factors.

Again, I would like to know what SEATO or what used to be the Baghdad Pact has done to the countries belonging to it. Has it strengthened them? Has it strengthened their defence or

From speech at the Bangalore session of the Indian National Congress, Badshahnagar, January 15, 1960

their self reliance? They have, of course, received arms. But the moment we develop a Maginot Line mentality or feel that others will defend us, we grow soft. That psychology is important, because that is the worst thing that can happen to any country which faces grave dangers. A country has to face challenges, relying on its own strength and on its own gallant men. For instance, do we expect foreign armies to come and sit on the Himalayan peaks to defend our country? The moment the Indian Army and the people cannot defend its borders, and we rely on others to do this, India's freedom is lost, and great injury is caused to something which is precious. So from any point of view opportunist, practical or idealistic, we arrive at the conclusion that it would be very wrong and harmful for countries to align themselves with power blocs or have military alliances for the purpose of ensuring their security. That does not prevent the development of the closest friendly relations between countries.

We have raised our voice in the last few years against the system of military alliances and the cold war. Whatever may have been right or justified some years ago I think that the policy of military alliances and of the cold war has not brought any rich results to the world. Maybe some ten or twelve years ago after the war military alliances were considered almost inevitable by some countries from the point of view of defence. Nevertheless, in the last few years, the spread of this policy to Asia has not added to the world's security or to any country's security. It has diverted people from thinking on economic progress and developing inner strength and tried to bolster up countries by military means which can only be temporary. It has really come in the way of a country's progress.

We are now seeing what is happening in the world today. The great powers have realized that this type of policy does not pay from the practical point of view and therefore there are talks about summit meetings and conferences. It is evident that circumstances have brought world thinking nearer to India's thinking in these matters, and that the world is moving in that direction.

PANCHSHEEL AND CO EXISTENCE

THE CONCEPT OF PANCHSHEEL

I THINK THAT THE BIGGEST IDEA that has gradually evolved in people's minds all over the world is the futility of war—that war does not solve any major issues and that, therefore, all problems, however difficult and intricate, should be approached peacefully. That may seem a simple thing to say yet it is of high significance that more and more people have thought and spoken in these terms. I am not referring to the people of India because we have always said something to that effect, but to the great and powerful countries which, having placed their reliance considerably on military might, today speak in different terms. I think that is a fact of very great importance, because it may well be that this heralds an entirely new approach all over the world.

Where does India come into this picture? It would be an exaggeration to say that India has made a major difference to world policy. But, nevertheless, it is a fact that India has on significant occasions made a difference, and that difference has led to certain consequences.

India's contribution in this direction may perhaps be put in one word or two, Panchsheel, and the ideas underlying it. There is nothing new about these ideas except their application to a particular context. And the House will notice that ever since these ideas of peaceful co-existence were initially mentioned and promulgated, not only have they spread in the world and influenced more and more countries, but they have progressively acquired a greater depth and meaning. That is, from being a word used rather loosely Panchsheel has begun to acquire a specific meaning and significance in world affairs.

I think we may take some credit for spreading this conception

From speech in Lok Sabha, September 17, 1955

The Five Principles of peaceful co-existence were first formulated in the preamble to the agreement between India and China in regard to Tibet, which was signed on April 29, 1954. These principles, which later came to be known as Panchsheel, are: 1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; 2. Mutual non-aggression; 3. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs; 4. Equality and mutual benefit; and 5. Peaceful co-existence.

of a peaceful settlement, and above all, of non-interference. That each country should carve out its own destiny without interfering with others is an important conception though there is nothing new about it. No great truths may be new. But it is true that an idea like non-interference requires emphasis because there has been in the past a tendency for great countries to interfere with others, to bring pressure to bear upon them, and to want these others to line up with them. I suppose that is a natural result of bigness. It has taken place throughout history.

This stress on non-interference of any kind—political, economic or ideological—is an important factor in the world situation today. The fact that it will not be wholly acted upon here and there is really of little relevance. You make a law and the law gradually influences the whole structure of life in a country even though some people may not obey it. Even those who do not believe in it gradually come within its scope.

The conception of Panchsheel means that there may be different ways of progress, possibly different outlooks but that, broadly, the ultimate objectives may be the same. If I may use another type of analogy, truth is not confined to one country or one people. It has far too many aspects for anyone to presume that he knows all, and each country and each people, if they are true to themselves, have to find out their path themselves through trial and error through suffering and experience. Only then do they grow. If they merely copy others, the result is likely to be that they will not grow. And even though the copy may be completely good, it will be something undertaken by them without a normal growth of the mind which really makes it an organic part of themselves.

Our development in the past thirty years or so has been under Mahatma Gandhi. Apart from what he did for us or did not do, the development of this country under his leadership was organic. It was something which fitted in with the spirit and thinking of India. Yet it was not isolated from the modern world and we fitted in with the modern world. This process of adaptation will go on. It is something which grows out of the mind and spirit of India though it is affected by our learning many things from outside. Likewise, this idea of Panchsheel lays down the very important truth that each nation must ultimately fend for itself. I am not thinking in terms of military fending but in terms of striving intellectually, morally, spiritually and in terms of opening out all our windows to ideas from others, and learning from the experience of others. Each country should look upon such an endeavour on the part of the other with sympathy and friendly understanding and without any interference or imposition.

This is the role India has played. However small this role may be during these past few years the general policy which we have sought to follow to the best of our ability has been progressively recognized in other countries. It may not have been accepted by all, certainly not some have disagreed with some parts of it or even the whole of it. But progressively there has been a belief in the integrity of the policy of India. There has been recognition that it is a sincere policy based essentially on goodwill and fellowship with other countries, with no ill will for any country

I HAVE often said that we do not propose to join any camp or alliance. That is our basic policy. But we wish to co-operate with all in the quest of peace and security and human betterment. No one should object to the principle of friendship and co-operation with others. It is hatred and violence and hostility that we should dislike and avoid. We want friendship with all countries. Our doors are open to all.

Our guests have everywhere laid stress on the Five Principles of Panchsheel and expressed their adherence to them. These principles form the basis of our relations with other nations. We are convinced that on this basis the relationship between countries will be healthy, peaceful and co-operative, because it rests on equality and mutual respect and peaceful co-existence, and rules out aggression and internal interference. Trouble arises when one country dominates over another or interferes in another's internal affairs. If Panchsheel is fully and sincerely accepted by all countries, peace would be assured everywhere, and co-operation would follow.

This does not mean that all countries should be alike or should follow the same policies. It means that each country should be free to develop itself as it chooses and yet be friendly to others. India and the Soviet Union have different political and economic systems. Nevertheless, we are friendly countries and co-operate in many ways because we respect each other's freedom and way of life and do not wish to interfere.

Peaceful co-existence is not a new idea for us in India. It has been our way of life and is as old as our thought and culture. About 2,200 years ago a great son of India, Ashoka, proclaimed it and inscribed it on rock and stone which exist today and give us his message. Ashoka told us that we should respect the faith of others,

and that a person who extols his own faith and decries another faith injures his own faith. This is the lesson of tolerance and peaceful co-existence and co-operation which India has believed in through the ages. In the old days, we talked of religion and philosophy now we talk more of the economic and social system. But the approach is the same now as before.*

That is the reason why we try to be friendly with all countries, whether we agree with them or not. That is the reason why we refrain from criticizing other countries even when we disagree with their policies, unless circumstances compel us to explain our view point.

*From this it has naturally followed that we should keep ourselves free from military or like alliances and from the great power groups that dominate the world today. It is in no spirit of pride or arrogance that we pursue our own independent policy. We would not do otherwise unless we are false to everything India has stood for in the past and stands for today. * We welcome association and friendship with all and the flow of thought and ideas of all kinds, but we reserve the right to choose our own path. That is the essence of Panchsheel.*

U.N. RESOLUTION ON CO-EXISTENCE

ONLY TWO OR THREE DAYS AGO a resolution was passed unanimously by the United Nations. It was a resolution sponsored by India, Yugoslavia and Sweden three countries which although they have different ways have this in common that they are not in military alliance with any bloc of nations. This resolution was about peaceful co-existence and it referred in actual terms to the so-called Five Principles which are well known and which were originally drafted and placed before the public in a document signed by India and China. Since then these principles have been adopted by a number of countries. It is I think a great gain that even in the form they have been put up before the United Nations they should have been accepted unanimously.

These efforts in which India has played a considerable part, together with other countries who are equally motivated by a desire for peace do not suddenly take us out of the danger zone. But they are all intended to help to create an atmosphere in which

one can consider the problems of the day in an objective way without the terrible oppression of fear

There was a resolution proposed by the Soviet delegation on peaceful co-existence in the U.N. Political Committee. It was undoubtedly one with which we agreed nonetheless, it was not a resolution which, as worded, was acceptable to some other countries. Then, with some other countries, notably Yugoslavia and Sweden, India placed a different draft which embodied the substance of the other resolution but tried to avoid anything which might possibly irritate any country. Fortunately we were successful. This resolution obtained the approval of the great countries. The United States supported it warmly. The Soviet delegation was not only good enough to support it, but withdrew its own resolution although it had priority. I am very grateful to them for this.

This may mean little but it means a lot, too, because it shows that once the approach of mutual recrimination and mutual criticism goes, it is much easier for countries to come together. In the final analysis, there is a great deal in common between these apparently rival great powers. Above all, there is the common desire to survive.

I should just to refresh your memory like to read to you this resolution on co-existence which was passed by the United Nations

"The General Assembly considering the urgency and the importance of strengthening international peace and of developing peaceful and neighbourly relations among States irrespective of their divergences or the relative stages and nature of their political, economic and social development

Recalling that among the fundamental objectives of the Charter are the maintenance of international peace and security and friendly co-operation among States

Realizing the need to promote these objectives and to develop peaceful and tolerant relations among States in conformity with the Charter based on mutual respect and benefit, non-aggression respect for each other's sovereignty equality and territorial integrity and non intervention in one another's internal affairs and to fulfil the purposes and principles of the Charter

Recognizing the need to broaden international co-operation, to reduce tensions, and to settle differences and disputes among States by peaceful means

Calls upon all States to make every effort to strengthen international peace, and to develop friendly and co-operative relations and settle disputes by peaceful means as enjoined in the Charter and as set forth in this Resolution."

If the spirit underlying this resolution actuates the Governments concerned a very great deal of progress would be made.

People seem to think today that the differences that separate nations are almost unbridgeable—that either war comes with whatever it may bring or else the rival armed camps continue glaring at each other at the most with some kind of uneasy co-existence. Only twelve years ago those countries which are enemies today were closely allied—the countries which were enemies then are allied today in military alliances and also ideological and other alliances. Is that not extraordinary? But is it not still more extraordinary that people should think that the present bitter differences should continue for ever? All history shows us that friends and allies sometimes become enemies and enemies become friends, and the history of even the last twelve years has shown us this. Why then persist in a policy which perpetuates these enmities? Even a bitter and a bloody war comes to an end and there is peace at the end of all the terrible slaughter and killing and destruction. Why wait for a war before we seek peace?

Surely it should be wiser to have peace before a war comes and to work for it and not to allow ourselves to be driven into war. It is particularly so when we have reached the age of ballistic missiles, hydrogen bombs and space travel.

A BASIS FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIP

ACHARYA KRIPALANI criticized Panchsheel—or rather the occasion of its inception. He remarked it had been broken in various parts of the world by those who said they adhered to it. It is true that the ideals of Panchsheel have been broken and are likely to be broken in future. The ideal of truth has often been broken and denied—but that does not make truth untruth. A good ideal does not become a bad ideal if the man who proclaimed it has not acted up to it. We are imperfect people in an imperfect world. We cannot live up to our protestations often enough we are weak or the circumstances are against us. Are we then to give up our ideals? The philosopher might examine the situation and say that the right thing was said but the world was not ready for it. But whenever truth is proclaimed it is good. More especially in a democracy we have to have not only truth but receptiveness to truth—the capacity to face truth and the capacity to act up to truth.

The real difficulty in any human behaviour is that a high truth may be proclaimed and practised by a prophet or a great leader. But the prophet, however great he may be, will not succeed unless he can convince others of the truth. He can convince them only to the extent that they are receptive and prepared for it. Even so he has to tone down his ideals because others can seldom be wholly ready for them. When we come down to the plane of action, particularly to the plane of democratic action, we have always to see how far the people will go in acting up to the principles laid down.

However the fact that some countries have not lived up to their protestation does not weaken the force of a correct policy like Panchasheel. Panchasheel is nothing new. If I may say so respectfully the thought of applying that word struck me in an odd moment. But there is nothing new about the idea itself. It just fits in with our way of thinking and with the way we have grown up. The mere fact that it somehow caught on, once it was applied, shows that there is something real about it. Even people who do not accept it, or do not particularly fancy the way the Panchasheel idea came into existence, still pay tribute to it. You see the force of an idea how although it is not acted upon, yet, nobody dare deny it. Every country says that it is the only way. That shows the utter strength and rightness of the idea. Indeed, if we examine it from the purely practical point of view and leave out high morality there is no other way in which nations can behave to each other. The alternative would be conflict and the dominion of one over the other.

FOREIGN POSSESSIONS IN INDIA

A PEACEFUL APPROACH

FOREIGN POSSESSIONS in India are a question which has agitated and excited this House in the past. They are small areas without much territorial or economic importance. Nevertheless, they raise big questions on which we have strong feelings. In regard to these foreign possessions, I think, we have set an extraordinary example of restraint. During these years we have reasoned we have argued and we have used peaceful methods, all without any result. We know of course that ultimately there can be only one result. We cannot conceive and, indeed, can never tolerate the idea that any foreign footholds should remain in India. I submit to the House that our manner of proceeding in regard to the foreign possessions is evidence not only of our peaceful intentions but also of the enormous patience with which we approach such problems.

PONDICHERRY

A SETTLEMENT IN FRIENDSHIP

MY COMING HERE today after a number of years has brought many memories to me. It has more particularly brought before me the significance of all that has happened in Pondicherry during the last few months. What has happened here is of a much larger significance than the mere size of Pondicherry might indicate. From the point of view of India, it is a certain step forward in her political revolution. The big step was taken when India became free after an agreement with the British Government. This is another step forward, however small.

From speech in Parliament, December 8, 1950

From speech at a reception at Pondicherry, January 16, 1955

We in India desire no domain outside our country. We have no ambitions to dominate over any people or any country. But we have to complete our own political revolution by bringing about the integration of these pockets in India. It is important that this step came about. Even more important is the manner of its coming about, that is, through a friendly negotiated settlement with the French Government. That settlement does honour to both the Government of India and the Government of the French Republic, as all true settlements always do.

Seven and a half years ago we came to a settlement with the British Government in regard to this great country of India. We had opposed each other for a long number of years and yet those in charge of the destinies of both countries were wise enough to seek the path of friendly settlement. As a result, the conflicts and the bitterness that had existed earlier almost vanished and we deal with each other as friends. It very seldom happens in history that a problem is solved without leaving other problems behind. Wars are fought and won and lost, but even the winning of the war does not end the problems that war creates. Every conflict leads to other conflicts even though that conflict ceases. How then did this happen that in India this solution of the problem between a great country like India and a great empire like the British Empire took place in a manner that has left practically no problem and no bitterness behind? So also, in dealing with this question of Pondicherry we have achieved a settlement in friendship and co-operation with the French Government, leaving no problem behind, not even bitterness.

That is the civilized way of dealing with problems. The uncivilized way is that of war even though the so-called advanced countries may fight. Thus, while Pondicherry may be a very small part of India, Pondicherry has now become a symbol of friendly solution by negotiated settlement between nations. This settlement has truly brought joy and happiness to me, because I have laboured throughout my life for a certain objective in India. I have seen that objective fulfilled in a large measure and as more fulfilment comes to it, naturally I rejoice. And my joy has been much greater because of the manner of doing it. You may remember that our great leader Mahatmaji, always laid stress on the manner of doing things, on the means employed. It is good to have a right objective, to have right ends in view but he always said that it is more important to adopt right methods and right means.

THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM

THE SITUATION in respect of the Portuguese Settlements in India which has aroused much attention and concern both in the House and the country has continually engaged the study and active consideration of the Government. Internally in the Portuguese Settlements, the opposition and resistance to foreign and colonial rule has gathered momentum. This is an entirely Goan movement, popular and indigenous. It has been countered by the authorities by the traditional but discredited methods of colonial assertion, repression and authoritarian violence coupled with the denial of the inherent rights of the people to their freedom and self determination.

The position of the Government of India and indeed of the people of this country is well known and hardly needs restatement. Goa and the Union of India form one country. As a result of foreign conquest, various parts of India came under colonial domination. Historical developments brought almost the entire country under British rule. But some small pockets of territory remained under the colonial rule of other foreign powers chiefly because they were tolerated as such by the then British power. The movement for freedom in India was not confined to any part of the country. Its objective was the freedom of the entire country from every kind of foreign domination. Inevitably the movement took shape in what was called British India and ultimately resulted in the withdrawal of the colonial power and the establishment of the Republic of India. That process of liberation will not be complete till the remaining small pockets of foreign territory are also freed from colonial control. The Government and the people of this country therefore fully sympathize with the aspirations of the Goan people to free themselves from alien rule and to be reunited with the motherland.

The policy that we have pursued has been even as in India under British rule one of non-violence and we have fashioned our approach and conduct accordingly. This adherence to non-violence means

- (i) that we may not abandon or permit any derogation of our identification with the cause of our compatriots under Portuguese rule and
- (ii) equally we may not adopt, advocate or deliberately bring about situations of violence.

We regard and base our position on the fact that the liberation movement is Goan and spontaneous and that its real strength lies in this fact.

The Government of India, and I am confident the great majority of our people, have no intention of adopting any policy or methods which depart from these principles, which are the foundations on which our very nationhood rests and which are the historic and unique legacy of Gandhiji and the pioneers of our freedom.

Further we may never forget that, in our approach and endeavours for our own freedom we were enjoined to eliminate fear. I want to say in all sincerity that the Government do not and will not function in this matter on a foundation of apprehensiveness and fear of probable consequences of threats, from whatever quarter they may come, or condone, much less approve or support, methods of conduct based on fear. Such methods are opposed to our policy and deny the basic ideas of non-violence.

The Portuguese Government have indulged in reckless allegations and unrestrained abuse of us. Moved by the fear characteristic of those whose strength is based on force, they have sought to amass their military strength on their possessions in India to terrorize the people. They are well aware that they constitute no terror for us.

It is not, however, the intention of the Government of India to be provoked into thinking and acting in military terms. The Portuguese concentrations and ship movements may well be a violation of our national and international rights. We shall examine and consider these and take such legitimate measures as may be necessary. But we have no intention of following the Portuguese Government's example in this respect.

The Portuguese Government have, in their representations to us and to other countries, as well as in their crude propaganda, indulged in totally untrue and reckless allegations. The purpose of all this is to arouse opinion against us by painting us as aggressive militarists, anti-Christian, particularly anti-Catholic, and hypocritical expansionists. They want others to believe that we want to make Goa an Indian colony.

These allegations are repudiated by the Goan people in the Portuguese possessions themselves, despite the authoritarian regime there and the repression, the censorship and State-controlled propaganda. The Goan liberation movement, however, continues to grow and may well be measured by the increase in violence and recklessness of Portuguese allegations and propaganda. Goans outside Goa, mainly in India and East Africa, have expressed themselves in favour of this movement. They demand the end of alien rule and the reunion of Goa with the motherland.

The Portuguese allegations about Indian hostility to Roman Catholics and the danger to Catholics if Goa joined the Indian Union have been repudiated most emphatically by the Roman Catholics of India and more particularly by their eminent leaders. The Catholics in India regard these Portuguese allegations not only as false but as a slur on themselves and their country. They point to the five million Catholics in India, who have absolute religious freedom and enjoy the consideration and respect of the rest of their compatriots. They know that the guarantees of our Constitution are a reality. Recently at a widely attended meeting of Goans in Bombay composed of people of all shades of opinion mostly non-sectarian and non party this feeling found emphatic expression and the falsity of Portuguese allegations was exposed.

I deeply regret that the Portuguese Government should have decided to arouse religious passions to serve their colonial ends. They have failed in this endeavour.

I should like to take this opportunity of stating once again some aspects of our basic approach in respect of Goa, when it becomes a part of the Indian Union.

- (a) The freedom and rights guaranteed by the Constitution of India and which specifically refer to freedom of conscience, worship and practice of religions, will extend in full measure and in all their implications to these areas.
- (b) The special circumstances of cultural, social and lingual relations and the sense of a territorial group which history has created will be respected.
- (c) Laws and customs which are part of the social pattern of these areas and which are consistent with fundamental human rights and freedoms will be respected and modifications will be sought only by negotiation and consent.
- (d) As we have done in the rest of India, full use will be made of the administrative, judicial and other services, confident that the return of freedom to and the unity of these areas with the motherland will enable adjustments to be made in harmony with progress and with the desires of the people.

The House knows that recently some Notes have been exchanged between the Portuguese Government and the Government of India. They have been placed on the table of the House. It will be evident from these Notes that the Government of India have stated their position with firmness, clarity and restraint and unprovoked by either the language or the content of the Portuguese Notes. The Government believe and are confident that the House will agree that this is and should be the way of behaviour of governments. I shall refrain from detailed comments on the Notes exchanged except to say that, consistent with their policy of settling

differences and resolving problems by conciliation and negotiation the Government of India promptly accepted the very first offer of the Portuguese Government to co-operate with them on the issue of impartial observation. The Government of India have no objection to this and they have nothing to conceal. They have proposed that representatives of the two Governments should meet together at once and implement the principle on which they have agreed. The last Note of the Portuguese Government appears to raise some further doubts and difficulties, but the Government of India have intimated their firm desire to pursue conciliation and negotiation and urged the Portuguese Government to enable the conference to begin.

I would like to say on behalf of my country and Government that we have no animosity towards Portugal or her people. We believe the freedom of the Goans, now subject to Portugal, would be a gain for Portugal as well. We will continue to pursue, with patience and firmness, the path of conciliation and negotiation. Equally we must declare that we would be false to our history and betray the cause of freedom itself if we did not state, without reserve, that our country and Government firmly and fully believe in the right of our compatriots in Goa to free themselves from alien rule and to be reunited with the rest of the motherland. This will serve the cause of friendship and understanding, even as the freedom of India has led to friendly relations between the United Kingdom and India. We would, therefore, invite the Portuguese Government to co-operate in the peaceful consummation of these endeavours.

GOA IS PART OF INDIA

YESTERDAY I MADE a statement before the House outlining the policy that the Government was pursuing in regard to Goa. I must express my deep gratitude to Members who have spoken in this House today of their broad appreciation of this subject and their general acceptance of the policy of the Government. There have been some criticisms, but, on the whole, the area of agreement is very large and the area of disagreement limited and narrow.

There is no one in this House who requires any argument in justification of India's claim to Goa. It is obvious. There is hardly any question that has come before this House which had such

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- (b) The special circumstances of cultural, social and lingual relations and the sense of a territorial group which history has created will be respected.
- (c) Laws and customs which are part of the social pattern of these areas and which are consistent with fundamental human rights and freedoms will be respected and modifications will be sought only by negotiation and consent.
- (d) As we have done in the rest of India, full use will be made of the administrative, judicial and other services, confident that the return of freedom to and the unity of these areas with the motherland will enable adjustments to be made in harmony with progress and with the desires of the people.

The House knows that recently some Notes have been exchanged between the Portuguese Government and the Government of India. They have been placed on the table of the House. It will be evident from these Notes that the Government of India have stated their position with firmness, clarity and restraint and unprovoked by either the language or the content of the Portuguese Notes. The Government believe and are confident that the House will agree that this is and should be the way of behaviour of governments. I shall refrain from detailed comments on the Notes exchanged except to say that, consistent with their policy of settling

differences and resolving problems by conciliation and negotiation the Government of India promptly accepted the very first offer of the Portuguese Government to co-operate with them on the issue of impartial observation. The Government of India have no objection to this and they have nothing to conceal. They have proposed that representatives of the two Governments should meet together at once and implement the principle on which they have agreed. The last Note of the Portuguese Government appears to raise some further doubts and difficulties, but the Government of India have intimated their firm desire to pursue conciliation and negotiation and urged the Portuguese Government to enable the conference to begin.

I would like to say on behalf of my country and Government that we have no animosity towards Portugal or her people. We believe the freedom of the Goans, now subject to Portugal, would be a gain for Portugal as well. We will continue to pursue, with patience and firmness, the path of conciliation and negotiation. Equally we must declare that we would be false to our history and betray the cause of freedom itself if we did not state, without reserve, that our country and Government firmly and fully believe in the right of our compatriots in Goa to free themselves from alien rule and to be reunited with the rest of the motherland. This will serve the cause of friendship and understanding, even as the freedom of India has led to friendly relations between the United Kingdom and India. We would, therefore, invite the Portuguese Government to co-operate in the peaceful consummation of these endeavours.

GOA IS PART OF INDIA

YESTERDAY I MADE a statement before the House outlining the policy that the Government was pursuing in regard to Goa. I must express my deep gratitude to Members who have spoken in this House today of their broad appreciation of this subject and their general acceptance of the policy of the Government. There have been some criticisms but, on the whole, the area of agreement is very large and the area of disagreement limited and narrow.

There is no one in this House who requires any argument in justification of India's claim to Goa. It is obvious. There is hardly any question that has come before this House which had such

unanimous approval or agreement. The only questions that have arisen are as to the steps that might be taken to give effect to India's claim. Even there, so far as I can understand, it is by and large the opinion of this House that the methods should be peaceful.

Now although it does not require that anything should be said in justification of our claim to Goa, I shall, nevertheless, venture to mention a few facts, perhaps more for the benefit of others than for the members of this House. There is, of course, the geographical argument. The Portuguese Government claims that Goa is a part of Portugal. That remark is so illogical and absurd that it is rather difficult to deal with. You are suddenly transported into a land where logic does not prevail. To say that Goa is a part of Portugal is something in the nature of a fairy tale or nursery rhyme about the cat jumping over the moon. It has no relation to facts, and any kind of will, decree or law passed in Portugal is not going to make Goa a part of Portugal.

Reference is made to a number of treaties, more especially to those between the United Kingdom or England as it was then, and Portugal. And there is the NATO alliance. I think it has been made fairly clear by responsible people that the NATO alliance has little relevance to this question. It has been stated that under that alliance, a subject like Goa or indeed any other subject can be brought up for discussion, but that alliance is not by any means compelled to deal with such problems or go beyond its narrower periphery of action. We may therefore, set aside the NATO alliance.

Then there are these treaties with the various British Governments. I think the first one is dated 1574. These treaties began, as far as I can remember with an attempt by the then King of Portugal to protect himself against the then King of Castile, that is, Spain. This was soon after the Arabs, or the Moors as they were called, were driven out of the Iberian Peninsula and Portugal was rather afraid of Castile which was growing in strength. Some of the later treaties were aimed against the Hollanders as they were called, or the Dutch, who were spreading out. In the course of these treaties all kinds of provisions were made about the right of Portugal to go and raise armies directly in England. A provision in one of the later treaties might interest the House

"That His Majesty of Portugal, or anyone whom he may depute shall be permitted to raise and procure in this Commonwealth,

that is England

soldiers and horses, to defend and secure himself against the King of Castile

"And that the military force, which he shall be at liberty to levy shall not amount to more than 12,000, namely

4 000 out of each of the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland respectively

Then we come to that famous treaty in which the town and port of what was called Bombaine was handed over at the time King Charles II of England married the Portuguese princess. There are all kinds of references to the port of Bombaine and Colombo and that is the whole background I am mentioning these rather irrelevant facts to indicate how that picture of the world completely ceased to exist many hundreds of years ago. After that, there were treaties which were several times confirmed by subsequent treaties. In the treaty by which the town and port of Bombaine was handed over there was a secret clause. It is that secret clause to which reference is often made, as it was under that secret clause that England promised to help and protect Portugal and her colonies in 1661. It might interest the House to know that in spite of these various treaties, a little before the first world war—I think in 1912—there were actually negotiations between England and Germany for a partition of the Portuguese Empire. The negotiations led to other events including the war. But I merely mention this to indicate what value is attached to many of these ancient treaties. Of course, every constitutional lawyer and historian knows that any treaty or any agreement has to be interpreted in terms of the existing circumstances. If for instance, Portugal in terms of that treaty claims today the right to raise an army directly in England, Scotland or Ireland, I have little doubt that the United Kingdom would refuse to acknowledge that fact, although it is there in the treaty. It is absurd therefore, to talk about ancient treaties in these terms.

A treaty has to be seen in terms of the historical developments that have since taken place. So far as independent India is concerned we are in no way bound by any old or modern treaty between other countries to which we have not subscribed, so that in no event are we concerned with the treaty between Portugal and England or other countries. But quite apart from the fact that we are not bound by them, I am trying to indicate that nobody else is bound by such ancient treaties, because they have to be construed only in the light of later developments. Some of the developments have been startling, like the independence of India. The independence of India was never conceived as the independence of a part of India, or as the independence of India excluding certain areas which may be controlled by some authority outside India. It is inconceivable that there can be independence of India with parts of India being held by an outside authority. The House will remember that some 140 years ago even some time after the United States had established itself as a strong nation, there was the fear of interference by European powers in the American continent, and this led to the

famous declaration by President Monroe of the United States. This was in 1823 and the declaration said

'The United States would regard as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition to itself the effort of any European power to interfere with the political system of the American continents.

That is to say any interference by a European country would be an interference with the American political system. I submit that in the existing conditions—I place my case quite clearly—the Portuguese retention of Goa is a continuing interference with the political system established in India today. I shall go a step further and say that any interference by any other power would also be an interference with the political system of India today. That need not be called a particular doctrine. It is just a statement of the present policy. It may be that we are weak and we cannot prevent that interference. But the fact is that any attempt by a foreign power to interfere in any way with India is a thing which India cannot tolerate, and which, subject to her strength she will oppose. That is the broad doctrine I lay down. That applies in the existing conditions to the Portuguese retention of Goa. Therefore, for a variety of reasons like national unity, national security and others I need not go into we cannot possibly accept such interference or such foothold. When a foreign power has that foothold, it means that it is a foothold not of that country but a group of countries with a large number of alliances, and therefore all kinds of possible dangers and entanglements might arise.

I do submit that the case of India in regard to Goa is as clear as any case that I can think of and it should really not require any great arguments to justify it. But various types of arguments are advanced by the Portuguese Government and they are strange. Therefore, I thought I could venture to repeat what I have said. I am not going into the old history of the Portuguese possession of Goa but I think many Members will remember that this history is a very dark chapter of India's history. I mention it because Goa is repeatedly referred to as a shining light of European culture. Opinions may differ on what European culture is. But I should like to put it to Europe and to the countries of Europe whether they regard the culture represented by Goa today or even by Portugal, as European culture at its highest and brightest.

The religious argument has been employed. Hon. Members belonging to the Roman Catholic Church have spoken today in this House, and Catholics have spoken elsewhere. I do not think anything that will happen in Goa is going to affect our broad policy in regard to religious freedom. Hon. Members know how many Catholics have taken part in this struggle for freedom in Goa.

Therefore, let us be clear. From any point of view there can be only one decision of this question and that is, merger with the Indian Union. One hon. Member said the fact of Goa being part of the Indian Union is not an arguable point. We do not go and discuss with the Portuguese Government whether Goa is to be part of the Indian Union or not. The only thing that we can discuss with them—I have no doubt the time will come when it will be discussed—is the manner of doing it, the legal or other steps that have to be taken. Our approach throughout has been, in the case of both French possessions and Portuguese possessions in India, that the other party should recognize this basic fact, and also tell us that *de facto* they are part of India. We do not mind if there is some delay. We are prepared to accommodate the other Government concerned in these matters. But, where the basic right is denied, there is no question of argument. Any argument or any negotiation with Portugal denying that right is not possible.

There is another point that I wish to make clear. When we say that this is a matter of special concern to the Goans, it does not mean that the matter is of less concern to other Indians. What was said was in connection with certain types of movement and agitation that were going on. The future of Goa, that is, the union of Goa with India, is a matter of special, intense, equal concern to every Indian including every Goan.

We now turn to the question of what are the methods to be employed. Acharya Kripalani put a straight question whether our Government was pledged to non-violence. The answer to that is no, the Government is not. As far as I can conceive, under the existing circumstances, no Government can be pledged to non-violence. If we were pledged to non-violence, surely we would not keep any Army, Navy or Air Force—and possibly not even a police force. One may have an ideal. One may adhere to a policy leading in a certain direction and yet, because of existing circumstances, one cannot give effect to that ideal. We have to wait for it for some time. Acharya Kripalani reminded us of Mahatma Gandhi, saying that the Polish defence against the German armies might also be called satyagraha. Also Gandhiji defended—not only defended but in fact encouraged—the Indian Army going to Kashmir to defend Kashmir against the raiders. It is surprising that a man like Gandhiji, who was absolutely committed to non-violence, should do that kind of thing. So that, even he, in certain circumstances, admitted the right of the State, as it is constituted, to commit violence in defence. The Government of India, obviously cannot give up that right in the existing circumstances. Nevertheless, we have made it perfectly clear that we shall use force only in defence and that we shall not provoke a war or start a war.

or adopt any aggressive tactics in regard to a war. That is our policy.

Some hon. Members opposite talked about a limited war. Goa, no doubt, is small and India is big but the idea of a limited war ignores the fact that the world is much more of a unit today and far more in favour of peace than it ever was before. I do not say that it is impossible for India or some other country to have a limited war. It may yield results too. But whatever wars may have done in the past, in the present state of affairs in the world, no major war can bring the results aimed at. And if we rule out a major war then we have to apply the same argument to a small war. Not that a small war is in essence the same as a big war—it is not—but because a small war helps also to keep up the atmosphere which creates a big war. Here we are fighting against these vague ghosts and phantoms which create the cold war—sometimes real fears, sometimes unreal fears. If we ourselves move away from that level and think in terms of some kind of police action or limited war then we are injuring all the larger causes that we stand for and possibly getting ourselves entangled in great difficulties.

It being admitted and settled that the policy we should pursue is a peaceful policy it is open to us to do much in terms of that peaceful policy. Some Members referred to economic blockade. Obviously it is open to us to pursue these policies, and many others.

Reference has been made to satyagraha—both mass satyagraha and individual satyagraha. The Government of India or any government does not talk of satyagraha in that way. An hon. Member suggested that the Government of India should lead a satyagraha movement into Goa. That if I may say so with all respect, is a misapprehension of the functions of a government, as if a government was an agitational body agitating *for* somebody and *against* somebody else. No government will or can perform satyagraha. When I make that statement, naturally I am thinking of satyagraha in the normal sense. There may be some possible extensions of that move which are beyond my mind at the present moment. But satyagraha as we know it, has been performed within our country against the governmental apparatus. But one government performing it against another government is, for the moment, not clear to me.

Therefore, let us not get things mixed up. Many hon. Members who have had the privilege of being initiated into the satyagraha movement during this Goan campaign probably have had no previous experience of it. They have not understood either the technique or the theory of it, always excluding of course some hon. Members opposite who have that knowledge.

So far as our Government is concerned we have nothing to do with satyagraha. That is the governmental viewpoint. Of course, there may be a public viewpoint, apart from the governmental. A party can do so but the Government cannot conceive of patronizing satyagraha. The most it can do is not to interfere provided the satyagraha is within certain limits provided it is non violent, and provided also that it does not lead to a situation of violence on a big scale. When we disapprove of mass satyagraha, it is not because mass satyagraha itself is wrong but because the manner of conducting it is likely to lead to unforeseeable results and large-scale violence. It may cease to be satyagraha, and may be compelled to turn in some other direction. If there were an adequate number of trained satyagrahis they might perhaps carry on even mass satyagraha in a disciplined way. The House will remember how the archpriest of satyagraha, Mahatmaji put a full stop to the whole movement and said 'Only one man will go now'. Compared to him we are novices. We cannot pretend to understand the important points of satyagraha. But one thing is clear—that if we want a settlement of this question by peaceful methods, we should not do anything which, though peaceful in itself leads to violent methods.

There has been a so-called constitutional statute introduced or sought to be introduced by the Portuguese Government in Goa, Daman and Diu. This is being done evidently to create some impression on the people there. This constitutional statute is a very feeble attempt at local reform. It gives absolutely no authority or power. Briefly speaking the position even after this will be that out of 23 seats in a new council which is formed under a very limited franchise, eleven will be elected that is, less than half. And even this council will not have much power. In fact, all power will remain in the hands of a handful of officials. Oddly enough, the position in Goa not only today but even after this constitutional statute will be that they will have less freedom—if I may use the word in a limited sense—than Goa had under the monarchy in Portugal. They go backwards there. Instead of there being some advance in local reforms, opportunities have actually become more and more restricted.

I would again say that we cannot consider these matters from a purely narrow local or even national point of view. Whether we like it or not, we have become part of an international community which is spread out all over the world. If we remember that, and if we remember that every action of ours has reactions elsewhere, just as other actions have reactions here then perhaps we shall be able to judge these matters in the proper perspective.

NO CHANGE OF BASIC POLICY

THERE IS APPARENTLY a feeling and newspapers in India and abroad have given expression to it, that there has been some marked or sudden change in the Government's policy in regard to Goa. It has been thought by some people, more particularly I think, by some foreign observers, that we have made this change because of foreign opinion or foreign reactions. We are interested in foreign reactions, not only about this matter but about every other matter because we want to be wide awake and not isolated. But I should like to make it clear that whatever decisions we have arrived at have been completely internal decisions in our attempt to follow the policy which we consider right. Nothing that has happened or is being said in foreign countries has in the slightest affected or brought about the decisions we have made.

Next, I would venture to point out to the House that there has been no reversal of policy and that we have consistently followed the same policy throughout and more especially in the course of the last year or more since certain developments took place. It is true, however, that there has been sometimes a variation in emphasis and at some periods a certain laxity in enforcing that policy.

What are the basic elements of our policy in regard to Goa? First, there must be peaceful methods. This is essential unless we give up the whole roots of all our policies and our behaviour. There is nothing I can argue with any person who thinks that the methods employed in regard to Goa must be other than peaceful because we rule out non-peaceful methods completely.

We have taken into consideration not only what happened in Goa but what happened subsequently in the City of Bombay and elsewhere—the indiscipline and the methods other than peaceful which came into evidence and which were the very reverse of the peaceful atmosphere so necessary for a satyagraha. One cannot have it both ways. Either one adopts military methods or police action or one keeps to peaceful methods. To mix them up is to fall between two policies and to be nowhere.

There are many Members in this House whose experience goes back over the last 35 years of India's history. Under a great leadership, the national movement in India pursued peaceful methods, and whenever we slipped—and we slipped sometimes—the movement was stopped utterly and absolutely. It was felt by our leader that we must be true to our principles and to our policy and that nothing would be achieved by indiscipline and by straying from the basic policy in excitement or anger.

Secondly it has throughout been emphasized that there should be no mass entry into Goa or no satyagraha in the form of mass entry. Thirdly we have said the satyagraha should be predominantly the business of Goans. That was first stated about a year ago but gradually a number of non-Goan Indians, a relatively small number to begin with, have participated in the groups that have gone to Goa. The groups were small and the Indians were relatively few. It is true we may be criticized for having allowed this thing to continue, but I must say there was no vital principle involved. If we are asked why we did not deny to non-Goan Indians the right to join it, I would say Indians have every right to work for the freedom of Goa or for that matter for the freedom of the North Pole if they want to. Why should I impose a ban? If such work comes in the way of my policy I might stop it for that reason, but I do not wish to deny the right in theory. We thought that the participation of non-Goan Indians in the so-called satyagraha in any large numbers would produce wrong results and therefore, we expressed ourselves against it. When one or two Indians went in, it was not a matter of great significance. In July the number of Indians increased somewhat. Early in August, a week before August 15 we were in some doubt as to what action, if any we should take, because we saw some developments which were not in keeping with the policy we had laid down. The policy all along even at the end of July had been that there should be no mass entry and the emphasis should be on Goans and not Indians, though there was no strict and rigid barrier against individual Indians going there. But the new developments caused us much concern. We knew that large numbers of enthusiastic countrymen and countrywomen of ours were going to Goa in a spirit of self-sacrifice and a desire to help in the freedom of Goa. Whatever our policy and theirs, there was no question of our not appreciating the individual motives of the people who went there. That is why on the morning of August 15 when I was speaking from the ramparts of the Red Fort here I said that my mind and heart were full of thoughts for those people on the Goa border. My mind was full of what happened and what might happen to our people doing a brave act, facing a danger. Whether I agree or disagree with their motives, my mind and heart will go out to brave men facing danger for a cause. But I was concerned about the consequences. We may perhaps be justifiably asked why we allowed matters to go thus far on August 15. I quite frankly say that my mind was not clear. I was not clear whether having gone that far we should suddenly ask these people who had collected or were collecting in large numbers for mass entry, not to do so. After the happenings of August 15 in Goa all of us had to give a great deal of intense thought to this position and as a result of that very careful

and anxious consideration, we came to the conclusion that we must lay stress on our basic policies in regard to Goa and not allow any doubt about that policy. It may be justifiably said against us that we were not quite clear not about the basic policy but about certain developments, and certain minor aspects of that policy and therefore the people were in doubt as to our policy. We felt that it was not right or fair to the public or to ourselves that we should leave scope for the slightest doubt, that no satyagraha, even to the conclusion in the present context, It is obvious that I am not speaking on grounds of principle but practical considerations. After a big-scale effort had been made on August 15 going back immediately to individual efforts would have no particular meaning, moral or physical. Hon. Members may have read in the newspapers how the Portuguese have started describing some people as violent satyagrahis. I do not know anything about them. I believe there are some small groups in Goa itself which may have indulged in acts of sabotage like damaging a small bridge and so on.

I am asked, "What is the alternative to this kind of satyagraha?" In answer I shall also ask "What exactly do you seek to achieve by the particular methods that you may suggest?" Obviously problems of this kind do not yield themselves to some sudden, magic remedy. But, as the House knows, we have taken a large number of measures, economic, financial and other which I have no doubt, are effective to a considerable extent. Their effectiveness grows with other measures that we may take. These are the normal ways of approaching this problem. Remember that in our consideration of the entire question we are ruling out what is called military or police action. But I have no doubt in my mind that the steps we take must necessarily end in the liberation of Goa from the Portuguese. I cannot fix a date, even as no person can fix a date for the solution of any of the world's problems, such as Germany the Far East, Indo-China or Africa. The main thing is that the policies pursued should be on the right lines. Right conduct must necessarily lead to right results, just as wrong conduct leads to evil results.

To Goa, we have a remarkable picture of the sixteenth century facing the twentieth century of a decadent colonialism facing a resurgent Asia, of a free and independent India being affronted and insulted by the Portuguese authorities, of in fact, Portugal functioning in a way which, to any thinking person, is so amazing in its incongruity in the modern world that he is a little taken aback. We have watched with interest the reactions of foreign countries to what is happening in Goa. Goa is a symbol of decadent colonialism trying to hold on. It is something more. It has become an acid test by which we can judge of the policies of other countries. Does any

country actively support or encourage Portuguese intransigence in Goa? If so, we know broadly speaking where that country stands in world affairs. Or are there any countries that, without positively and actively encouraging Lisbon, passively support or acquiesce in this position? We know how they stand. And lastly do those other countries realize that Portuguese domination in Goa cannot and must not continue not only for normal reasons and causes, but because it has become an affront to civilized humanity more especially after the brutal and uncivilized behaviour of the Portuguese authorities there?

I submit therefore to this House that the policy which the Government has laid down in regard to Goa is not only a sound policy but the only possible policy. Minor variations may take place from time to time, but the major roots of that policy must hold good. I submit that this policy fits in with our larger world policy as well as our national outlook, and is a policy which will yield results too. It is not a mere idealistic policy, but a practical policy. I trust, therefore that any doubts about this matter would be removed from the minds of not only Members here but those outside, and they will realize that we have followed a consistent policy through this last year. We probably allowed the situation to drift a little, but the moment we saw that it was taking us in a wrong direction, we pulled ourselves up. I think the country and the Government have shown courage in this matter to ourselves and to the world. I should like it to be clearly understood by people outside India that this does not mean the slightest slackening by our Government in regard to Goa. All the world knows, and I am quite certain that people in Portugal know that it is inevitable that Goa has to come to India. If in the normal course this takes a little time, it does not matter much. There are many problems which take time. As the House knows, there are bits of Portuguese dominated territory in China and in Indonesia. The People's Government of China does not get terribly excited about Macao being Portuguese. Macao will go to them there is no doubt about it. But they do not get excited. They are not weak in their military power. It is a small matter for them if they choose to take it, but they do not choose to take it because of their larger policies. It would not matter normally to us if Goa's coming to us takes a little more time, but the course of events has made Goa an important and vital issue. To some extent the iron has entered our souls over this issue. We have therefore to deal with it with all the wisdom and strength that we possess and not allow it to become a static question. I hope that people in other countries will realize this.

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INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

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FROM THE VERY OUTSET our policy both at home and abroad has been to solve all problems peacefully. If we ourselves act against that policy we would be regarded as deceitful hypocrites. It would be said that we say one thing and do another. If it is proved that we have no principles and that we are opportunists, what would be the result? The high reputation that we enjoy in the world today and the weight that our words carry are due to the fact that we adhere to and honour our principles. If we suddenly reverse our policy the world will get an opportunity to say that we are deceitful that we indulge in tall talk but that when the time for action comes, we swing to whichever side is winning and at the crucial hour fail miserably.

Mr. Deshpande said that most of the people who offered satyagraha believed or were told that they would be backed by the Indian Army. You will realize that if that be the position the whole complexion of satyagraha is changed. What is satyagraha? It is the fight of the spirit of man against material might. It is a weapon which is very powerful and effective. It causes the enemy to retreat. The satyagrahi is even prepared to lay down his life. The philosophy of satyagraha makes the people brave and courageous and demoralizes the opponent. But when the satyagrahis know that they are backed by the army the nature of the entire situation changes and it no longer remains satyagraha.

Mr. Chatterjee remarked that the fight for Goa could be finished in a day or two perhaps in a few hours. It is true that if there were a fight, it would be over in two or three days, irrespective of whether the Portuguese in Goa have 12,000 or 24,000 troops. It is possible that they may inflict still further sufferings on the people whom they are holding down. It has been stated by some Members opposite that after all it will be a minor fight, and that since Goa is small it will be a petty affair. I want to emphasize, however, that it is a matter of principle. If the points of the Opposition Members were conceded it would boil down to this that the big countries of the world have a right to bring the smaller countries under their sway. That is a wrong stand. Once we accept the position that we can use the army for the solution of our problems, we cannot deny the same right to other countries. It is a question of principle.

When our decision was announced it caused surprise to some people in the beginning. Tandonji has advised us to adopt a middle course between the stand taken by me and that taken by other persons. As far as I think, we have not changed our view to any

great extent, though I concede that even a small change on certain occasions appears to be big. The fact is that the events, the newspaper reports and the statements made by several people had created such an atmosphere in the country that what we said went against that prevailing atmosphere. The people were surprised on that account and not because of our decision itself, for it was in no way against our earlier stand. The people were surprised and some of them were even shocked but those who thought over it coolly came to the conclusion that it was a right and correct decision. Several Members of the parties opposite also came to this conclusion. They were, however, not prepared to admit it publicly.

Supposing the Government had maintained the previous stand, that is, allowed satyagraha to be offered by a few people from time to time, what would have been the result? What would have those people done and how long would they have continued it? Several such questions would have confronted us. The question whether our army should also follow in their wake in any given case or circumstances would also have arisen.

Some people have repeatedly demanded that we should give an ultimatum and fix a target date. We are at this time faced with several great problems in the world—the problems of Taiwan, of Indo-China, of Germany and of Morocco. I am not aware if an ultimatum of that kind has been given anywhere. And who should deliver it to whom and what does an ultimatum signify? Ultimately we come round to the proposition that if the ultimatum is not complied with, the army has to be sent. It would then mean that the satyagraha was being used as a screen and there was talk of military action and police action behind it. The question also arises what after all is satyagraha? I have stated elsewhere that the ideology of satyagraha is dynamic, but that sufficient research has not been conducted into its nature. How far can it go and what are the limits beyond which it cannot go? I for one cannot answer that question. I can, however, say that at any rate it is not appropriate at the present moment and that it would be a blunder to embark on it at this juncture, because it would be harmful for the country.

You should also take into account the policy and methods followed by Dr. Salazar and his Government keeping them in view you should consider how far satyagraha against such a Government and such a person can prove successful. Hence I would respectfully submit that the decision was taken by us after great deliberation. I repeat that there is no difference between our previous policy and the present policy unless it be a very minor difference in emphasis only. Previously we were lax, but later on we thought that this laxity should be ended. Mr. Chatterjee has remarked that

we have shown weakness and cowardice and that we did not have the courage to send our army there. I wish to state that the decision taken by us called for much greater mental courage.

THE CLAIM OF RIGHT OF PASSAGE

THE QUESTION OF GOA is a subject which has caused us much trouble and many headaches. It may cause us many headaches in the future because of the extraordinary attitude of the Portuguese Government who live so apart from the modern world and modern thinking that it is difficult even to talk to them. Of course we do not talk, because our contacts with the Portuguese Government have been cut off. But when we did try to talk to them, it was like talking to somebody in the middle ages. However ancient India may be, India thinks in the modern age and acts in the modern age. As some of the questions today indicated Portugal had discovered a kind of a pen friend in the President of Pakistan who has recently been visiting it and they are supporting each other in various matters.

In spite of all this, in spite of the amazing anachronism of Goa being still a colonial possession, Goa is not something separate from us, but is right in the middle of India. The House knows how we have patiently tried to find a solution to this problem and how we have faced great difficulties. The difficulties are still there, but we have refused to talk of forcible or military methods. Many Members of the House have thought, and may still think, that we have been acting weakly and that we must be much more positive in dealing with this vital issue. I shall not go into that matter at the present moment. What I am pointing out is that we have to follow a policy which we consider to be an integrated one. We cannot do something in respect of Goa which, in fact, goes against our policy somewhere else. We venture to say in the United Nations and elsewhere that all problems should be solved peacefully. Therefore it will not be appropriate for us to talk in terms of military measures in regard to a particular issue because it may be in our interest to do so. Everyone knows that, from a military point of view, Goa is not a problem. As the President of Portugal has himself said, India can take Goa in a day or two, but we have not done so.

Portugal went, on a slightly allied issue, to the International Court of Justice at The Hague. This is about Nagar Haveli. Portugal is asking for a right of passage through India, to cross Indian territory to those enclaves which used to be in Portuguese possession, but which liberated themselves about three years ago and which are now more or less independent. They are not parts of the Union of India. No doubt, they want to be, but we have not accepted them because we want them to come to us through normal processes. I did not wish to isolate Nagar Haveli from the problem of the other Portuguese territories in India. When that problem is settled, we shall take the normal steps about Nagar Haveli.

This matter about a right of passage having been taken by the Portuguese Government to the International Court of Justice we are contesting their claim there. We put forward six preliminary objections to the hearing of the Portuguese claim in the International Court of Justice. About a week or ten days ago, the International Court of Justice gave their decision in regard to four of these preliminary objections, rejecting them and decided that, in regard to two of the preliminary objections, they would consider them further at the time of the final hearing of this case. Naturally I do not wish to discuss the judgement of the International Court of Justice. It does not deal with the merits of the case. It deals with the right of the International Court of Justice to hear the case. They said they had a right to hear it.

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THE WORLD COURT decided many things which are not very clear to me. But the basic thing is that they decided first of all in favour of India, that India acted quite correctly in this matter. Secondly that the Portuguese cannot send anyone to those enclaves without the permission of the Government of India. In other words, whatever the reasoning, they stabilized the present position there and said it cannot change without the permission of the Government of India. We are quite satisfied about that.

WE HAVE PREFERRED WAITING

I would like to say a word about Goa. Both because of internal developments and the developments in Africa, the question of Goa or rather of Portuguese colonial possessions has become one of the urgent issues. We have little evidence of what is happening in the Portuguese possessions in Africa, but what we have shows that the Portuguese Government has been treating the people there with brutal severity. These, of course, have their effect on Goa. Internally—I speak moderately on the subject—I do not think that the present state of affairs in Goa, that is to say Goa remaining under Portuguese domination, can continue for long. I cannot fix a date, obviously. All these questions are so tied up with the world situation that we have preferred waiting and exercising some patience even though it has been rather painful to do so. But we have always been clear in our minds that the freedom of India cannot be complete till Goa becomes part and parcel of India.

THE ROMANCE OF MIGRATION

I ENTIRELY AGREE with any criticism that may be made that we have not been able to do anything substantial in regard to Indians in the British Commonwealth. This is an old and painful subject. Something has been done in Canada and elsewhere, but nothing substantial has yet been done. The odd thing is that this subject becomes more and more difficult to deal with, and not easier. Indians have gone to the British Colonies and Dominions in the past in various capacities, as merchants, traders, workers, indentured labourers and the rest.

The history of Indian emigration abroad, including that of the humblest of those who went from India, reads almost like a romance. How these Indians went abroad! Not even citizens of a free country working under all possible disadvantages, yet they made good wherever they went. They worked hard for themselves, and for the country of their adoption. They made good themselves, and the country they had gone to also profited.

It is a romance and it is something which India can be proud of. May I say that most of those poor indentured labourers who went out under unhappy conditions, through their labour gradually worked their way up? It is also true that India is a country which in spite of everything has abounding vitality and spreads abroad. It rather frightens our neighbour countries just as China which is also a country with abounding vitality and an abounding population. We spread. We tend to overwhelm others both by virtue of our numbers, and sometimes by virtue of the economic position we might develop there.

That naturally frightens others who may not have that vitality in them, and they want to protect themselves against it. Questions then arise of vested interests which India has developed or Indians have developed there. Such questions have arisen and while on the one hand we are obviously intent on protecting the interests of Indians abroad on the other hand we cannot protect any vested

interests which injure the cause of the country they are in. There is that difficulty. Nevertheless undoubtedly we shall try to do our best to protect all legitimate interests.

ISSUE OF CITIZENSHIP

MAY I APOLOGIZE to the House for not dealing with so many matters that have been mentioned especially by my honourable friend Seth Govinddas about Indians overseas? I should like the House to consider this question again bearing in mind that it is not a question of the External Affairs Department or this House turning a switch this way or that way and everything becoming all right. It is far more complicated than that. When the time comes, if necessary we are prepared to switch over to this or that policy, provided we are firmly convinced that it is for the good of the country.

As for Indians overseas, I shall just say one or two words. Many of these difficulties continue and they are likely to continue. I am sorry to say that we do not get much help from the British Colonial Office. Not only do we not get much help but it astonishes me, used as I am to the delays of the Government of India—and they are pretty remarkable—how slow the British Colonial Office moves. Indeed it is a revelation.

I remember that we sent them some urgent letters and also reminders by cable. It took us exactly ten months to get a reply. The matter was about sending a deputation to some of the British Colonies just to see Indians there. It was a very simple matter with no great principle involved but still it took them ten months to reply and during that period events happened and nothing could be done. So we come up against this bureaucratic red tape in all these offices, here as well as there.

But the real difficulty is the question of citizenship. Now these Indians abroad—what are they? Are they Indian citizens? Are they going to be citizens of India or not? If they are not, then our interest in them becomes cultural and humanitarian not political. That interest, of course remains. For instance, take Indians in Fiji or Mauritius. Are they going to retain their nationality or will they become Fiji nationals or Mauritians? The same question arises

in regard to Indians in Burma and Ceylon. It is a difficult question. This House wants to treat them as Indians and, in the same breath, wants complete franchise for them in the countries where they are living. Of course, the two things do not go together. Either they get franchise as nationals of the other country or you treat them as Indians minus the franchise and ask for them the most favoured treatment given to an alien.

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AN HON. MEMBER referred to Indians abroad, in Burma, in East Africa and in Mauritius. In some places Indians have to suffer some disabilities. I think in Burma there is no special disability except the one common factor in many places about facilities for sending money which are not easily granted. Now we ourselves do not grant them easily to others. So we cannot very well complain. Most of these countries are in difficulties about foreign exchange and we can hardly call upon them to adopt a policy in regard to Indians which they are not adopting for their own people.

The major fact about Indians abroad is that they spread out in the past because they were, to some extent, adventurous people, whether they were business people or others or whether they went in search of employment. When large numbers of people go to another country a certain problem arises. In every country there is the question of unemployment to tackle. The tendency of any country is to reserve its employment for its own nationals. It is difficult to criticize that tendency. Indians abroad, therefore, get into some difficulties. The way we look at the problem is this: where the country has to face difficulties, we advise our countrymen to put up with those difficulties. We cannot ask for special privileges. But, where any unfair treatment is given to our countrymen then of course, we protest. But even then we protest in a friendly way we do not make threats. We refuse to do that. That is not the way to deal with such matters.

Again, we have left it to Indians abroad whether they are to continue to remain Indian nationals or to adopt the nationality of whichever country they live in. It is entirely for them to decide. If they remain Indian nationals then all that they can claim abroad is favoured alien treatment. They become aliens and they should get as good a treatment as any other aliens get. They cannot vote because, obviously, aliens have no right to vote. But they have all the civic privileges they have the privileges of friendly aliens. On

the other hand, if they adopted the nationality of the country then they should be treated as citizens with all the rights of citizenship. In which case we have no concern with them. Sentimental concern creeth is, but politically they cease to be Indian nationals.

There is, again, the problem of Indian nationals abroad. Admittedly many of the Indian nationals who have gone to other countries with visas have come back. If Indian nationals who went to these countries for a period are asked to go back we cannot object. We can suggest to the countries concerned to do this in a phased way and not to push too many people out. But they are people with visas and the Governments have the right not to renew the visas. We ask the Governments to exercise that right in a manner causing the least inconvenience and injury to the people concerned.

There are the other people who have been in countries like Ceylon for 30, 40, 50 or 60 years, whatever the period may be, whom we do not consider our nationals. They have settled down in these countries and many of them have been born there. So far as we are concerned, strictly legally and constitutionally it is none of our problem. They are not our nationals. But we do not take up that particular attitude, although it is the correct attitude. For we are interested in their welfare and we are interested in finding a solution because there is a history behind this.

RIGHT POLICY FOR THE SETTLERS

OUR POLICY in regard to Indians in Africa, or indeed in any part of the world, has been repeatedly and clearly stated. We have to be, and we are, deeply interested in Indians abroad being able to live their lives with self respect and with decency. Certainly we do not like any country to ill-treat Indian citizens or Indian nationals or to give them a place which is lower than that of others.

We know what is happening in South Africa where they are so ill-treated. They are not Indian nationals but they are people of Indian descent. Not only India and other countries in Asia and Africa, but most other countries too have declared themselves in the United Nations and elsewhere against South Africa's racial policy. But the fact remains that in spite of these declarations there has been no change in that policy: in fact things have become a little worse there.

Generally our policy has been clearly stated that Indians abroad—I am not talking of Indians in South Africa, but of people who go to East Africa or other places—should always give primary consideration to the interests of the people of those countries they should never allow themselves to be placed in a position of exploiting the people of those countries and they should be friendly to the people of those countries, co-operate with them and help them, while maintaining their own dignity and self respect. That is not only a policy which I consider right, but the only practical policy because, if Indians do not do that abroad, they will be ground between the two mill-stones of the local population and the foreign elements from Europe and elsewhere. Normally Indians are the only persons in some of those countries who work more or less on the level of the foreign settlers in trade, commerce etc., the local people not having, generally speaking reached that standard. Their interests are constantly coming into conflict with the interests of the foreign settlers. Now if Indians come into conflict with the local people too, their position will become very difficult. They simply get crushed and pushed out. So even from the purely opportunist point of view that is the only policy they can pursue.

It is not for opportunism alone that we have stated this policy. There is a larger approach. We think that in the long or the short run, this is the only right policy and that Indian settlers should associate themselves as closely as possible with the interests of the people of the country they have adopted, and never make it appear or to function in a way that they become an exploiting agency there. In fact, we have gone thus far and said "If you cannot be, and if you are not, friendly to the people of that country come back to India and not spoil the fair name of India."

HISTORIC DECISION

THREE DAYS AGO I returned to Delhi after attending the meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. It is right that I should report to the nation about this meeting which resulted in a fateful and historic decision. That decision will have to be placed before the Constituent Assembly for their approval. It will also be considered by the All India Congress Committee which has been the torch-bearer of India's freedom these many years. It is for these great and representative organizations to give the final verdict on what was done by me and others in London last month.

You have already read the declaration embodying the conclusions reached by the London meeting. The impression that I have gathered since my return is that the vast majority of our people have welcomed the decision, though there are some who have criticized in strong language what I did and have even called it a great blunder and "an outrage on the national sentiments of the Indian people". During a fairly long career in India's service I have often been accused of errors and mistakes, but I have never yet been charged with doing anything which was against the honour and self respect of India or her people. It is a serious matter therefore, if even a few persons, whose opinions I value, should consider that I have committed an outrage.

I want to tell you that I have not the least doubt in my mind that I have adhered in letter and spirit to every pledge that I in common with millions of my countrymen, have taken in regard to the independence of India during the past twenty years and more. I am convinced that far from injuring the honour or interest of India, the action I took in London has kept that honour bright and shining and enhanced her position in the world.

Though the critics are few I would rather address myself to them than to the much larger number of my people who have already expressed their approval. I can only imagine that these critics are labouring under some misapprehension, or are under the impression that something else has been done in secret which

has not seen the light of day I wish to say that nothing has been done in secret and that no commitments of any kind limiting our sovereignty or our internal or external policy have been made, whether in the political or economic or military spheres. Our foreign policy has often been declared by me to be one of working for peace and friendship with all countries and of avoiding alignments with power blocs. That remains the keystone of our policy still. We stand for the freedom of suppressed nationalities and for the ending of racial discrimination. I am convinced that the Sovereign Indian Republic, freely associating herself with the other countries of the Commonwealth, will be completely free to follow this policy perhaps in an even greater measure and with greater influence than before.

We took a pledge long ago to achieve Purna Swaraj (complete independence). We have achieved it. Does a nation lose its independence by an alliance with another country? Alliances normally mean mutual commitments. The free association of sovereign Commonwealth nations does not involve such commitments. Its very strength lies in its flexibility and its complete freedom. It is well known that it is open to any member nation to go out of the Commonwealth if it so chooses.

It must be remembered that the Commonwealth is not a super State in any sense of the term. We have agreed to consider the King as the symbolic head of this free association. But the King has no function attached to that status in the Commonwealth. As far as the Constitution of India is concerned the King has no place and we shall owe no allegiance to him.

I have naturally looked to the interests of India, for that is my first duty. I have always conceived that duty in terms of the larger good of the world. That is the lesson that our Master taught us and he told us also to pursue the ways of peace and of friendship with others, always maintaining the freedom and dignity of India. The world is full of strife today and disaster looms on the horizon. In men's hearts there is hatred and fear and suspicion which cloud their vision. Every step, therefore, which leads to a lessening of this tension in the world should be a welcome step. I think it is a good augury for the future that the old conflict between India and England should be resolved in this friendly way which is honourable to both countries. There are too many disruptive forces in the world for us to throw our weight in favour of further disruption and any opportunity that offers itself to heal old wounds and to further the cause of co-operation should be welcomed.

I know that much is being done in parts of the Commonwealth which is exceedingly distasteful to us and against which we have struggled in the past. That is a matter to be dealt with by us as

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

a sovereign nation. Let us not mix things up which should be kept separate.

It has been India's privilege in the past to be a meeting place for many cultures. It may be her privilege in the present and the future to be a bridge to join warring factions and to help in maintaining that most urgent thing of today and the future—the peace of the world. It is in the belief that India could more effectively pursue this policy of encouraging peace and freedom and of lessening the bitter hatreds and tensions in the world that I willingly agreed to the London agreement. I associated myself with the decisions taken in London at the Prime Ministers' meeting in the full belief that they were the right decisions for our country and for the world. I trust that the Indian people will also view them in that light and accept them in a manner worthy of the stature and culture of India and with full faith in our future. Let us not waste our energy at this critical moment in the world's history over empty debates, but rather let us concentrate on the urgent tasks of today so that India may be great and strong and in a position to play a beneficent part in Asia and the world.

A NEW TYPE OF ASSOCIATION

I HAVE the honour to move the following motion
 “Resolved that this Assembly do hereby ratify the declaration, agreed to by the Prime Minister of India, on the continued membership of India in the Commonwealth of Nations, as set out in the official statement issued at the conclusion of the Conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London on April 19 1949

All the hon. Members have been supplied with copies of this declaration and so I shall not read it over again. I shall merely point out very briefly some salient features of this declaration. It is a short and simple document in four paragraphs. The first paragraph, it will be noticed deals with the present position in law. It refers to the British Commonwealth of Nations and to the fact that the people in this Commonwealth owe a common allegiance to the Crown. That in law is the present position.

Speech in the Constituent Assembly while moving that the decision to continue in the Commonwealth of Nations be ratified May 16, 1949

The next paragraph of this declaration states that the Government of India have informed the Governments of the other Commonwealth countries that India is soon going to be a Sovereign Independent Republic further that they desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations accepting the King as a symbol of the free association.

The third paragraph says that the other Commonwealth countries accept this and the fourth paragraph ends by saying that all these countries remain united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth of Nations. You will notice that while in the first paragraph this is referred to as the British Commonwealth of Nations, in the subsequent paragraph it is referred to only as the Commonwealth of Nations. Further you will notice that while in the first paragraph there is the question of allegiance to the Crown which exists at present, this question does not arise later because India by becoming a Republic goes outside the Crown area completely. There is a reference, in connection with the Commonwealth, to the King as the symbol of that association. Observe that the reference is to the King and not to the Crown. It is a small matter but it has a certain significance. But the point is this that in so far as the Republic of India is concerned, her Constitution and her working are concerned, she has nothing to do with any external authority with any king, and none of her subjects owe any allegiance to the King or any other external authority. The Republic may however agree to associate herself with certain other countries that happen to be monarchies or whatever they choose to be. This declaration, therefore, states that this new Republic of India completely sovereign and owing no allegiance to the King as the other Commonwealth countries do owe, will, nevertheless, be a full member of the Commonwealth and she agrees that the King will be recognized as a symbol of this free partnership or rather association.

I am placing the declaration before this honourable House for its approval. Beyond this approval, there is no question of any law being framed in accordance with it. There is no law behind the Commonwealth. It has not even the formality which normally accompanies treaties. It is an agreement by free will, to be terminated by free will. Therefore, there will be no further legislation or law if the House approves of this. In this particular declaration nothing very much is said about the position of the King, except that he will be a symbol. It has been made perfectly clear that the King has no functions at all. He has a certain status. The Commonwealth itself, as such, is not a body if I may say so it has no organization through which to function and the King also can have no functions.

Now some consequences flow from this. Apart from certain friendly approaches to one another apart from a desire to

co-operate, which will always be conditioned by each party deciding on the measure of co-operation and following its own policy there is no obligation. There is hardly any obligation in the nature of commitments. But an attempt has been made to produce something which is entirely novel, and I can very well understand lawyers on the one hand feeling somewhat uncomfortable about a thing for which they can find no precedent or parallel. There may also be others who feel that behind this there may be something which they cannot quite understand, something risky something dangerous, because the thing is so simple on the face of it. That kind of difficulty may arise in people's minds. What I have stated elsewhere I should like to repeat. There is absolutely nothing behind this except what is placed before this House.

I might clear up one or two matters which are not mentioned in this declaration. One of these, as I have said, is that the King has no functions at all. This was cleared up in the course of our proceedings. It has, no doubt, been recorded in the minutes of the Conference in London. Another point was that one of the objects of this kind of Commonwealth association is now to create a status which is something between being completely foreign and being of one nationality. Obviously the Commonwealth countries belong to different nations. They are different nationalities. Normally either you have a common nationality or you are foreign. There is no intermediate stage. Up till now in this Commonwealth or the British Commonwealth of Nations, there was a binding link which was allegiance to the King. With that link, therefore, there was common nationality in a sense and in a broad way. That snaps and ends when we become a Republic, and if we should desire to give a certain preference or a certain privilege to any one of these countries, we would normally be able to do so through what is called the 'most favoured nation clause'. Otherwise every country would be as much foreign as any other country. We want to take away that foreignness, keeping in our own hands what if any privileges or preferences we can give to another country. That is a matter entirely for two countries to decide by treaty or arrangement, so that we create a new state of affairs—or we try to create it—in which countries, although in a sense foreign, are, nevertheless, not completely foreign. I do not quite know how we shall proceed to deal with this matter at a later stage. It is for the House to decide how to deal with Commonwealth countries, should we so choose, in regard to certain preferences or privileges. What they are to be of course we shall in each case judge ourselves. Apart from these facts, nothing has been decided in secret or otherwise which has not been put before the public.

The House will remember that there was some talk at one stage of a Commonwealth citizenship. Now it was difficult to understand what the status of Commonwealth citizenship might be except that it meant that its members were not completely foreign to one another. That no foreignness remains, but I think it is as well that we left off talking about something vague, which could not be surely defined. The other fact also remains, as I have just stated, the fact that we should take the right to ourselves, if we so choose, to exercise it at any time to enter into treaties or arrangements with Commonwealth countries assuring us of certain mutual privileges and preferences.

I have briefly placed before the House this document. It is a simple document and yet the House is fully aware that it is a highly important document or rather what it contains is of great and historic significance. I went to this Conference some weeks ago as the representative of India. I had, of course, consulted my colleagues here previously because it was a great responsibility and no man is big enough to shoulder that responsibility by himself when the future of India is at stake. For many months past we had often consulted one another, consulted great and representative organisations, consulted many members of this House. Nevertheless, when I went, I carried this great responsibility and I felt the burden of it. I had able colleagues to advise me, but I was the sole representative of India and in a sense the future of India for the moment was so my keeping. I was alone in that sense and yet not quite alone, because, as I travelled through the air and as I sat there at the conference table, the ghosts of many yesterdays of my life surrounded me and brought up picture after picture before me, sentinels and guardians keeping watch over me, telling me perhaps not to trip and not to forget them. I remembered, as many hon. Members might remember that day nineteen years ago when we took a pledge for the first time on the bank of the river Ravi, at the midnight hour on 26th January and how we took that oft repeated pledge year after year in spite of difficulty and obstruction, and finally I remembered that day when, standing at this very place, I placed a resolution before this House. That was one of the earliest resolutions placed before this honourable House, a resolution that is known as the Objectives Resolution. Two years and five months have elapsed since that happened. In that Resolution we defined more or less the type of free Government or Republic that we were going to have. Later in another place and on a famous occasion, this subject also came up that was at the Jaipur session of the Congress because not only my mind, but many minds were struggling with this problem, trying to find a way out that was in keeping with the honour and dignity and independence of India.

and yet also in keeping with the changing world and with the facts as they were. What we want is something that would advance the cause of India, something that would advance the cause of peace in the world and yet something which would be strictly and absolutely true to every single pledge that we had taken. It was clear to me that whatever the advantages might be of any association with the Commonwealth or with any other group, no single advantage however great, could be purchased by giving up a single iota of our pledges, because no country can make progress by playing fast and loose with the principles which it has declared. So during these months we had thought and we had discussed amongst ourselves and I carried all this advice with me. May I read to you perhaps, just to refresh your minds, the Resolution passed at the Jaipur session of the Congress? It might be of interest to you and I would beg of you to consider the very wording of this Resolution.

In view of the attainment of complete independence and the establishment of the Republic of India which will symbolize independence and give to India the status among the nations of the world that is her rightful due, her present association with the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth of Nations will necessarily have to change. India, however desires to maintain all such links with other countries as do not come in the way of her freedom of action and independence and the Congress would welcome her free association with the independent nations of the Commonwealth for their common weal and the promotion of world peace."

You will observe that the last few lines of this Resolution are almost identical with the lines of the declaration of London.

I went there guided and controlled by all our past pledges, ultimately guided and controlled by the Resolution of this Honourable House by the Objectives Resolution and all that had happened subsequently also by the mandate given to me by the All India Congress Committee in that Resolution. And I stand before you to say with all humility that I have fulfilled the mandate to the letter. All of us have during these many years past been through the valley of the shadow we have passed our lives in opposition, in struggle and sometimes in failure and sometimes in success, and most of us are haunted by those dreams and visions of old days and those hopes that filled us and the frustrations that often followed those hopes yet we have seen that even from that prickly thorn of frustration and despair we have been able to pick the rose of fulfilment.

Let us not be led away by considering the situation in terms of events which are no longer here. You will see that the Resolution of the Congress that I have read out says that because India becomes

a Republic, the association of India with the Commonwealth must, of course, change. Further it says that free association may continue subject only to our complete freedom being assured. Now that is exactly what has been attempted in this declaration of London. I ask you or any hon. Member to point out in what way the freedom, the independence of India, has been limited in the slightest. I do not think it has been. In fact, the greatest stress has been laid not only on the independence of India, but on the independence of each individual nation in the Commonwealth.

I am often asked how we can join a Commonwealth in which there is racial discrimination, in which there are other things happening to which we object. That, I think, is a fair question and it is a matter which must necessarily give us some trouble in our thinking. Nevertheless, it is a question which does not really arise. That is to say when we have entered into an alliance with a nation or a group of nations, it does not mean that we accept their policies, and it does not mean that we commit ourselves in any way to something that they may do. In fact, this House knows that we are carrying on at the present moment a struggle, or our countrymen are carrying on a struggle, in regard to racial discrimination in various parts of the world.

The House knows that in the last few years one of the major questions before the United Nations, at the instance of India, has been the question of Indians in South Africa. May I if the House will permit me, for a moment refer to an event which took place yesterday that is, the passing of the resolution at the General Assembly of the United Nations, and express my appreciation and my Government's appreciation of the way our delegation has functioned in this matter and our appreciation of all those nations of the United Nations, almost all, in fact all barring South Africa, which finally supported the attitude of India? One of the pillars of our foreign policy repeatedly stated, is to fight against racial discrimination, to fight for the freedom of suppressed nationalities. Are we compromising on that issue by remaining in the Commonwealth? We have been fighting on the South African Indian issue and on other issues even though we have thus far been a Dominion of the Commonwealth. It was a dangerous thing for us to bring that matter within the purview of the Commonwealth. Because then the very thing to which you and I object might have taken place. That is, the Commonwealth might have been considered as some kind of a superior body which sometimes acts as a tribunal, or judges, or in a sense supervises the activities of its member nations. That certainly would have meant a diminution in our independence and sovereignty if we had once accepted that principle. Therefore, we were not prepared and we are not prepared

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

independent. Economically we are as independent as independent nations can be. Nobody can be hundred per cent independent in the sense of absolute lack of interdependence. India has to depend on the rest of the world for her trade, for her commerce and for many supplies that she needs, today for her food unfortunately and so many other things. We cannot be absolutely cut off from the world. The House knows that inevitably during the past century and more all kinds of contacts have arisen between England and this country. Many of them were bad, very bad and we have struggled throughout our lives to put an end to them. Many of them were not so bad, many of them may be good and many of them, good or bad, irrespective of what they may be, are there. Here I am the patent example of these contacts, speaking in this honourable House in the English language. No doubt, we are going to change that language for our use, but the fact remains that I am doing so and the fact remains that most other Members who will speak will also do so. The fact remains that we are functioning here under certain rules and regulations for which the model has been the British Constitution. Those laws which exist today have been largely forged by them. Gradually the laws which are good we will keep and those that are bad we will throw away. Any marked change in this without something to follow creates a hiatus which may be harmful. Largely our educational apparatus has been influenced. Largely our military apparatus has been influenced and it has grown up naturally as something entirely the British Army. I am placing before the House certain entirely practical considerations. If we break away completely the result is that without making sufficient provision for carrying on in a different way we have a period of gap. Of course, if we have to pay a price we may choose to do so. If we do not want to pay the price we should not pay it and face the consequences.

But in the present instance, we have to consider not only these minor gains, which I have mentioned to us and to others but, if I may say so, the larger approach to world problems. I felt as I was conferring there in London with the representatives of other Governments that I had necessarily to stick completely and absolutely to the sovereignty and independence of the Indian Republic. I could not possibly compromise on the question of allegiance to any foreign authority. I also felt that in the state of the world today and in the state of India and Asia, it would be a good thing if we approached this question in a friendly spirit which would solve the problems in Asia and elsewhere. I am afraid I am a bad bargainer. I am not used to the ways of the market-place. I hope I am a good fighter and I hope I am a good friend. I am not anything in between, and so when you have to bargain hard for

anything, do not send me. When you want to fight, I hope I shall fight, and when you are decided about a certain thing then you must hold on to it and hold on to it till death but about minor things I think it is far better to gain the goodwill of the other party. It is far more precious to come to a decision in friendship and goodwill than to gain a word here and there at the cost of ill will. In this spirit I approached this problem, and may I say how I felt about others? I would like to pay a tribute to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and also to others there, because they also approached the problem in this spirit, not so much to score a debating point or to change a word here and there in this declaration. It was possible that if I had tried my hardest I might have got a word here and there changed in this declaration, but the essence could not have been changed, because there was nothing more for us to get out of that declaration. I preferred not to do so, because I preferred creating an impression, and I hope the right impression, that the approach of India to these and other problems of the world was not a narrow minded approach. It was an approach based on faith and confidence in her own strength and in her own future and, therefore, it was not afraid of any country coming in the way of that faith, it was not afraid of any word or phrase in any document, but it was based essentially on this that if you approach another country in a friendly way with goodwill and generosity you would be paid back in the same coin and probably the payment would be in an even larger measure. I am quite convinced that in the behaviour of nations to one another as in the case of individuals, only out of goodwill will you get goodwill and no amount of intrigues and cleverness will get you good results out of evil ways. Therefore, I thought that this was an occasion not only to impress England, but others also, in fact to some extent the world, because the matter that was being discussed at 10 Downing Street in London was something that drew the attention of the entire world. It drew the attention of the world, partly because India is a very important country potentially and actually too. And the world was interested to see how this very complicated and difficult problem, which appeared insoluble, could be solved. It could not have been solved if we had left it to eminent lawyers. Lawyers have their uses in life but they should not be spread out everywhere. It could not have been solved by those extreme, narrow minded nationalists who cannot see to the right or to the left, but live in a narrow sphere of their own, and therefore forget that the world is going ahead. It could not be solved by people who live in the past and cannot realize that the present is different from the past and that the future is going to be still more different. It could not be solved by any person who lacked faith in India and in India's destiny.

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I wanted the world to see that India did not lack faith in herself, and that India was prepared to co-operate even with those with whom she had been fighting in the past, provided the basis of co-operation today was honourable, that it was a free basis, a basis which would lead to the good not only of ourselves, but of the world also. That is to say we would not deny that co-operation, simply because in the past we had fought, and thus carry on the trail of our past *karma* along with us. We have to wash out the past with all its evil. I wanted if I may say so in all humility to help in letting the world look at things in a slightly different perspective, or rather try to see how vital questions could be approached and dealt with. We have seen too often in the arguments that go on in the assemblies of the world this bitter approach, this cursing of each other this desire not in the least to understand the other but deliberately to misunderstand the other and to make clever points. It may be a satisfying performance for some of us on occasions to make clever points and be applauded by our people or by some other people. But in the state of the world today it is a poor thing for any responsible person to do, when we live on the verge of catastrophic wars, when national passions are roused and when even a casually spoken word might make all the difference.

Some people have thought that by our joining or continuing to remain in the Commonwealth of Nations we are drifting away from our neighbours in Asia, or that it has become more difficult for us to co-operate with other great countries in the world. But I think it is easier for us to develop closer relations with other countries while we are in the Commonwealth than it might have been otherwise. This is rather a peculiar thing to say. Nevertheless I say it, and I have given a great deal of thought to this matter. The Commonwealth does not come in the way of our co-operation and friendship with other countries. Ultimately we shall have to decide and ultimately the decision will depend on our own strength. If we dissociate ourselves completely from the Commonwealth then for the moment we are completely isolated. We cannot remain completely isolated, and so inevitably by stress of circumstances, we have to incline in some direction or other. But that inclination in some direction or other will necessarily be a basis of give and-take. It may be in the nature of alliances you give something yourself and get something in return. In other words, it may involve commitments far more than at present. There are no commitments today. In that sense, I say we are freer today to come to friendly understandings with other countries and to play the part, if you like of a bridge for the mutual understanding of other countries. I do not wish to place this too high nevertheless it is no good placing it too low either. I should like you to look round the world

today and look at the relative position of India and the rest of the world more especially during the last two years or so I think you will find that during this period of two years or less, India has gone up in the scale of nations in its influence and in its prestige. It is a little difficult for me to tell you exactly what India has done or has not done. It would be absurd for anyone to expect that India can become the crusader for all causes in the world and bring forth results. Even in cases that have borne fruit, it is not a thing to be proclaimed from the house-tops. But something which does not require any proclamation is the fact of India's prestige and influence in world affairs. Considering that she came on the scene as an independent nation only a year and a half or a little more ago, it is astonishing—the part that India has played.

One more thing I should like to say Obviously a declaration of this type or the Resolution that I have placed before the House is not capable of amendment. It is either accepted or rejected. I am surprised to see that some hon. Members have sent in notices of amendments. Any treaty with any foreign power can be accepted or rejected. It is a joint declaration of eight—or is it nine?—countries, and it cannot be amended in this House or in any House. It can be accepted or rejected. I would, therefore, beg of you to consider this business in all its aspects. First of all, make sure that it is in conformity with our old pledges, that it does violence to none. If it is proved to me that it does violence to any pledge that we have undertaken, that it limits India's freedom in any way then I certainly shall be no party to it. Secondly you should see whether it does good to us and to the rest of the world. I think there can be little doubt that it does us good, that this continuing association at the present moment is beneficial for us, and it is beneficial, in the larger sense, to certain world causes that we represent. And lastly if I may put it in a negative way not to have had this agreement would certainly have been detrimental to those world causes as well as to ourselves.

And finally about the value I should like this House to attach to this declaration and to the whole business of the talks leading up to this declaration. It is a method, a desirable method, and a method which brings a touch of healing with it. In this world which is today sick and which has not recovered from so many wounds inflicted during the last decade or more, it is necessary that we touch upon the world problems, not with passion and prejudice and with too much repetition of what has ceased to be, but in a friendly way and with a touch of healing, and I think the chief value of this declaration and of what preceded it was that it did bring a touch of healing in our relations with certain countries. We are in no way subordinate to them, and they are in no way

subordinate to us. We shall go our way and they will go their way. But our way unless something happens, will be a friendly way. At any rate, attempts will be made to understand one another to be friends with one another and to co-operate with one another. And the fact that we have begun this new type of association with a touch of healing will be good for us, good for them, and I think, good for the world.

WE HAVE NOT BOUND THE FUTURE DOWN

WE HAVE HAD a fairly full debate since yesterday and many hon. Members have spoken in approval of this motion. In fact, if I may say so some of them have even gone a little farther than I might perhaps have gone. They have drawn some consequences and pointed out some implications which for my part I would not have approved or accepted. However it is open to all of us and to each one of us to see the future in a particular way.

As far as this Resolution as well as the declaration of London are concerned, what we have got to see is this one, that it fulfils, or at any rate it does not go against, any pledges of ours—that is to say it takes India forward, or does not come in the way of India going forward to her natural destination of a Sovereign Independent Republic. Two, that it helps India, or does not hinder India from making rapid progress in the other domains in the course of the next few years. We have, in a sense, solved the political problem, but the political problem is intimately connected with the economic condition of the country. We are being faced with many economic difficulties. They are our domestic concern, no doubt, but obviously the world can help or hinder any policy that we may adopt. Now does this proposal which is contained in this declaration help our speedy progress economically and otherwise or not? That is the real test. I am prepared to admit that even without external help we shall go ahead. But obviously it will be a far more difficult task and it will take a much longer time. It is not an easy matter to do that.

The third test is whether in the world, as it is today it helps in the promotion of peace and the avoidance of war. Some people talk about encouraging this particular group or that, this bloc or

that. We are all, I am afraid, in the habit of considering ourselves or our friends angels and others the reverse of angels. We are all apt to think that we stand for the forces of progress and democracy and others do not. I must confess that in spite of my own pride in India and her people, I have grown more humble about talking in terms of our being in the vanguard of progress of democracy.

In the last two or three years we have passed through difficult times, humiliating times. We have lived through them. That has been something in our favour. We have survived them. But I hope we have learned our lesson from them.

If one looks round the world—of course, one favours certain policies—one is against some things and thinks that these are dangerous and might lead to war but others are not. But the most amazing thing that strikes me is this if we look back over the last thirty years or more which have comprised two wars and the period between these wars, we will find the same crises, changing slightly with the changed situation, of course, nevertheless, the same crises, the same approaches, the same fears and suspicions and the same arming on all sides and war coming. The same talk of this being the last war the fight for democracy and all the rest of it is heard on every side. And then the war ends, but the same conflicts continue and again the same preparation for war. Then another war comes. That is a very extraordinary thing, because I am convinced that hardly anybody in this wide world wants war barring a few persons or groups who make profit by war.

Nobody and no country wants war. As war becomes more and more terrible we want it still less. Yet some past evil or karma or some destiny goes on pushing people in a particular direction, towards the abyss and they go through the same arguments and they perform the same gestures like automata.

Now are we fated to do that? I do not know but anyhow I want to fight against that tendency of talking about war and preparation for war. Obviously no country and no government of any country dare allow itself to be unprepared for contingencies. We have to prepare ourselves, unfortunately unless we are brave enough to follow the policy that Mahatmajī laid down. So let us not bring in the name of the Mahatma in vain. Anyhow no government can say that it stands for peace and do nothing about defence. We have to take precautions and prepare ourselves to the best of our ability. We cannot blame any other government which does that, because that is an inevitable precaution that one has to take. But, apart from that, it seems to me that some governments or many governments go much further. They talk all the time of war. They blame the other party all the time. They try

to make out that the other party is completely wrong or is a war monger and so on. In fact they create the very conditions which lead to war. In talking of peace and our love of peace we or they create the conditions that in the past have invariably led to war. The conditions that ultimately lead to war are generally economic conflicts. But I do not think today it is economic conflict or even political conflict that is going to lead to war but rather the overwhelming mastering fear the fear that the other party will certainly overwhelm one, the fear that the other party is increasing its strength gradually and would become so strong as to be unassailable and so each party goes on arming itself with the deadliest weapons.

How are we to meet this major evil of the day? Some people may join up with the group which stands for peace while others may join up with the other group which, according to them stands for some other kind of peace or progress. But I am quite convinced in my own mind that by joining up in this way I do not help the cause of peace. That, in fact, only intensifies the atmosphere of fear. Then what am I to do? I do not believe in sitting inactive or practising the policy of escapism. You have to face the problem and try to beat it and overcome it. Therefore the people who think that our policy is a kind of passive negation or is an insane policy are mistaken. That has not been ever my idea on this subject.

I say that the only policy that India should pursue in this matter is a positive definite policy of preventing the drift to war on the part of other countries and also of preventing the atmosphere becoming charged with fear and suspicion, and of not acclaiming this country or that even though they may claim to make the world rational, but rather laying stress on the qualities of those countries which are good which are acceptable and drawing out the best from them and thereby in so far as it may be possible, helping to lessen the tensions and working for peace. Whether we succeed or not is another thing. But it is in our hands now to work with might and main in the direction we consider right, not because we are afraid of fear has overwhelmed us.

This is more a psychological problem although it has practical applications. I think that in a sense India is partly suited to face it, because in spite of our being feeble and rather unworthy followers of Gandhiji, we have imbibed to some small extent what he taught us. Secondly in these world conflicts you will see there is a succession of one action following another inevitably one leading to another and so the chain of evil spreads war comes and the evils that follow wars come and they themselves lead to another war and the chain of events goes on and each country is caught in the cycle of karma or evil or whatever you call it. Now so far these evils

have brought about wars in the West, because in a sense these evils were concentrated in the Western powers. I do not by any means say that the Eastern powers are virtuous. So far the West or Europe has been the centre of political activity and dominated the politics of the world. Therefore, their disputes and their quarrels and their wars have dominated the world.

Fortunately we in India are not inheritors of the hatreds of Europe. We may like a person or dislike something or an idea, but we have not the past inheritance to crush us. Therefore it may be slightly easier for us, in facing these problems, whether in international assemblies or elsewhere to deal with them not only objectively and dispassionately but also with the goodwill of others who may not suspect us of any ill will derived from the past. It may be that a country can only function effectively if it has a certain strength behind it. I am not for the moment thinking of material or war strength—that, of course, counts—but the general strength behind it. How is a feeble country which cannot look after itself, to look after the world and others? All these considerations I should like this House to have before it and then to decide on this relatively minor question which I have placed before the House, because I had all these considerations and I felt first of all that it was my duty to see that Indian freedom and independence was in no way touched.

It was obvious that the Republic that we had decided on would come into existence. I think we have achieved that. We would have achieved that in any event, of course, but we have achieved that with the goodwill of many others. That, I think, is some additional achievement. To achieve it with the goodwill of those who perhaps are hit by it is some achievement. It shows that the manner of doing things—the manner which does not leave any trace of hatred or ill will behind it but starts a fund of goodwill—is important. Goodwill is always precious from any quarter. Therefore I had a feeling when I was considering this matter in London and later that I had done something that would in a small measure, perhaps, have met with the approval of Gandhiji. I am thinking of the manner of it more than the thing itself. I thought that this in itself would raise a fund of goodwill in the world—goodwill which in a smaller sense is to our advantage certainly and to the advantage of England, but also in a larger sense to the advantage of the world in the psychological conflicts which people try to resolve by blaming one another by cursing one another and saying that the others are to blame. Maybe somebody is to blame maybe some politicians or big men are to blame but nobody can blame those millions of men who will die in these catastrophic wars. In every country the vast masses of

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

human beings do not want war. They are frightened of wars. Sometimes this very fright is exploited to revive wars, because it can always be said that the other party is coming to attack you.

Therefore, I want this House to consider not only what we have achieved. But what has a certain relevance and importance is that we have achieved it in a way that helps us and helps others, in a way which does not leave evil consequences behind it. So that is the way and if the world acts in that way problems will be solved far more easily and wars and the consequences of war will perhaps be fewer. They would be no more.

I have come to the conclusion that it does not help us very much either on the governmental plane or on the national plane to lay stress on the evil in the other party. We must not ignore it we have to fight it occasionally. We should be prepared for that, but with all that I do not think this business of maintaining our own virtues and blaming the other party is going to help us in the understanding of our real problem. It, no doubt, gives an inner satisfaction that we are virtuous while others are sinners. I am talking in religious phraseology which does not suit me, but the fact is that I do wish to bring the moral aspect of this question in some degree before the House. I would not dare to do any injury to the cause of India and then justify it on some high moral ground. No Government can do that. But if you can do a profitable business and at the same time it is good on moral grounds, then obviously it is worthy of our understanding and appreciation. I do submit that what we have done in no way negatively speaking injures us or can injure us. Positively we have achieved politically what we wanted to achieve and we are likely to have more opportunities of progress in this way than we would otherwise have in the next few years.

Finally in the world context, it is something that encourages and helps peace—to what extent I do not know and, of course, it is a thing which in no way binds this country down to any country. It is open to this House or Parliament at any time to break this link, if they so choose. Not that I want that link broken. But I am merely pointing out that we have not bound the future down in the slightest. The future is free as air and this country can go any way it chooses. If it finds this way is a good way it will stick to it if not, it will go some other way and we have not bound it down. I do submit that this Resolution that I have placed before the House embodying approval of the declaration, the decision at the Conference in London is a motion which deserves the support and approval of the House, not merely if I may say so, a passive approval and support, but the active appreciation of all that lies behind it and all that it may mean for the future of India that is

gradually unrolling before our very eyes. Indeed, all of us hitched our wagons to the star of India long ago. Our future, our individual future, depends on the future of India, and we have thought and dreamt of that future for a long time. Now we have arrived at a stage when we have to mould, by our decisions and activities, that future at every step. It is no longer good enough for us to talk of that future in terms merely of resolutions, merely in terms of denunciations of others and criticism of others. It is we who have to make it for good or ill. Sometimes some of us are too fond of thinking of that future only in negative terms by denouncing others. Some members of the House who have opposed this motion and some others who are not in this House, who have opposed it, I have felt, have been totally unable to come out of the cage of the past in which we all of us lived even though the door was open for them to come out mentally. They have reminded us, and some of our friends have been good enough to quote my speeches which I delivered 15 or 20 years ago. Well, if they attach so much value to my speeches, they might listen to my present speeches a little more carefully. The world has changed. Evil still remains evil, and good is good. I do not mean to say that it is not and I think imperialism is an evil thing and wherever it remains it has to be rooted out, and colonialism is an evil thing and wherever it remains it has to be rooted out, and racialism is an evil and has to be fought. All that is true. Nevertheless, the world has changed. England has changed. Europe has changed. India has changed. Everything has changed and is changing. Look at Europe which for the last three hundred years has had a period of magnificent achievement in the arts and sciences, and which has built up a new civilization all over the world. It is really a magnificent period of which Europe or some countries of Europe can be greatly proud but Europe during those three hundred years or more has also gradually spread out its domination over Asia and Africa, has been an imperialist power and exploited the rest of the world and in a sense dominated the political scene of the world. Well, Europe has still, I believe, a great many fine qualities and those people there who have fine qualities will make good, but Europe can no longer be the centre of the world politically speaking or exercise that influence over other parts of the world which it had in the past. From that point of view Europe belongs to the past and the centre of world history of political and other activities, shifts elsewhere. I do not mean to say that any other continent becomes a dominating force, dominates the rest, not in that way. However we are looking at it in an entirely changed scene. If you talk of British imperialism and the rest of it I would say that there is no capacity left for imperialism even if the will were there. It will not do. The French

are acting imperialistically in parts of Asia. But the fact remains that the capacity for carrying it off any longer is past. They may carry on for a year or two years, but not for very long. The Dutch may do so elsewhere, and if you look at it in the historical perspective, all these things are hang-overs of something past. There may be strength behind imperialism today. It may last even a few years and therefore, we have to fight it and, therefore we have to be vigilant. I do not deny that, but let us not think as if Europe or England is the same as it was 15 or 20 years ago. It is not.

As far as foreign affairs are concerned, there may be many differences. I do not deny that but the fundamental things before any man who is—whatever else he may be—an Indian patriot, who wants India to progress and the world also to progress, must necessarily be India's freedom, complete freedom, India's progress, economically and otherwise, and India's playing a part in the freedom of the world and the preservation of peace in the world. India must progress. India must progress internally. We can play no part unless we are strong in our country economically and otherwise. How we should do so internally may be a matter of difference of opinion. But I do not see any real scope for difference in regard to our foreign policy except if we consider the case of those individuals or groups who think in terms of other countries and not primarily of India at all. That is a basic difference and with them it is exceedingly difficult to have any common approach about anything but where people think in terms of India's independence and progress in the near future and in the distant future and also want peace in the world, of course, there will be no great difference in our foreign policy. And I do not think there is, in fact, although it may be expressed differently. Although a Government can only speak the language of a Government, others speak a language which we all used to speak, of opposition and agitation. So I would beg this House and if I may say so, the country to look upon this problem not in any party spirit, not in the sense of bargaining for this little matter or that.

We have to be careful in any business deal not to lose a thing which is advantageous to the nation. At the same time, we have to look at this problem in a big way. We are a big nation. If we are a big nation in size, that will not bring bigness to us unless we are big in mind, big in heart, big in understanding and big in action also. If we act in a big way the response from others in the world will be very big and their reaction also will be big. For good always brings good and draws good from others, and big action which shows generosity of spirit brings generosity from the other side. Therefore, may I finish by commending this Resolution to you and trusting that the House will not only accept it, but accept it

as a harbinger of good relations, of our acting in a generous way towards other countries, towards the world, and thus strengthening ourselves and strengthening the cause of peace?

COMMONWEALTH CITIZENSHIP

I WISH TO DEAL with only one aspect of this Bill on which some comments and criticisms have been made. The other aspects will be dealt with by my colleague, the Deputy Minister. This aspect is in regard to the references in this Bill to Commonwealth citizenship. They are in clause 2(1)(c) clause 5(1)(e) clauses 11 and 12 and the First Schedule.

I do not wish to discuss at any length the whole question of the Commonwealth relationship though I shall refer to it briefly. I should like to refer first of all, to certain statements made in the minute of dissent of some hon. Members to the effect that there are, because of this relationship obligations on us which are irksome, repugnant and derogatory. I do not think that it is a correct statement. I speak now not theoretically but from the experience of the last few years. I should like hon. Members who have put in this minute of dissent to point out anything that has limited in the slightest our independent sovereign status or freedom of action internal or external. I submit that there has been no such thing and that, in fact, we have exercised, because of it, a certain greater freedom of action in regard to external matters than we might perhaps have done.

MR. M. S. GURUPADARWAMY: May I know whether the hon. Prime Minister is aware that in the British Nationality Act we are considered British subjects?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I am not aware of that. I think if the hon. Member will read it, he will see it is not quite so. But what the British Nationality Act may or may not say is totally immaterial. It is what we say that counts.

This House knows and the country knows that in regard to our internal and external policies we have functioned exactly as this House and the Government want to. The Commonwealth relationship does not come in our way in the slightest. We have often differed from the policies and practice of the other Commonwealth countries. We have discussed with them and differed. Only

recently—and this matter no doubt, will have larger consequences—was the pact which is called the Baghdad Pact, which, we think, is a most unfortunate and deplorable action on the part of the countries who have joined it, deplorable not from our point of view but from the point of view of peace and security. Though such action is taken, it has not affected our policy. On the other hand I do think that our association in the Commonwealth has been of great help to the larger cause of peace and co-operation. I have no doubt that it has been so. I do not wish to take the time of the House in detailing this. But that is the clear conclusion that I have come to.

We would like to extend that area of co-operation to other countries too. I would mention Burma. With Burma our relations are of the closest, closer than with many Commonwealth countries. But the fact remains that Burma is not in the Commonwealth. We develop these close relations with other countries. It is asked why Burma has not been mentioned here. For the simple reason that there is a clause of reciprocity. It is not enough if we decide the other country must also decide on reciprocal facilities. There are various difficulties in regard to the laws of Burma. They have some laws which do not fit in with ours. I should like this House, first of all, to keep in mind that by this Commonwealth relationship, there has been nothing which has come in the way of our dignity, prestige or freedom of action.

MR. H. N. MUKERJEE: Could we not make a gesture to Burma for reciprocal rights of citizenship as far as our citizenship law is concerned at present?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I am perfectly prepared to discuss this with the Government of Burma. The hon. Member will realize that in this matter it is not we who might perhaps dislike any such approach. It may be embarrassing to the other Government. We do not wish to embarrass the other Government. We on our part are perfectly willing but cannot say anything more in this matter because we are a country with a large population which tends to expand. Burma is a country with a relatively limited population. For obvious reasons, they do not like to have a large population coming into their country. It is entirely for them to consider not for us. I would be very glad indeed to consider this matter in connection with Burma.

MRS. RENU CHAKRAVARTY: But does South Africa like our giving them reciprocity? We are extending the citizenship rights to South Africa.

THE PRIME MINISTER: We are not.
MRS. RENU CHAKRAVARTY: Because that is a part of the Commonwealth.

THE PRIME MINISTER I beg your pardon We are not. All that you can say is that we are prepared to offer reciprocal rights to any country provided they behave. That is all.

MR. N. C. CHATTERJEE If the hon. Prime Minister is correct when he says that we are not giving any reciprocal rights with regard to the Union of South Africa, why does he not agree to the deletion of the Union of South Africa from the First Schedule?

THE PRIME MINISTER I hope that we are gradually working up to a stage when there will be world citizenship. That is a larger matter. Meanwhile, we have to have citizenship laws.

In the course of the development of our Constitution, we had, the House will remember a period before we became a Republic when we were called a Dominion. Of course, we had long decided to change that status and become an independent Republic. It took two or three years for us to frame our Constitution. Then we became an independent, sovereign Republic owing allegiance to no other authority even nominally. This question of the Republic coming into the Commonwealth was a completely new conception from the point of view of the Commonwealth, because the Commonwealth till then was based on some kind of allegiance to the sovereign of the United Kingdom. Whether it could be fitted in or not nobody knew at that time, and so far as we were concerned, we rather doubted it. We did not know how it could be fitted in, but we certainly desired, for a number of reasons of vital import, to continue our association. We thought that that would be good for ourselves and for world peace. This was discussed at some length in the years 1948 and 1949 between us and the British Government and the other Commonwealth Governments, and ultimately in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. It was their suggestion, and their desire, that there should be some kind of notional, nominal link.

MR. H. V. KAMATH Sentimental?

THE PRIME MINISTER Not sentimental. There is no sentiment about it, but it is the other way. It is a notion which enables us to hold together to meet and so on and after much thought the only way discovered was that the British Government should introduce some clause in their Nationality Bill to enable this association on the basis of reciprocity.

There was no commitment, but certainly there was a measure of agreement. We told them we were prepared at the right time to include in our Nationality Bill some reference or enabling clause so that, on the basis of reciprocity, we could give the same treatment as we got in the other country. It is not a uniform thing for all Commonwealth countries. It depends on the reciprocal arrangement we have with that other Commonwealth country. In regard to the United Kingdom, the privileges that Indian nationals have

there are very great. In fact, they have almost all the privileges that the British people themselves have. In regard to other countries the privileges are more limited. In regard to South Africa, far from any reciprocity or privileges, there is, if I may use the word, hostility between the two countries. The giving of privileges is entirely an enabling measure. It is entirely in our power to give or not to give. I am presently going to propose a small amendment, which I think the House will probably approve, in regard to this particular matter of South Africa.

I can very well understand the sentiment and desire of the House against including the name of the Union of South Africa in such a Bill. But I would submit that our including the Union of South Africa is not at all to our discredit. What do we say? We are merely enumerating certain countries which for the present are in the Commonwealth and we are saying that we will give them certain privileges if they behave. Today no South African can come to India. Leave out the question of Commonwealth citizenship according to the rules we have framed at present, no South African can enter India. No South African goods can come to India. We are completely cut off from each other. Only by a special permit can a South African come here, and it has been very rarely issued for some humanitarian work. But I think it is not quite fitting for us to cut out the name of South Africa from the Schedule. The Schedule simply means that we are prepared always to open the door for any compromise if the others behave. That has been our policy in regard to every matter. We are always ready without giving up our policy or any basic principles, to treat with the other party and negotiate a settlement, however hostile it might be for the present. That applies to the large world questions too. If a country is hostile to another and both take up an attitude of refusing to deal with each other then there is no solution left except conflict. Therefore we should never finally close the door.

So far as this Bill is concerned, it is true, and I myself share the sentiment, that it slightly hurts me even to mention South Africa in this connection. Nevertheless, I think for wider reasons it would not be right for us to delete one country.

Then, the whole Commonwealth conception has been obviously a changing one, and it took a tremendous leap in a particular direction of change when an independent Republic owing no allegiance to any outside authority was associated with the Commonwealth.

There are two or three factors which I should like the House to bear in mind. The first thing is that there are many millions of Indians abroad, in what are called the British colonies today and which, I hope, will cease to be British colonies and will advance

to freedom. There is no doubt that our Commonwealth connection helps us and helps them. Otherwise, all these millions of Indians would have to choose either to become absolute aliens in the country where they are living or to give up completely their connection with India. Of course, when a country becomes independent, like Ceylon or Burma, they have to choose, but forcing them to choose before they are independent puts them in a very embarrassing and false position. I do not think it is right that we should place these millions of our fellow-countrymen in that position.

Then also look at the question from the point of view of the likely development of the Commonwealth. I hope that in the course of the next year there will be an addition to the Commonwealth, the Gold Coast. That will be a good thing and we are looking forward to it greatly. The addition of the Gold Coast again changes the entire character of this association of nations. Here is a full blooded African nation for the first time being associated in this way. So the European character of the Commonwealth changes. As it is, there are free Asian and African nations coming together and I hope that subsequent steps will bring in perhaps Singapore and Malaya. It is good for the world and good for race relations if these changes take place. It may be that some members of the Commonwealth, notably the Union of South Africa, utterly dislike this change, because it goes against their basic policy. Well they have to face their difficulty and not we. I should like to place the burden of choice on them. They might so disapprove of these developments as not to tolerate them, and retire into their own shells, cut off from the rest of the world. But why should I not have the widest sphere of influence and co-operation?

I submit that from these wider points of view it is desirable for us, more especially at the present day when these big questions arise, to have this Commonwealth link and association and thereby help in the larger cause of peace. India can be influenced by other countries, but it should be remembered that India also can influence other countries, and has done so to a remarkable extent in the past few years.

I would, therefore, beg this House to accept this broad pattern which, I say again, does not give the slightest privilege or special position to any country except on a basis of reciprocity. It is an enabling measure. There is one amendment, however which I would like to suggest for the approval of the House. If Members will refer to clause 2(c) of the Bill, they will find the following

Citizenship or nationality law in relation to a country specified in the First Schedule means an enactment of the legislature of that country which at the request of the Government of that country the Central Government

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

may by notification in the Official Gazette have declared to be an enactment making provision for the citizenship of nationality of that country."

This is an enabling clause. But I would like to add to this the following
 Provided that in respect of the Union of South Africa no such notification shall be issued except with the approval of both Houses of Parliament.

That, first of all, is an indication of the special way we look at the Union of South Africa in this connection. Secondly we want in this matter to bring every step to both Houses of Parliament and not leave it to the Government. I submit that if this proviso is added some part at least of the sentiment we feel in this matter is met, and the broad advantages of the position will also be maintained.

A CHANGING PATTERN

IN REGARD to our continuing in the Commonwealth, I do not think I can add anything to what I have previously said. It seems to me that any possible divergence of opinion on this issue arises really from a different conception of why we are there and what we are doing there. If it is a conception that by being in the Commonwealth we are, in any sense, subordinate to anybody or tied up to something that might come in our way then I would be completely at one with those who object to our being in the Commonwealth. If, on the other hand it does not come in our way in the slightest degree, and in fact, gives us certain helpful opportunities to serve the larger causes that we have at heart, then it is worthwhile being there.

I have posed this question in this House previously and I pose it again now I can understand somebody disliking on sentimental grounds, our being in the Commonwealth. There is no logical reply to such an attitude. But I would like to know how our being in the Commonwealth has, in practice, injured our policies in the advocacy of any cause that we hold dear I say it has helped us in influencing others, and has helped us in regard to other matters too. Broadly speaking I am against breaking any kind of association India has with any nation. We want more associations, not fewer.

From speech in Lok Sabha, July 23, 1937

Again, certain changes are coming over the Commonwealth which, I think, are good in the wider scheme of things. I refer to the coming into the Commonwealth of independent Ghana, a new nation, to be followed presumably a little later by Nigeria. All these have a great deal of historical significance, and we can help or hinder these processes which are of importance not only to those countries concerned but in the wider context of Asia and Africa and world peace.

AN EXAMPLE OF CO-EXISTENCE

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE at present of the Commonwealth? It is not an easy question to answer and, perhaps, the answer which different people may give will not be the same. But the fact remains that all these varied people in the various continents different in so many ways, in religion, in the way of living in the shade of the colour of their countenance, meet and confer together and have some kind of a link this is the Commonwealth link.

Is this merely a survival or a continuance, by sheer habit, of something that was, or is it something with a real content which serves the purpose of today and, possibly tomorrow? I suppose that the mere fact that we meet together not only here in this conference but from time to time at the meetings of the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth countries itself indicates that there is a content in this Commonwealth link, and that it serves some useful purpose.

What is common between all of us? It is said, the methods of democratic functioning of parliamentary institutions. It is true that is a strong factor bringing us together and making us think on certain common lines. Yet if we look again, there are many differences between us in policy in ways of thinking in approaching the domestic as well as the international problems.

So, while there is a good deal in common there is also a good deal not in common and yet we meet, and yet we discuss. Even though we differ sometimes rather strongly and have problems amongst ourselves, apart from the way we look at the problems of the world we meet and discuss in a friendly way trying to find a way of co-operation, and we frequently succeed in finding one.

even when we do not find that way of co-operation in any matter we still hold together not trying to exaggerate the differences but rather to lay the emphasis on the points of unity.

How does this measure of a common outlook as well as a different outlook pull together and for how long? The word democracy is used now in such a variety of ways that it may almost be said to have lost all meaning. Everyone talks about democracy. That democracy of which some people talk may be entirely devoid of any kind of freedom, individual or social or any other. Yet I suppose there is such a thing as the temper of democracy the temper of individuals and groups meeting each other facing each other conferring with each other and not refusing to meet and discuss. It is the temper of peaceful discussion. It is the temper of arriving at decisions, after peaceful discussion, which are adhered to by even those who disagree. It is the way of the majority functioning tempered by the minority and taking into consideration the feelings of the minority. It is the way of showing consideration to each other.

I do not know whether this is a correct definition of democracy as, But I should imagine that this is an essential feature of democracy as, indeed, it is an essential feature of civilized living, because the moment the normal restraints of civilization go we leave civilization for another path. Restraint in behaviour and restraint and consideration shown towards one's neighbour are a badge of civilization. So democracy begins to have a larger content. Do we possess that in the world today? There are blanks, and there are many things that are happening in the world which are a strange negation of democracy. Democracy is not merely the setting up of institutions which function in a parliamentary way important as it is even more important is the content of these institutions.

The Commonwealth represents, I hope, not only these democratic institutions but, in a considerable measure, the content of democracy. But we have to face tremendous strains all the time. In the past we have faced them, and we have survived them as a Commonwealth. We may have to face them in the future. The world is full of strains, troubles and conflicts, and it is not easy to maintain the temper of democracy when these, accompanied by fear and apprehension, assault us from all sides.

Democracy in other words, is peaceful co-existence, not only between those who are like each other but also between those who are unlike each other. It is easy to co-exist when we like each other. It involves no problem, and no effort. But when we differ in opinions, in ways of life even in objectives, and yet forbear and try to understand each other that is peaceful co-existence. What strikes me about the Commonwealth is not so much the points of likeness, which are many of course—otherwise we

would not be together—but rather the points of difference which have not been allowed to come in the way of our meeting conferring consulting and co-operating with each other in a large measure. And if that is good for the Commonwealth, it should be good for others also, and good for the world at large.

UNITED NATIONS

FIRM ADHERENCE TO OBJECTIVES

I AM GRATEFUL for the opportunity that has been given to me to address this great Assembly. I feel a little embarrassed and a little overwhelmed by this occasion, because this Assembly represents the world community and whether we who are present here are big men and women or small, we represent a mighty cause and something of the greatness of that falls upon us too, and makes us, for the moment, greater perhaps than we are.

Therefore, in venturing to address this Assembly I feel embarrassed. You have been dealing with intricate and difficult problems, and I do not, and I would not, venture on this occasion to say anything about those great problems that confront you. You can carry the burdens and sorrows of the world. But I have often wondered whether in dealing with those problems, the approach that is normally made to them is the right one.

The Charter of the United Nations has laid down in noble language the principles and the purposes of this great organization. I do not think it would be possible to improve upon that language. The objectives are clear, our aim is clear and yet, in looking at that aim, we lose ourselves often, if I may venture to say so in smaller matters and forget the main objective that we were looking at. Sometimes it would seem that the objective itself gets a little clouded.

I come from a country which after a long struggle though that struggle was a peaceful struggle, attained its freedom and its independence. In these long years of struggle we were taught by our great leader never to forget not only the objectives we had but also the methods whereby we should achieve those objectives. Always he laid stress on this, that it was not good enough to have a good objective, that it was equally important that the means of attaining those objectives were good means were always as important as ends. You will permit me to repeat that here, because I am convinced that, however good the ends, the larger ends of the

United Nations, or the lesser objectives which we may from time to time have before us either as individual nations or as groups of nations, it is important that we should remember that the best of objectives may not be reached if our eyes are bloodshot and our minds clouded with passion.

Therefore, it becomes essential for us, for a while, to think more of how we are doing things than what we are aiming at, even though we should never forget what we are aiming at. It becomes necessary for us always to remember the principles and the purposes for which this great Assembly was formed.

Now a mere repetition of those principles and purposes would perhaps indicate to us how sometimes, with passion and prejudice, we swerve away from that path. This Assembly took shape after two mighty wars and as a consequence of those wars. What has been the lesson of those wars? Surely the lesson of those wars has been that out of hatred and violence you will not build peace. It is a contradiction in terms. The lesson of history—the long course of history—and more especially the lesson of the last great wars which have devastated humanity has been that out of hatred and violence only hatred and violence will come. We have got into a cycle of hatred and violence, and not the most brilliant debate will get us out of it, unless we look some other way and find some other means. It is obvious that if we continue in this cycle and have wars which this Assembly was especially meant to avoid and prevent, the result will not only be tremendous devastation all over the world but non-achievement by any individual power or group of its objective.

It may be that it is difficult to get this hatred and prejudice and fear out of our minds. Nevertheless, unless we try to proceed in this way to cast out this fear we shall never succeed. Of that I am quite convinced.

You meet here, representatives of all nations of the world or nearly all. Inevitably you have behind you and before you the immediate great problems that confront more especially Europe, which has suffered so much.

May I say as a representative from Asia, that we honour Europe for its culture and for the great advance in human civilization which it represents? May I say that we are equally interested in the solution of European problems? But may I also say that the world is something bigger than Europe, and you will not solve your problems by thinking that the problems of the world are mainly European problems? There are vast tracts of the world which may not in the past, for a few generations, have taken much part in world affairs. But they are awake—their people are moving and they have no intention whatever of being ignored or of being passed by

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

That is a simple fact I think you have to remember because unless you have the full picture of the world before you, you will not even understand the problem and if you isolate any single problem in the world from the rest you will not understand it. Today I do venture to submit that Asia counts in world affairs. Tomorrow it will count much more than today. Asia till recently was largely a prey to imperial domination and colonialism a great part of it is free today part of it still remains unfree and it is an astonishing thing that any country should still venture to hold and to set forth this doctrine of colonialism, whether it is under direct rule or whether it is indirectly maintained in some form or other. After all that has happened there is going to be no mere objection to that, but active objection, an active struggle against any and every form of colonialism in any part of the world. That is the first thing to remember.

We in Asia, who have ourselves suffered all these evils of colonialism and of imperial domination, have committed ourselves inevitably to the freedom of every other colonial country. There are neighbouring countries of ours in Asia with whom we are intimately allied. We look at them with sympathy we look at their struggle with sympathy. Any power great or small, which in any way prevents the attainment of the freedom of those peoples does an ill turn to world peace.

Great countries like India who have passed out of that colonial stage do not conceive it possible that other countries should remain under the yoke of colonial rule.

There is another problem which we in Asia regard as a vital problem and it is a question to which I want to draw attention that is the question of racial equality which is something which is laid down in the provisions of the United Nations Charter. It is well to repeat that, because after all this question of racial equality has frequently been spoken about in the Assembly of the United Nations.

I do not think I need dwell on any particular aspect of that question, but I would remind this Assembly of the world-wide aspects of the question. Obviously there are large regions of the world which have suffered from this question of racial inequality. We also feel that there is no part of the world where it can be tolerated in the future except perhaps because of superior force. If racial inequality is practised, if it is a menace to world peace and if it violates the principles of the United Nations Charter to tolerate it is obviously to sow the seeds of conflict.

The effects of this inequality in the past have made themselves felt in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world much more than in Europe leading towards a conflict in the future, and it is a problem which if it is not properly understood, will not be solved.

It is a strange thing that when the world lacks so many things, food and other necessities, and people in many parts of the world are dying from hunger the attention of this Assembly of Nations is concentrated only on a number of political problems. There are economic problems also. I wonder if it would be possible for this Assembly to take a holiday for a while from some of the acute political problems which face it, and allow men's minds to settle down and look at the vital and urgent economic problems, and look at places in the world where food is lacking.

I feel that today the world is tied up in fears and apprehensions, some of them justified no doubt. But where a person feels fear bad consequences and evil consequences follow. Fear is not a good companion. It is surprising to see that this sense of fear is pervading great countries—fear and grave fear of war and fear of many things. I think that it is admitted or it will be admitted, that no aggression of any kind can be tolerated, because the very idea of aggression must upset the balance and lead to conflict. Aggression of every type must be resisted. In existing circumstances it is difficult for people to say that they will not defend themselves, because if there is fear of aggression one has to defend oneself against aggression. We have to defend ourselves, but even in defending ourselves, we must not submit ourselves to this Assembly without clean hands.

If we proceed to this problem and discuss in peace the psychology of fear if we realize the consequences of what is happening, it is possible that this atmosphere of fear may be dissipated. Why should there be this fear of war? Let us prepare ourselves against any possible aggression but let no one think that any nation, any community can misbehave. The United Nations is here to prevent any fear or hurt, but at the same time let us banish all thought of an aggressive attitude whether by word or deed. However I feel that few of us can altogether avoid this attitude whether it is in the course of discussion before this Assembly or elsewhere. One tries to make one's points by this sort of language. It is always easy to make one's points in the course of a discussion but there always rests a bitterness which complicates the problem still further. As I have already said, I ask this Assembly to remember that such great problems cannot be solved if our eyes are bloodshot and our minds are obscured by passion.

I have no doubt that this Assembly is going to solve our problems. I am not afraid of the future. I have no fear in my mind, and I have no fear even though India, from a military point of view is of no great consequence. I am not afraid of the bigness of great powers, and their armies, their fleets and their atom bombs. That is the lesson which my Master taught me. We stood as an unarmed people against a great country and a powerful empire.

We were supported and strengthened, because throughout all this period we decided not to submit to evil, and I think that is the lesson which I have before me and which is before us today I do not know if it is possible to apply this to the problems which face the world today. It is a terrible problem, but I think if we banish this fear if we have confidence even though we may take risks of trust rather than risk violent language, violent actions and in the end war I think those risks are worth taking.

In any event, there are risks—and great risks. If it is a question of taking risks, why take risks which inevitably lead to greater conflict? Take the other risks, while always preparing yourself to meet any possible contingency that may arise.

It is perhaps not very proper for me to address this great Assembly in such matters, because I have not been associated with it nor with all these different problems in any intimate degree. However there would have been no point in my addressing you merely to repeat certain pious phrases. I feel strongly about this matter and that is why I should like to present the views and wishes of the Indian people. And the Indian people happen to be three hundred and thirty millions in number. It is well to remember that we have had a year of freedom and a year of difficulty. We have overcome many of those difficulties and we shall overcome the others. We propose to go ahead at a rapid pace. We propose to build and construct and be a power for peace and for the good of the world. We propose to meet every aggression from whatever quarter it comes, in every possible way open to us.

However we do not think that the problems of the world or of India can be solved by thinking in terms of aggression or war or violence. We are frail mortals, and we cannot always live up to the teaching of the great man who led our nation to freedom. But that lesson has sunk deep into our souls and, so long as we remember it, I am sure we shall be on the right path. And if I may venture to suggest this to the General Assembly I think that if the essentials of that lesson are kept in mind, perhaps our approach to the problems of today will be different perhaps the conflicts that always hang over us will appear a little less deep than they are and in fact gradually fade away.

I should like to state to this General Assembly on behalf of my people and my Government, that we adhere completely and absolutely to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and that we shall try to the best of our ability to work for the realization of those principles and purposes.

In conclusion may I congratulate the General Assembly on the resolution introduced by the delegation of Mexico which has just passed? It is certainly a great resolution. If the General

Assembly follows up that resolution, it will go a long way on the road toward peace and the solution of the problems that are before us. We may not solve those problems. No one can be optimistic enough to think that all problems will fade away simply if we feel good—that is not what I mean to say. The problems are difficult and intricate and they will take a lot of solving. But I do feel that our approach to those problems should not be the approach of anger and passion and fear. Then, perhaps, the problems will gradually appear in a different light. Perhaps we shall understand the other side better—perhaps the fear of one another will grow less in our minds, and then a solution may come. At any rate, even if the solution does not come, this pall of fear that surrounds us will grow less, and that in itself will be a partial solution of the world problem.

A SYMBOL OF HOPE

THE PROPOSAL to limit the United Nations by the exclusion of some nations has surprised me greatly. Indeed, it seems to forget the very purpose and the very name of the United Nations. It is true that the high hopes with which the United Nations Organization was started have not been fulfilled. At the same time, there can be no doubt that the mere fact of its existence has saved us from many dangers and conflicts. Also, there is no doubt that in the world of today it is the only hope of finding a way for peaceful co-operation among nations. If the United Nations ceases to be or if it radically changes its position and nature, then there is nothing left which would inspire hope for the future. We shall have to go through terrible experiences and face disasters again before we return to something which offers a forum for all nations, even though they differ from one another. The whole conception of One World, however distant that One World may be, involves an organization like the United Nations. To imagine that strict conformity to a single doctrine or approach can solve the problems of the world is to forget the lessons of history and to ignore the realities of today. However difficult the path, it has to be pursued by repeated attempts at co-operation on the part of all nations. Once that attempt is given up, the consequence can only be a preparation for conflict on a world-wide scale and ultimately the conflict itself.

Some people think that, in the circumstances of today it is quite inevitable that the world should be divided up into two hostile camps and that every country should line up on this side or that. Hostility no doubt, exists but there are many countries who refuse to line up in this way. These countries believe that neither the pressure of world events nor their own destiny requires this lining up on either side and they therefore, maintain their separate identity and viewpoint and thus serve the causes they have at heart.

If any attempt is made to change the essential nature of the United Nations, it will not lead to another or a more powerful organization which can work for peace. It would only mean the break up of something that is actually and potentially valuable with nothing to take its place. I think therefore that the proposal to exclude any independent country from the United Nations is unwise and harmful.

PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSALITY

THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION came into existence seven or eight years ago and it represented the timeless urge of humanity for peace. The League of Nations, even at its commencement, was not what might be called an international organization with a universal background. Great countries kept out of it and were kept out of it. The United Nations at the time of its inauguration was, at least based on a presumption of universality because it symbolized the longing among all peoples for the return of peace. Countries differing from one another in the structure of government, economic and political policy and in a great many other respects were able to come together under the huge umbrella of the United Nations. So that the first attribute of the United Nations—at least the supposed attribute—may be said to have been universality. The other attribute was the main objective, namely the maintenance of peace the growth of co-operative effort among nations and the solution of disputes by peaceful means as far as possible. The United Nations laid down a rule concerning the veto by certain great powers. It is very easy to criticize that rule as illogical, undemocratic and all that but, as a matter of fact, the rule recognized the reality of the moment. The United Nations could not adopt sanctions

against any of the great powers. Such sanctions could be vetoed and would, in any case, mean a world war. If the United Nations was to avoid a world war it had to bring in some such clause. Let us see how such a situation actually developed.

First of all, we find that the principle of universality with which the United Nations started has been departed from. A great country like China is not given recognition at the United Nations. Whether we like or dislike the present Government in China or whether we approve or disapprove of China's revolution is not at all relevant to the patent fact. The basic principle of universality has been abandoned by the United Nations. This is a return to the attitude that caused the League of Nations to fail. The matter does not end with expressing an academic opinion: the failure of the United Nations to give recognition to a country which is obviously stable and strong has given rise to fresh problems of a universal character.

This great organization built for peace is itself engaged in war sponsoring today. I am not blaming anybody but only trying to analyse the situation as objectively as I can. Is it possible that the world has not grown up and is incapable of having an international organization for peace? I do not know. People talk about a united world: many wise, intelligent and ardent people advocate the ideal of world federalism but we again and again prove ourselves unable to give effect to it. Is it possible for countries entirely different from one another in their political, economic and other policies to co-operate or must they remain apart? There was a time, centuries ago, when it did not much matter whether they did or not because there was no natural contact. Today there is continuous contact, which can be friendly or hostile. I find myself wondering again and again whether an international organization containing within its core countries with entirely different aims, can exist. I feel sure it can and what is more, see no reason why it should not function efficiently. After all, when the United Nations was started countries like the United States of America and the U.S.S.R. did co-operate and come together before they drifted apart. For my part, I do not see why they should not be able to function together in an organization, provided of course they did not interfere with one another and so long as each was free to carry on the policy it chose for itself.

Some people think that, in the circumstances of today it is quite inevitable that the world should be divided up into two hostile camps and that every country should line up on this side or that. Hostility no doubt, exists but there are many countries who refuse to line up in this way. These countries believe that neither the pressure of world events nor their own destiny requires this lining up on either side and they therefore maintain their separate identity and viewpoint and thus serve the causes they have at heart.

If any attempt is made to change the essential nature of the United Nations, it will not lead to another or a more powerful organization which can work for peace. It would only mean the break up of something that is actually and potentially valuable with nothing to take its place. I think, therefore that the proposal to exclude any independent country from the United Nations is unwise and harmful.

PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSALITY

THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION came into existence seven or eight years ago and it represented the timeless urge of humanity for peace. The League of Nations, even at its commencement, was not what might be called an international organization with a universal background. Great countries kept out of it and were kept out of it. The United Nations at the time of its inauguration was, at least based on a presumption of universality because it symbolized the longing among all peoples for the return of peace. Countries differing from one another in the structure of government, economic and political policy and in a great many other respects were able to come together under the huge umbrella of the United Nations. So that the first attribute of the United Nations—at least the supposed attribute—may be said to have been universality. The other attribute was the main objective among nations and the of peace the growth of co-operative effort among nations and the solution of disputes by peaceful means as far as possible. The United Nations laid down a rule concerning the veto by certain great powers. It is very easy to criticize that rule as illogical, undemocratic and all that but, as a matter of fact, the rule recognized the reality of the moment. The United Nations could not adopt sanctions

against any of the great powers. Such sanctions could be vetoed and would, in any case, mean a world war. If the United Nations was to avoid a world war it had to bring in some such clause. Let us see how such a situation actually developed.

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'DEFENCES OF PEACE'

I AM HERE on behalf of our Government and our people to add to the many welcomes you have already received

The meeting of this General Conference of UNESCO in Delhi has a certain special significance. It is a tribute if I may say so, to the importance that is now attached by this great organization to the countries of Asia. But this conference is significant in yet another way which was not realized when this date and venue were chosen. We meet at a moment when we can hear again the dread tramp of armed men and the thunder of bombs buried from the skies to destroy men and cities. Because of this there is perhaps a measure of unreality about your discussing the various items on your agenda which have nothing to do with this deep crisis of the moment. But these very developments force reality upon us and mould our thinking.

Soon after the last great war ended, and as a result of the war and the hunger for peace of the peoples of the world, the United Nations Organization came into being. The General Assembly of the United Nations came to represent the mind of the world community and its desire for peace. If the General Assembly mainly faced the political problems of the world, its specialized agencies were charged with work of equal, if not greater importance in the economic, educational, scientific and cultural spheres.

Man does not live by politics alone, nor indeed, wholly by economics. And so UNESCO came into being to represent something that was vital to human existence and progress. Even as the United Nations General Assembly represented the political will of the world community UNESCO tried to represent the finer and the deeper sides of human life and, indeed might be said to represent the conscience of the world community.

I should like to remind you of the preamble to the constitution of this great organization. This embodies a declaration on behalf of the governments of the States and their peoples and lays down that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed that ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause throughout the history of mankind of that suspicion and mistrust between peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war that the great and terrible war which is now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity equality and mutual respect of men and by the

Speech at the inauguration of the ninth general conference of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) New Delhi, November 5, 1956.

propagation in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races that the wide diffusion of culture and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of men and constituted a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern that a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which would secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world and that the peace must, therefore, be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind." Here is laid down in clear and noble language the basic approach of this organization and the way it has to travel if it has to realize its objectives of international peace and the common welfare of mankind.

UNESCO has considerable achievements to its credit during its ten years of existence. And yet after these ten years what do we find? Violence and hatred still dominate the world. The doctrine of inequality of men and races is preached and practised. The democratic principles of dignity equality and mutual respect are denied or ignored. Some countries dominate over others and hold their people in subjection, denying them freedom and the right to grow and armed might is used to suppress the freedom of countries.

UNESCO does not concern itself with political questions and it would not be right for us to raise them in this gathering. But UNESCO is intimately concerned with the dignity of man and the vital importance of freedom.

We see today in Egypt, as well as in Hungary both human dignity and freedom outraged and the force of modern arms used to suppress peoples and to gain political objectives old colonial methods which we had thought in our ignorance belonged to a more unenlightened age are revived and practised in other parts of the world also movements for freedom are crushed by superior might. It is true that the atomic and hydrogen bombs have not thus far been used. But who can confidently say that they will not be used?

The preamble of the UNESCO constitution says, as I have quoted, that wars begin in the minds of men. We have been living through a period of cold war which has now broken out into open and violent war. Can we be surprised at its inevitable result?

You will forgive me I hope if I speak with some feeling. I would be untrue to myself and to this distinguished gathering if I did not refer to something which has moved us deeply and which must be in the minds of all of us here. We use brave phrases to impress

ourselves and others, but our actions belie those noble sentiments, and so we live in a world of unreality where profession has little to do with practice. When that practice imperils the entire future of the world then it is time we came back to reality in our thinking and in our action.

At present it would appear that great countries think that the only reality is force and violence and that fine phrases are merely the apparatus of diplomacy. This is a matter which concerns all of us, whichever quarter of the world we may live in. But, in a sense it concerns us in Asia and Africa more than in other countries because some of our countries have recently emerged into freedom and independence and we cherish them with all our strength and passion. We are devoting ourselves to serving our people and to bettering their lives and making them grow in freedom and progress. We have bitter memories of the past when we were prevented from so growing and we can never permit a return to that past age. And yet we find an attempt made to reverse the current of history and of human development. We find that all our efforts at progress might well be set at naught by the ambitions and conflicts of other peoples. Are we not to feel deeply when our life's work is imperilled and our hopes and dreams shattered?

Many of the countries in Asia laid down a set of Five Principles, which we call Panchasheel for the governance of international relations and for the peaceful co-existence of nations without interference with each other so that each nation and people might grow according to its own genius and in co-operation with others. These Five Principles are in full conformity with the noble ideals of the *UNESCO* constitution. We see now that these Five Principles are also words without meaning to some countries who claim the right of deciding problems by superior might.

I have called this great assembly the conscience of the world as they are, will never be solved except on the basis of good morals and conscience. It is for this reason that I beg of you distinguished delegates from the nations of the world, to pay heed to this collapse of conscience and good morals that we see around us, for unless we do so all our fine ideals and the good work you have done will be shattered into nothingness.

May I also venture to point out to you that a world organization like this cannot be properly constituted or function adequately if a large section of the world remains unrepresented here. I hope that three countries which have recently attained their independence—the Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco—will find a place soon in this organization to share the burdens and responsibilities of its labours. But I would especially refer to the People's Government of China

and the six hundred million people who live in that great country who have so far not been represented here.

The countries of Europe and America are fortunate in some ways for they have attained a measure of well-being. We in Asia and Africa still lack the primary necessities of life. To obtain these becomes, therefore, our first task and we cannot do so with war and violence. I earnestly trust that the meeting of this organization in this ancient city of Delhi will turn your minds more to the needs of these under-developed countries of the world, which hunger for bread and education and health, but which, above all, cherish freedom and will not part with it at any price.

Our country is a large one and our population is considerable. But we have no desire to interfere with any other country. We have no hatreds and we have been nurtured under the inspiring guidance of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi, in the ways of peace. We want to be friends with all the world. We know our failings and seek to overcome them, so that we might be of service to our own people and to the world.

I have spoken to you out of my heart, and I have done so in all humility for I know that we have men and women of wisdom and long experience here and it is not for me to tell you what you should do and what you should not do. But since it is one of the objectives of UYASCO to have a free exchange of ideas in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, I have ventured to place before you some of the thoughts I have in mind.

I welcome you again, distinguished delegates, and I earnestly trust that your labours will take you and the world some way towards the realization of the ideals which you have enshrined in your constitution.

TOWARDS A WORLD COMMUNITY

THE UNITED NATIONS has grown in the eleven years of its existence. This year particularly it has assumed an even more important position in world affairs than previously. Of course even if the United Nations did not do anything wonderful, the mere fact of the United Nations itself has been of great significance to the world. But recently the United Nations has shown that it can face problems

courageously and deal with them with a view to their ultimate solution.

Perhaps, of the many things that have happened in recent years, this is the most hopeful. It may be that the United Nations decides something occasionally which is not agreeable to some of us. That is bound to happen. But the point is that it provides a forum like this, representing the world community which can deal with the problems and, if not solve them all at once, can positively try to solve them and ultimately I hope, succeed.

In spite of the difficulties and the apparent conflicts, gradually the sense of a world community conferring together through its elected representatives is not only developing but seizing the minds of people all over the world. That is a great event. I hope that, gradually each representative here while obviously not forgetting the interests of his country will begin to think that he is something more than the representative of his country that he represents, in a small measure perhaps, the world community.

Quite apart from the problems which we have to face an aspect which worries me often is the manner of facing these problems. It is because of that that I welcome this development of a sense of facing the problems from the larger point of view of the world and of the principles which are laid down in the United Nations Charter which should gradually be translated into effect.

You will forgive me if I refer to something which has very powerfully influenced my own country. I represent a generation in my country which struggled for freedom, and in a particular way under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The one major lesson that Gandhiji impressed upon us, in season and out of season was how to do things, apart from what we did. Objectives and ends we all have but what is important is how to proceed in attaining an objective so as not to create a fresh problem in the attempt to solve one problem never to deal even with the enemy in such a way as not to leave a door open for reconciliation, and for friendship.

In this respect, our country and the United Kingdom did set a good example when we came to an agreement resulting in the independence and freedom of India, and resulting further in friendship between the two countries. It is rather a unique example that we who, for generations past, had come into conflict with each other with resultant feelings of ill will and hostility nevertheless—having solved the problem of the independence of India—could forget that part of hostility and be friends. Credit for this is due to both the parties, but, to some extent, is certainly due to the manner of approach that we had under the guidance of Gandhiji. There were many occasions in India when there was tremendous anger and bitterness at something that had been done our people may have

been shot down or beaten down in the public streets. But on no occasion, even when passions were excited, do I remember an Englishman being unable to walk unharmed through even a hostile crowd in India. That is rather remarkable. I do not say that Indians are more peaceful or better than others. They are as feeble specimens of humanity under stress and strain as any but have had this repeated lesson driven into their heads. Once or twice when our people misbehaved, Gandhiji took a step which enraged us younger people at the time. He stopped the whole movement. He said "You have misbehaved. Stop it. I do not care what the consequences are. So year after year decade after decade, he trained us. Therefore, a certain habit grew a habit of thinking as well as a habit of action.

I give this instance, because I do feel that there is something in it, whether dealing with national or international problems. Wars come, and whether wars have been good or bad may be argued. But after the war we often find that the problems that we have to face are more difficult than those before the war. The problems have not been solved, even though victory has come. The question, therefore, is to solve problems and not have perhaps even more difficult problems afterwards.

We cannot afford to take a short term view. We must look ahead. The only way to look ahead assuredly is for some kind of a world order. One World, to emerge. If that is so nothing should be done, even in the excitement of the moment, which comes in the way of the evolution of that order. Nothing should be done which increases hostility hatred and bitterness. There is plenty of hatred and bitterness in the world today. We all feel it. We cannot become angels, nevertheless our actions in a larger way as individuals and as nations might perhaps be so controlled without giving up a single principle or opinion that we may hold as not to make the path of reconciliation difficult.

Recently we have had, apart from the normal major problems of the world two developments, which have engaged the attention of this august Assembly. Whether it was in Egypt, or in Hungary both were very important and very unfortunate happenings, yet perhaps, having an element of good in them too, not in the act itself but in the consequences.

Many things have emerged from these which personally I welcome. The one big thing that has emerged is that world opinion represented in the United Nations Assembly and elsewhere, is today a strong enough factor not to tolerate what it considers wrong. That is a very important factor which in future will probably deter or make more difficult any such aberrations from the path of rectitude by any nation. Every country weak or strong will

have to think twice before it does something which enrages world opinion. That itself shows the development of some kind of a conscience for the world.

Wars and other conflicts take place because essentially something happens in the minds of men. In the constitution of UNESCO it is stated that wars begin in the minds of men. Therefore it becomes important that any decision we may arrive at must not lead to greater bitterness. The attempt should be to solve the problems and not merely to exhibit our anger at something that has happened, although there may be cause for anger and annoyance. We are working for the future. That future can only be of co-operation between countries based on freedom of nations and freedom of individuals.

In regard to the events in Egypt and Hungary which are being dealt with by the Assembly I can offer no suggestion except what I have said by way of an approach to these problems that is, the way of tolerance. Tolerance does not mean passivity. It means something active. It does not mean forgetting any principle that we stand for and is laid down in the Charter. It is of the greatest importance that the United Nations, as all of us, should keep in mind the Charter which is the basis.

It may be that we cannot give effect to the Charter quickly because the world is imperfect. Nevertheless, we should move in that direction step by step. The first thing to remember and to strive for is to avoid a situation getting worse and finally leading to a major conflict which means the destruction of all the values one holds. Because of the development of various new types of weapons, war has really become an impossible proposition for the world or for any sane country. Wars have been terribly bad previously and we have seen that wars have not solved any question. Negatively they might have done something positively they have not solved anything.

*The positive side consists in working actively for peaceful solutions based on principles and at the same time based on the future co-operation of the world. We have to live at peace with our neighbours. Today with the various developments every country is practically the neighbour of the other. Therefore we have to work for co-operation among all countries of the world.

Unfortunately we have had what is called the cold war. The cold war is better than a hot war or a shooting war. But the idea of the cold war is the very negation of what the United Nations stands for. It is a negation of what the constitution of UNESCO says that wars begin in the minds of men. Cold wars mean nourishing the idea of war in the minds of men. Gandhiji was devoted to non-violence and preached this principle all through his life, and

yet he said "If you have a sword in your mind it is better to use it than to nurse and nourish it in your mind all the time. Take it out, use it and throw it away instead of being frustrated in your selves and always thinking of the sword or the use of the sword and yet superficially trying to avoid it."

I submit to you that this idea of the cold war is essentially and fundamentally wrong. It is immoral. It is opposed to all ideas of peace and co-operation. Therefore, let us be clear in our minds as to what the right way is.

We have, as we know, all kinds of military alliances. I am quite sure that at the moment, as we stand today, all these pacts and military alliances are completely out of place. They are unnecessary even from the point of view of those people who think they benefit from these. I may admit for the sake of argument that they were necessary at an earlier stage when conditions were different but in the circumstances of today I do submit that these pacts and alliances do not add to the strength of any nation. They only create hostility leading to a piling up of armaments and making disarmament more and more difficult. "If it is our objective that we must have peace, then it follows necessarily that we must not have the cold war. If we must not have the cold war it follows necessarily that we must not buttress our idea of peace by past military establishments and pacts and alliances. All this seems to me to follow logically."

"I have no doubt that all the peoples of the world are passionately desirous of peace. I doubt if there are any people anywhere who desire war. Certainly the common man all over the world desires peace passionately. If that is so, why should we not follow the path of peace? Why should we be led away by fears, apprehensions, hatreds and violence?"

We have seen and we know that the presence of foreign forces in a country is always an irritant. It is never liked by that country. It is abnormal and undesirable. It does not conduce even to producing that sense of security which it is meant to produce. With the methods of war developing today, any war which takes place is likely to be a world war with missiles hurled from vast distances. In such a context even the practice of having places dotted all over with armed forces and bases becomes unnecessary and is merely an invitation to some other party to do likewise and to enter into competition in evil and wickedness.

How are we to face this problem? I know that we cannot put an end to it by passing a resolution even in the United Nations General Assembly. However, if we are clear in our aim, we can work surely towards that end. Connected with the cold war is the very important problem of disarmament. We all know how difficult

It is I remember that long ago the League of Nations had a Preparatory Commission for Disarmament. It worked for years and produced dozens of fat volumes of arguments and discussions, which the League of Nations itself later considered. But these came to nothing.

No manner of disarmament can make a weak country strong or a non industrial country the equal of an industrial country. Nor can it make a country which is not scientifically advanced the equal of a country which is. We can however lessen the chances of war and the fear of war through disarmament. Ultimately the entire question is a question of confidence and of lessening the fear of one another. Disarmament helps that purpose, although it does not equalize conditions. The dangers remain.

"What possible steps can we take to create a climate of peace in the world? I feel that we must aim at two or three things."

One is that, according to the Charter countries should be independent. The countries that are dominated by another country should cease to be so dominated. No country or at any rate very few countries in the world, can be said to be independent in the sense that they can do anything they like. There are restraining factors, and quite rightly. In the final analysis, the United Nations itself is a restraining factor in regard to countries misbehaving or taking advantage of their so-called independence to interfere with the independence of others. Every country's independence should be limited in this sense. The first thing however is to have this process of the independence of countries extended until it covers the whole world.

"Secondly the maintenance of armed forces on foreign soil anywhere in the world is basically wrong, even though such maintenance is with the agreement of the countries concerned. Again, the notion that a country can ensure its security by increasing armaments is being exposed. Such a policy leads only to a race in armaments so that the balance of arms would vary but little. I do not see how we can progress towards peace so long as countries think in terms of speaking to each other from a position of strength. If we could remove these armies and, simultaneously bring about some measure of disarmament I believe the atmosphere in the world would change completely. The natural result would be a much more rapid progress towards peace and the elimination of fear."

We have seen in the last two or three months how the world reacts to what it considers evil-doing. That is one of the healthiest signs apparent. A country which indulges in wrongful actions does so because it believes it can carry some part of world opinion with it. If it cannot, it is difficult for it to proceed. We have seen that even the biggest and the strongest of nations cannot impose their

will against world opinion. Therefore, we have developed a very strong protection against a country which acts wrongly.

I do feel strongly that the events in Egypt and Hungary have introduced in their own way a certain new phase in historical development. This phase must be dealt with by this august Assembly and by all countries with understanding and sympathy not with anger or with the desire to humiliate anybody. If our approach leads to something wrong or something that we do not want, then we have erred.

I submit to you that we have come to a stage in world affairs when a choice has to be made. We really cannot go on following the old path which leads to no particular destination except the preservation of force and hatred.

To go back to what I ventured to suggest at the beginning, means are as important as ends. If the means are not right, the end is also likely to be not right, however much we may want it to be right. Therefore here especially in this world assembly to which all the nations of the world look, I hope an example will be set to the rest of the world in thinking always about the right means to be adopted in order to solve our problems. The means should always be peaceful, not merely in an external way in the non-use of armaments, but in the approach of the mind. That approach will create a climate of peace which will help greatly in the solution of our problems.

THE STRUCTURE OF UNITED NATIONS

THE STRUCTURE of the United Nations was evolved at San Francisco when it came into existence fifteen years ago. It was not a very logical structure, but it represented the objectives, the conditions of the world then, the play of forces, etc.

It was clear that this structure was not very fair to Asia or Africa. The situation has changed since then. It has been progressively changing and there has been some talk of the structure of the U.N. also being changed. We had felt that this was necessary but we have not brought it forward or pressed for it, because this involved, possibly an amendment of the Charter. That would have become a highly controversial issue, and we wanted to avoid that.

With a large number of African nations coming in, it is obvious that the United Nations structure is out of tune with the conditions in the world today in a variety of ways, and that something has to be done about it. I should frankly confess that I have no precise proposals as to what should be done. It cannot be done by the cold war technique of voting or out voting the issue. Voting has to take place, but there has to be a considerable measure of agreement. This is why we do not wish to put forward any precise proposal. The point is that the United Nations structure is not in tune with the present world situation. It is not that only people from Asia or Africa feel this way. All the countries, to whatever group they may belong, recognize this fact. I hope this matter will be considered not in the context of the cold war but in the context of reality and some measures will be evolved.

It is clear that the United Nations cannot be a merely debating body. It has undertaken a very heavy task, and has solved some of the difficult problems. Because of the United Nations war has been avoided on several occasions in the last few years. If the United Nations were not there, the world would be in a parlous state, and we would have had to search for it and build up some such organization. I have often criticized the United Nations for some step or the other with which I did not agree, but broadly speaking, I should like to pay my tribute to the United Nations for the work which it has done and to its able Secretary-General.

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THE WHOLE concept of the United Nations when it started was to take the world as it was, with its conflicts and its differences and help bring it together. The idea of unanimity in the Security Council in respect of the five permanent members was based on this. It was realized that the permanent members differed from each other and that it should not be possible for some of them to condemn by resolution another great power because that meant war. If, at the instance of one or two great powers, the United Nations puts in the dock another great power the result is likely to be conflict. Therefore the principle of veto was laid down in the Charter. In a sense it is not democratic or logical nevertheless it was a practical recognition of the world as it was and as it is.

Veto is not technically a right word. The principle is unanimity of the five powers.

The United Nations will break up if there are strong pulls in different directions among the great powers. We have been living through this period of difficulty and danger because such pulls are getting more and more acute. Whether it is the Summit Conference, which upset so many things, or what happened just before and after its failure, or whether it is the situation in Africa or Congo everything today is producing these tremendous pulls which are not easy to reconcile. There is a tendency for these aspects not being properly examined before they are subjected to heated altercations in the General Assembly. Therein lies the danger.

How is the United Nations to function in such circumstances? It seems important that some step should be taken to lighten the burden of administration, and to create conditions so that the various aspects are fully considered before a decision is made. Before Mr. Hammarskjöld became Secretary-General, that, to some extent, was the policy of the U.N. organization under Mr. Trygve Lie. In so far as executive action is concerned, the decision has to be made by the Secretary-General or by the Security Council. Mr. Trygve Lie had Assistant Secretaries-General. The names do not matter. What matters is the quality of the persons there. There are risks, I think, because, as Dr. Kunzru pointed out, whether we call them Deputy or Assistant Secretaries-General, they come with fixed ideas from a fixed group and not inclined to compromise, and difficulties would arise. These difficulties are in the nature of the situation that we have to face.

COLD WAR AND DISARMAMENT

A CRISIS OF SPIRIT

WE LIVE in an age of crisis. One crisis follows another and even when there is peace, it is a troubled peace with fear of war and preparation for war. Tortured humanity hungers for real peace, but some evil fate pursues it and pushes it further and further away from what it desires most. It seems almost that some terrible destiny drives humanity to ever recurring disaster. We are all entangled in the mesh of past history and cannot escape the consequences of past evil.

In the multitude of crises, political and economic, that face us, perhaps the greatest crisis of all is that of the human spirit. Till this crisis of the spirit is resolved it will be difficult to find a solution for the other crises that afflict us.

We talk of World Government and One World and millions yearn for it. Earnest efforts continue to be made to realize this ideal of the human race, which has become so imperative today. And yet those efforts have thus far proved ineffective, even though it becomes ever clearer that if there is to be no world order then there might be no order at all left in the world. Wars are fought and won or lost, and the victors suffer almost as much as the vanquished. Surely there must be something wrong about our approach to this vital problem of the age, something essential lacking.

In India during the last quarter of a century and more Mahatma Gandhi made an outstanding contribution not only to the freedom of India but to the cause of world peace. He taught us the doctrine of non-violence, not as a passive submission to evil but as an active and positive instrument for the peaceful solution of international differences. He showed us that the human spirit is more powerful than the mightiest of armaments. He applied moral values to political action and pointed out that ends and means can never be separated for the means ultimately govern the end. If the means are evil then the end itself becomes distorted and at least partially evil. Any society based on injustice must necessarily

have the seeds of conflict and decay within it so long as it does not get rid of that evil.

All this may seem fantastic and impractical in the modern world, used as it is to thinking in set grooves. And yet we have seen repeatedly the failure of other methods and nothing can be less practical than to pursue a method that has failed again and again. We may not perhaps ignore the present limitations of human nature or the immediate perils which face the statesmen. We may not, in the world as it is constituted today even rule out war absolutely. But I have become more and more convinced that so long as we do not recognize the supremacy of the moral law in our national and international relations we shall have no enduring peace. So long as we do not adhere to right means, the end will not be right and fresh evil will flow from it. That was the essence of Gandhiji's message and mankind will have to appreciate it in order to see and act clearly. When eyes are bloodshot vision is limited.

I have no doubt in my mind that a World Government must and will come, for there is no other remedy for the world's sickness. The machinery for it is not difficult to devise. It can be an extension of the federal principle, a growth of the idea underlying the United Nations, giving each national unit freedom to fashion its destiny according to its genius, but subject always to the basic covenant of a World Government.

We talk of the rights of individuals and nations, but it must be remembered that every right carries an obligation with it. There has been far too much emphasis on rights and far too little on obligations. If obligations were undertaken, rights would naturally flow from them. This means an approach of life different from the competitive and acquisitive approach of today.

Today fear consumes us all—fear of the future, fear of war, fear of the people of the nations we dislike and who dislike us. That fear may be justified to some extent. But fear is an ignoble emotion and leads to blind strife. Let us try to get rid of this fear and base our thoughts and actions on what is essentially right and moral, and then gradually the crisis of the spirit will be resolved, the dark clouds that surround us may lift and the way to the evolution of a world order based on freedom will be clear.

DRIFT TOWARDS CATASTROPHE

FRIENDS, IT IS ALWAYS a pleasure for me to come to England. I have many friends here and the memory of my earlier days surrounds me. I welcome, therefore, this opportunity to come here again but the pleasure that this would have brought me has been marred somewhat by the crisis which confronts the world and the burdens which each one of us has to bear. To refer frankly to the matters of grave import which oppress us today is not easy for me in my present position. It would ill become me to say anything which embarrasses friends here and yet this very consciousness of pervasive friendliness in England emboldens me to talk to you as to friends who have a common purpose in view and who wish to co-operate in achieving it.

What is that purpose? Surely today it is the avoidance of war and the maintenance of peace. Of my generation many have lived the greater part of their lives and only a few years remain for us. It matters little what happens to our generation but it does matter a great deal what happens to hundreds of millions of others and to the world at large. Today these hundreds of millions all over the world live under some kind of suspended sentence of death and from day to day an atmosphere is created in people's minds of the inevitability of war. We seem to be driven helplessly towards the abyss. More and more people in responsible positions talk in terms of passion, revenge and retaliation. They talk of security and behave in a way which is likely to put an end to all security. They talk of peace and think and act in terms of war.

Are we so helpless that we cannot stop this drift towards catastrophe? I am sure that we can, because vast masses of people in every country want peace. Why then, should they be driven by forces apparently beyond their control in a contrary direction? Politicians and statesmen strive for peace through the technique of politics which consists in devising carefully worded formulae. During the last ten days, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers have wrestled with this problem of world peace. All of us earnestly seek peace. I hope that our labours will help in producing the desired result. But something more is necessary than mere formulae. What we need is a passion for peace and for civilized behaviour in international affairs. It is the temper of peace and not the temper of war that we want, even though peace is sometimes casually mentioned.

It is to this temper of peace that I want especially to direct my mind and your mind. We are in the midst of an international

crisis and perhaps, even a greater crisis that confronts us today is the crisis in the spirit of man. We have built up a great civilization and its achievements are remarkable. It holds the promise of even greater achievements in the future. But while these material achievements are very great, somehow we appear to be slipping away from the very essence of civilization. Ultimately, culture and civilization rest in the mind and behaviour of man and not in the material evidence of it that we see around us. In times of war the civilizing process stops and we go back to some barbarous phase of the human mind. Are we speeding back to this barbarism of the mind?

If we desire peace, we must develop the temper of peace and try to win even those who may be suspicious of us or who think they are against us. We have to try to understand others just as we expect them to understand us. We cannot seek peace in the language of war or of threats. You will all remember the magnificent example of which both England and India have reason to be proud. Both of us, in spite of long continued conflict, approached our problems with this basic temper of peace and we not only resolved them but produced at the same time abiding understanding and friendship. That is a great example which we might well bear in mind whenever any other crisis in the relations of nations confronts us. That is the only civilized approach to problems and leaves no ill will or bitterness behind.

I am not a pacifist. Unhappily the world of today finds that it cannot do without force. We have to protect ourselves and to prepare ourselves for every contingency. We have to meet aggression and evil of other kinds. To surrender to evil is always bad. But in resisting evil we must not allow ourselves to be swept away by our own passions and fears and act in a manner which is itself evil. Even in resisting evil and aggression we have always to maintain the temper of peace and hold out the hand of friendship to those who, through fear or for other reasons, may be opposed to us. That is the lesson that our great leader Mahatma Gandhi taught us and imperfect as we are, we draw inspiration from that great teaching.

In Asia, as you know, great changes have taken place. I fear that most of us and, perhaps, more particularly you of the West do not realize the vastness of these changes. We are living through a great historic process which has created a ferment in the minds of hundreds of millions of people and which can be seen at work in political and economic changes. Asia has a very long history behind it and for long ages it has played an outstanding part in the world. During the last two or three hundred years it suffered an eclipse. Now it is emerging from its colonial status. Inevitably this is making a great difference to the balance of forces in the world. The old

equilibrium has been upset and can never be restored. That is a basic fact to remember. Asia is essentially peaceful but it is also proud and sensitive and very conscious of its newly-won freedom. In its exuberance it may go wrong occasionally. It has mighty problems of its own and wishes to live at peace with the rest of the world but it is no longer prepared to tolerate any domination or threat of domination or any behaviour after the old pattern of colonialism. It demands recognition of its new position in the world. Therefore I would like you to view with understanding and sympathy these historic changes which are taking place in Asia, for it is of the utmost importance that Europe and Asia should understand each other. Nor should we forget the millions of people who are still under colonial domination in Africa and elsewhere. A new approach and understanding are needed and, if these are forthcoming, I feel sure that Asia will respond with all friendship. The countries of Asia need and seek friendship and co-operation for they have tremendous problems to solve. These problems are concerned with the primary needs of their peoples—food, clothing, housing and the other necessities of life. They are too busy with these problems to care to be entangled in international conflicts. But they are being dragged into them against their will.

Great nations have arisen in Asia with long memories of the past they have lived through and with their eyes fixed on a future of promise. India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia have recently acquired their freedom. China has taken a new shape and a new form. But whether we like that shape and form or not, we have to recognize that a great nation has been reborn and is conscious of her new strength. China, in her new-found strength, has acted sometimes in a manner which I deeply regret. But we have to remember the background of China—as of other Asian countries, the long period of struggle and frustration, the insolent treatment that they received from imperialist powers and the latter's refusal to deal with them on terms of equality. It is neither right nor practical to ignore the feelings of hundreds of millions of people. It is no longer safe to do so. We in India have had two thousand years of friendship with China. We have differences of opinion and even small conflicts but when we hark back to that long past something of the wisdom of that past also helps us to understand each other. And so we endeavour to maintain friendly relations with this great neighbour of ours, for the peace of Asia depends upon these relations.

The immediate problem of today is the problem of the Far East. If that is not solved satisfactorily trouble will spread to Europe and to the rest of the world. And perhaps Europe, with her magnificent record of progress not only in material achievement

but also in the culture of the mind and spirit, will suffer most if war comes. Therefore, we must come to grips with this Far Eastern problem with the firm determination to solve it. We can only do so with the temper and approach of peace and friendship and not by threats. The time when threats were effective is long past. No question of saving face or prestige should come in the way of this human and civilized approach to the problems of our age.

Our task is the preservation of peace and, indeed of our civilization. To this task let us bend our energies and find fellowship and strength in each other

THE HYDROGEN BOMB

I WELCOME this opportunity to state the position of the Government and, I feel sure, of the country on the latest of all the dread weapons of war—the hydrogen bomb, and its known and unknown consequences and horrors.

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, we are told, possess this weapon and each of these countries has, during the last two years, effected test explosions unleashing impacts which in every respect were far beyond those of any weapons of destruction known to man.

A further and more powerful explosion than the one of March 1st has been effected by the United States and more are reported to have been scheduled to take place.

We know little more about the hydrogen bomb and its disastrous and horrible consequences than what has appeared in the Press or is otherwise a matter of general knowledge or speculation. But even what we do know—and the very fact that the full facts of the effects of these explosions do not appear to be known or to be ascertainable with any certainty even by scientists, point to certain conclusions. A new weapon of unprecedented power both in volume and intensity with an unascertained, and probably unascertainable range of destructive potential in respect of time and space, that is, both as regards duration and the extent of consequences, is being tested, unleashing its massive power for use as a weapon of war. We know that its use threatens the existence of man and civilization as we know it. We are told that there is no effective protection

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

against the hydrogen bomb and that millions of people may be exterminated by a single explosion and many more injured, and perhaps still many more condemned to slow death or to live under the shadow of the fear of disease and death.

These are horrible prospects, and they affect us, nations and everyone, whether we are involved in wars or power blocs or not. From diverse sides and parts of the world have come pronouncements which point to the dread features and ominous prospects of the hydrogen bomb era. I shall refer to but a few of them.

Some time ago when the hydrogen bomb was first mentioned in public, Professor Albert Einstein said

The hydrogen bomb appears on the public horizon as a probable attainable goal. If successful, radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere, and hence an annihilation of any life on earth, has been brought within the range of technical possibilities.

That success appears now to have been achieved. A U.S. professor Dr Greenhead of Cincinnati University said

We are proceeding blindly in our atomic tests and sometimes we cannot predict the results of such blind moves. The U.S. was able to make these bombs out of relatively plentiful substances. If these are used to create an explosive chain reaction we are nearing the point where we suddenly have enough materials to destroy ourselves.

Mr Martin, the Defence and Scientific Adviser to the Government of Australia, is reported to have said after the explosion of March 1

For the first time I am getting worried about the hydrogen bomb. I can say as an individual that the hydrogen bomb has brought things to a stage where a conference between the four world powers in mankind's own interests can no longer be postponed.

Mr Lester Pearson, the External Affairs Minister of Canada, referred to the use of such weapons in war when he said recently that "a third world war accompanied by the possible devastation by new atomic and chemical weapons would destroy civilization."

The House will recall the recent statement of Mr Malenkov the Soviet Prime Minister on this subject, the exact words of which I have not before me, but which said in effect that modern war with such weapons in use, would mean total destruction.

There can be little doubt about the deep and widespread concern in the world particularly among peoples about these weapons and their dreadful consequences. But concern is not enough. Fear and dread do not lead to constructive thought or effective

courses of action. Panic is no remedy against disaster of any kind present or potential.

Mankind has to awaken itself to the reality and face the situation with determination and assert itself to avert calamity.

The general position of this country in this matter has been repeatedly stated and placed beyond all doubt. It is up to us to pursue as best we can the objective we seek.

We have maintained that nuclear (including thermonuclear) chemical and biological (bacterial) knowledge and power should not be used to forge these weapons of mass destruction. We have advocated the prohibition of such weapons, by common consent, and immediately by agreement amongst those concerned, which latter is at present the only effective way to bring about their abandonment.

The House will no doubt, recall the successive attempts made by us at the United Nations to secure the adoption of this view and approach.

At the last session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1953 as a result of the amendment moved by our delegation to the Resolution on Disarmament, there were incorporated in the resolution that was adopted

- (1) An "affirmation" by the General Assembly of its "earnest desire for the elimination and prohibition of atomic, hydrogen, bacterial, chemical and other weapons of war and mass destruction and for the attainment of these ends through effective means.
- (2) A provision for setting up a sub-committee of the powers principally involved, to sit in private, and at places of its choosing to implement the purposes of the Disarmament Commission.

The House is aware that this latter suggestion has lately engaged the attention of the powers principally concerned, at Berlin and elsewhere, and talks have taken place and so far as we know are continuing.

Time, however, appears to challenge us. Destruction threatens to catch up with us, if not to overtake us, on its march to its sinister goal. We must seek to arrest it and avert the dire end it threatens.

The Government propose to continue to give the closest and continuous consideration to such steps as they can take in appropriate places and contexts in pursuit of our approach and the common objective.

I have stated publicly as our view that these experiments, which may have served their one and only useful purpose, namely, exposing the nature of the horror and tragedy even though but partly, should cease. I repeat that to be our considered position.

and it is our hope that this view and the great concern it reflects, and which is world-wide, will evoke adequate and timely responses.

Pending progress towards some solution full or partial, in respect of the prohibition and elimination of these weapons of mass destruction, which the General Assembly has affirmed as its nearest desire, the Government would consider among the steps to be taken now and forthwith, the following

- (1) Some sort of what may be called standstill agreement in respect, at least of these actual explosions, even if agreements about the discontinuance of production and stock piling must await more substantial agreements amongst those principally concerned.
- (2) Full publicity by those principally concerned in the production of these weapons, and by the United Nations, of the extent of the destructive power and the known effects of these weapons and also adequate indication of the unknown but probable effects. Informed world public opinion is in our view the most effective factor in bringing about the results we desire.
- (3) Immediate (and continuing) private meetings of the sub-committees of the Disarmament Commission to consider the standstill proposal which I have just mentioned pending decisions on prohibitions, controls, etc., to which the Disarmament Commission is asked by the General Assembly to address itself.
- (4) Active steps by States and peoples of the world who though not directly concerned with the production of these weapons, are very much concerned with the possible use of them and also at present with these experiments and their effects. They would I venture to hope express their concern and add their voices and influence in as effective a manner as possible to arrest the progress of this destructive potential which menaces all alike.

The Government of India will use its best efforts in pursuit of these objectives.

I would conclude with an expression of the sympathy which this House and this country feel towards the victims of the recent explosions, Japanese fishermen and others, and to the people of Japan to whom it has brought much dread and concern by way of direct effects and by the fear of food contamination.

The open ocean appears no longer open, except in that those who sail on it for fishing or other legitimate purposes take the great and unknown risks caused by these explosions. It is of great concern to us that Asia and her peoples appear to be always nearer these

occurrences and experiments, and their fearsome consequences, actual and potential.

We do not yet know fully whether the continuous effects of these explosions are carried only by the media of air and water or whether they subsist in other strata of nature and how long their effects persist, or whether they set up some sort of chain reactions at which some have already hinted.

We must endeavour with faith and hope to promote all efforts that seek to bring to a halt this drift to what appears to be the menace of total destruction.

CONTROL OF NUCLEAR ENERGY

IN THE LAST generation or two there have been certain explorations of the remotest frontiers of human knowledge which are leading us to many strange discoveries and strange consequences. Max Planck's Quantum Theory and, later on, Albert Einstein's Theory of Relativity changed the whole conception of the universe. Soon came the atom bomb with its power to kill. The human mind and human efforts are unleashing tremendous powers without quite knowing how to control them. They cannot be controlled by a mere desire or demand for banning them. Nobody can really control the human mind from going on unleashing new forces. One of the political problems of the day is how to approach this problem of control which is of vital consequence. Such an approach presupposes some measure of lessening of tension in the world, some measure of mutual confidence on the part of the great nations, some agreement to allow each country to live its own life. The only alternative is conflict, and if the idea of conflict is in the minds of nations then the atom bomb will undoubtedly remain.

Let us consider the possible issues. It is perfectly clear that atomic energy can be used for peaceful purposes, to the immense advantage of humanity. It may take some years before it can be used more or less economically. I should like the House to remember that the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes is far more important for a country like India whose power resources are limited than for a country like France, an industrially advanced country. Take the United States of America, which already has vast power resources of other kinds. To have an additional source

of power like atomic energy does not mean very much for them. No doubt they can use it but it is not so indispensable for them as for a power-starved or power hungry country like India or like most of the other countries in Asia and Africa. I say that because it may be to the advantage of countries which have adequate power resources to restrain and restrict the use of atomic energy because they do not need that power. It would be to the disadvantage of a country like India if that is restricted or stopped. We should remember this very important aspect of the so-called international control. Who is to control atomic energy internationally? Which are the nations that are going to control it? One may say the United Nations. Obviously there is no other organization approaching the United Nations in its international jurisdiction. And yet the House knows, the United Nations as it is does not include in its scope even the big nations of the world. Some of the biggest are kept out. The United Nations can control only itself. It cannot control any nation which is not in it, which it refuses to admit and with which it would not have anything to do. The result will be that though it may control a great part of the world still there is a part of the world which is not controlled by it. That part, over which there is no control may make all the mischief. Therefore, the question of international control becomes difficult. Reference has been made to with the proposition that there should be proper international control and proper use made of the stock of fissile materials, so that all countries can use them for research work or for proper purposes. But how is this to be done? That is where the difficulty comes in. That appears reasonable but let us see what actual proposals have been made in regard to atomic energy control by various countries. At the beginning of the year the United States said: "An international control agency shall be set up by the United Nations. It shall thereafter be an independent body outside the control of the Security Council and of the United Nations. The United Nations is merely supposed to set up the agency and wash its hands of it. It becomes an independent organization. This organization will, of course have an unlimited right of inspection. Agreed. "It shall have the right to maintain its own guards on the territory of any foreign State licensed to engage in any of the processes of the production of or research in atomic energy." Thus the atomic energy body becomes a super-State maintaining its own guards or armies or whatever you like to call them. Then again it shall own and control"—mark these words—the raw materials mined, the plants in which the ore is processed, and all plants which deal with production of atomic energy wherever they may be situated in any

country of the world." This is a very far reaching provision. It means that all our raw materials and our mines would be owned and controlled by that independent body which is even independent of the United Nations after it is created. It means tremendous power being concentrated in the hands of a select body. It shall decide if, when and where and to what extent the various processes may be carried out and in which parts of the world atomic energy plants may be established—and there are limitations also—and it shall have authority to issue or withhold licences from countries, institutions or enterprises engaged in any activities relating to the production of atomic energy."

I read to you some of the proposals. This vast power is proposed to be given to a body which is independent even of the United Nations which sponsors it or starts it. An important consideration is who will be in it. Either you make the body as big as the United Nations with all the countries represented or it will be some relatively small body inevitably with the great powers sitting in it and lording it over. I say with all respect to them that they will have a grip over all the atomic energy areas and raw materials in every country. Now for a country like India, is it a desirable prospect?

When hon. Members talk so much of international control, let us understand without using vague phrases and language, what it means. There should be international control and inspection, but it is not such an easy matter as it seems. Certainly we would be entitled to object to any kind of control which is not exercised to our advantage. We are prepared in this, as in any other matter even to limit, in common with other countries, our independence of action for the common good of the world. We are prepared to do that, provided we are assured that it is for the common good of the world and not exercised in a partial way and not dominated over by certain countries, however good their motives.

In President Eisenhower's speech these details are not gone into but he says that what he calls "normal uranium" should be controlled. I could have understood control of fissile materials. But President Eisenhower refers to "normal uranium". By "normal uranium" he presumably means uranium ores. Again we get back to the raw materials. I submit it would not be right to agree to any plan which hands over even our raw materials and mines to any external authority. I would again beg the House to remember the major fact that atomic energy for peaceful purposes is far more important to the under-developed countries of the world than to the developed ones. And if the developed countries have all the powers they may well stop the use of atomic energy everywhere, including in their own countries because they do not need it so much, and in consequence we might suffer

We welcome the approach of President Eisenhower in this matter. Since he delivered his speech this question has been discussed by representatives of other great powers chiefly concerned, and if they find out any suitable method for creating this international pool, we shall be very happy and, subject to what I have said, we shall give what we can to it.

POWER VACUUM THEORY

RECENTLY two of the great men of the biggest and the most powerful nations of the world the United States of America and the Soviet Union, made certain proposals. The President of the United States made some proposals which are called the Eisenhower Doctrine now. The Soviet Union made some independent proposals. I do not presume at this stage, to discuss or criticize any of these proposals. I have no doubt that both were meant to advance the cause of security and peace. But what I ventured to suggest on another occasion was that any proposals that were made in an atmosphere of suspicion and fear would not take one far even when they were good proposals because nobody accepted them as *bona fide* proposals.

I venture to suggest that the situation in the world is serious enough for questions to be tackled face to face by the great leaders, more particularly by the great President of the United States and the leaders of the Soviet Union. It is possible that such a step would lead to something better than what we have seen in the last few months. On the one occasion that they did meet—it was about two years ago—that meeting resulted in a change in the world atmosphere and kindled the first hopes of some kind of peace.

This is not a question of favouring any particular proposal or not favouring it. I have no doubt that a great deal in President Eisenhower's proposals, more especially the part dealing with economic help is of importance and of value. I have no doubt that many of the proposals that were put forward by the Soviet Union are helpful, on the face of it. How they are carried out is a different matter.

But there is one approach that troubles me and that is the idea of thinking that areas in Asia, for instance in West Asia are vacuums which have to be filled by somebody stepping in from

outside. That, I feel, is a dangerous approach. It is an unreal approach to say that every country which has insufficient armaments is a vacuum. At that rate, if you think in terms of armament, there are only two countries which have an adequate supply of hydrogen bombs, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. You may say all other countries are vacuums, because they do not have hydrogen bombs, which would be an absurd thing to say. What is the test then? Military power? Two countries stand out above all others. There are two or three or four other countries which are powerful military nations, and even great powers. Outside of these five or six, are all the smaller and militarily weaker countries vacuums? What is the test of this vacuum idea, which is a dangerous idea, especially for Asian and African countries? It seems to me really to lead to the conclusion that where circumstances compel an imperialist power to withdraw necessarily you must presume that it has left a vacuum. If so, how is that vacuum to be filled? Surely if somebody else comes in it is a repetition of the old story perhaps in a different form. It can only be filled by the people of that country growing and developing themselves economically, politically and otherwise.

There is another difficulty when an outside power wants to fill such a vacuum if I may use the word. When there is conflict in the world between two countries which have their areas of influence, as soon as one country tries to fill a vacuum the other group suspects its intentions and tries to extend its own area of influence there or elsewhere. You thus get back into this tug-of-war of trying to capture as areas of influence various parts of the world which are not strong enough to stand by themselves.

SUSPENSION OF NUCLEAR TESTS

THIS RESOLUTION expresses sentiments in moderate and temperate language nevertheless, it expresses them powerfully and strongly. It is no small matter for the Parliament of India to express its sentiments in a formal resolution.

An hon. Member in an amendment says that this resolution may be sent on by post or telegram to some other Parliaments, and notably to the three great powers which possess these hydrogen

and atomic bombs. I submit that the passage of this resolution in this House should be something rather for the world than for being sent to some other House. We pass the resolution and it is for the world to read it. We do not pretend to do something which is beyond our capacity and power. If we have attained some respect in the eyes of the other countries of the world, it is because we have spoken with some sense of responsibility and because, while certainly expressing our opinion with firmness, we have always tried not to condemn but to win over the other people. This is our deliberate, well thought-out policy. The whole point is that while dealing with a situation like this the moment we enter the sphere of strong language and condemnation, we cease to have any real effect. Immediately whether we wish it or not we become parties to the cold war and the appeal to reason or to the emotions of the other party is lost. If I may say so, the policy to a small extent, embodies the Gandhian approach.

Hon. Members often say 'Hold a conference. Am I to summon the leaders of the U.S.A. the U.S.S.R. the U.K. and other countries and tell them what to do? Conferences are not held in this way. Even if a conference is held it will be of persons in conflict with each other. Therefore, how are we to proceed? If we were in a measure effective for instance in the Korean or the Indo-China affair it was not through conferences. It was through quiet long and continued hard work, conducted in all modesty without any shouting or publicity. We cannot lightly consider this matter which has raised strong feelings all over the world.

The countries which possess hydrogen bombs say they are prepared to give them up if the other party gives them up. And nobody gives them up. Proposals are put forward, but there is a chain of test explosions while the proposals are being considered. I am merely venturing to point out how unrealistic the approach is. The reality is overwhelming fear that the other party might go ahead.

The mover of the resolution reminded us how three years ago in 1954 I ventured to speak on the subject in the House and put forward a proposal about the suspension of nuclear tests. At that time, the proposal was treated with a certain measure of levity by other countries who thought that we came into the field and made the proposal without understanding the great issues at stake. Later the matter was discussed in the Disarmament Sub-Committee of the United Nations. A long statement was made by us about disarmament generally and more particularly about the nuclear tests. That was referred to the Disarmament Commission. We have been pegging away at this matter not merely in the broad sense of talking about peace and goodwill but precisely and scientifically with practical proposals.

My submission to the House is that we should confine ourselves to what has been said in the resolution. In a sense, of course the resolution itself is disapproval of nuclear tests. Otherwise we would not ask for their suspension

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THE FIRST THING which I would like to say is to endorse wholeheartedly what the hon. Member Dr Kunzru said that we do not come forward in this resolution presuming to tell others that we are better than they. Each country's policy is influenced by a variety of factors, pressures and apprehensions and each has certain basic approaches to a question. Situated as we are, relatively speaking we can view these matters with greater dispassionateness than the other countries. It is, therefore, not from any special virtue that we put this forward, but because of the circumstances in which we are placed and our way of thinking.

Everyone agrees about the dangers from the atomic and hydrogen bombs. Everyone agrees that they should be eliminated. The dangers are inherent in the situation. The dangers grow because today three powers are supposed to have these hydrogen bombs. The general trend is for these bombs to be made cheaper and more easily. It may be that in a few years time it will be relatively easy for any industrialized country to make these bombs. In other words, there is the danger of more and more countries being able to make these hydrogen bombs and the bombs being cheaper too. At the same time, these bombs become much more dangerous as their effectiveness grows. If more and more countries possess these weapons, it will be much more difficult to control them than it is today. In fact, quite a new situation will arise, which might threaten humanity. It might even be that a group of misguided persons might try to terrorize the world. It is a possibility. Therefore, it is desirable to come to grips with this subject before the danger spreads too much. That is one reason for urgent action.

The other approach, which is hardly a political approach, is that the general understanding of humanity should morally condemn the making and possession of nuclear weapons so greatly that no one would dare use them.

We suggest that the nuclear tests should be suspended and ultimately banned. Even if the countries concerned agree to the proposal I do not mean that it will put an end to all dangers. But

it will stop the progressive rot that is going on and spread a certain feeling all over the world against these weapons being produced or misused. There can be no absolute guarantee in this matter but we shall move in the right direction. Having gone far enough in the wrong direction it is time that this is done now.

May I say straightway that I would support the amendment moved by my colleague Mr. Krishna Menon to this resolution which speaks about suspension? The mere fact of suspension with a view to future abandonment will itself create a new atmosphere in the world. While it will not put an end to the fears and apprehensions of the world, it will set people thinking in a different direction. I would welcome any step, however small, which creates the atmosphere for the next step. An agreement to suspend nuclear explosions with a view to banning them later would be a very definite step.

Some proposals have been made about limiting these explosions, about registering them and about informing the United Nations beforehand that a test explosion is to take place. While, on the face of it they appear to be a move in some kind of right direction, we feel it is not a practical direction.

First of all, if the United Nations and the other powers agree to these proposals what does it mean? It means that we make legitimate what is being done. We give to a degree the authority of the world community to its being done although in a limited way. This is a bad thing because the world may become complacent while the danger continues.

Secondly, however limited these explosions may be, there is a strong body of scientific opinion that these explosions are dangerous for the world.

Thirdly, the argument is raised that even in the case of suspension or total abandonment of nuclear explosions nobody is quite sure that secretly these might not be done, and that scientists have not yet found out effective means of checking such secret explosions, that is, there is no effective control of them. That argument may or may not be true. We have to investigate it. My point is that the argument applies completely to the limited explosions also. If we cannot control the unlimited explosions, we will also not be able to control the limited explosions. In fact it is far easier to say "Suspend the explosions" although a big thing in itself, it is relatively easy. We are not deciding the final issue. We gain time for considering how to abandon them. We suspend them now and we have leisure and time. If we say "Limit them" then the immediate compulsion of the moment is gone. The explosions go on and we are exactly in the same position in so far as knowledge goes and in so far as control goes, because a country or a group that

wants to misbehave may take the risk of misbehaviour whether we ban the explosions, suspend them or limit them. Therefore that approach does not help at all.

In the original resolution there was talk of India taking a step towards summoning a world conference or a conference of leading nations. An amendment to it is of neutral countries. I think the way the word "neutral" is used is not very accurate or correct or desirable. Anyhow I submit that this idea of our calling a conference is not feasible or desirable. It would not really help this cause which we have at heart. I would, therefore, submit that the right resolution for this House to adopt is the amended one which Mr Krishna Menon proposed.

TOWARDS DISARMAMENT

WE HAVE BEEN greatly interested in disarmament and in the efforts made towards disarmament. Perhaps this House will remember that the Disarmament Sub-Committee of the U.N. was formed as a result of India's initiative in the General Assembly in 1953.

Last year we suggested in the U.N. some initial steps for this purpose. These steps were: First, experimental explosions of nuclear and thermonuclear bombs should be suspended pending their abandonment. Secondly, there should be a total dismantling of at least some bombs, and thus a reversal of the process of piling them up. Thirdly, the parties concerned should publicly declare to the United Nations and to the world their willingness not to manufacture any more of these dreadful weapons. Fourthly, military budgets should be published in all countries, and no further expansion of military strength should be made, and any possible reduction should be effected immediately.

It is true that any real settlement regarding disarmament will have to be a comprehensive one. We cannot have it in one corner and leave the other free. But the fact that we have a partial agreement does not rule out a comprehensive agreement: it is a step towards that. It produces the atmosphere and the confidence to go further. Therefore we have always suggested that a partial agreement is better than no agreement provided that it is a step towards the larger agreement.

Another aspect of the problem is that if any agreement on disarmament is tied up with political issues, we are likely to solve neither the political issues nor the issue of disarmament. Disarmament must be considered separately. We find an extraordinary state of affairs in regard to arms now. All kinds of horrible new weapons are coming out one after the other and I strongly feel that unless all wisdom has left humanity some way out has to be found.

DURING THE LAST eighteen months or perhaps a little more, an impression has been created with some justification that we were getting near to some form of disarmament. I have no doubt that all the great countries concerned—the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France and Canada—have all worked hard towards the same goal and wanted to have some measure of disarmament.

All kinds of proposals have been made. But the fact is that, at the present moment, the Disarmament Commission faces a deadlock. It may well be that it will come out of the deadlock and start discussing again. But it is a somewhat frustrating experience to expect something to happen, something that we are eagerly and anxiously looking forward to and be repeatedly disappointed. While these great powers discuss questions of limiting nuclear tests and the use of these bombs or of the manufacture of these weapons both the tests and the manufacture go on which in some measure vitiate the world's atmosphere and make it more and more dangerous for human beings. The measure of the danger may be small at the present moment in the sense that it does not actually affect people but nobody quite knows to what extent it has been affecting children who have been born, and, even more, through various genetic aspects, the children yet unborn.

I do not know what part we in India can play in this matter. We have in the past made certain proposals in all humility for the consideration of the big powers. I believe some consideration has been given to them by the Disarmament Sub-Committee. But we seem to be where we were. It is obvious that this question cannot be solved by majority voting. It has to be solved ultimately by the United States and the Soviet Union as well as by the other powers like the United Kingdom that possess these weapons, and some others who may possess them soon.

Occasionally it has been stated that India might play a greater part in the Disarmament Sub-Committee or elsewhere in this respect. Last year or earlier this year we offered to appear before the Disarmament Sub-Committee in support of a memorandum that we had given. The committee thanked us for that memorandum and said they would consider it carefully but pointed out that it would be difficult for them to make an exception in favour of one country as requests might be made from many other countries too. There was some justification for that statement. Anyhow it is not our desire to push ourselves in these committees or commissions. But naturally we would like to help and we are quite prepared to do so.

The House knows the latest developments in these weapons. First, there is the development of the nuclear bomb or the hydrogen bomb secondly of the ballistic weapon which carries it to some other place and thirdly of methods of guiding the weapon and making it hit the target. Every day we hear of more and more progress being made in these fields, and I should imagine that perhaps this might shake up a little more than before the conscience and the mind of mankind. The people of every country are very much exercised over this danger.

Every problem in the world and every problem that we face in this country becomes very secondary in the face of this major world problem.

APPEAL TO THE U.S.A. AND THE U.S.S.R.

I VENTURE TO APPEAL to the great leaders of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. I do so in all humility but with great earnestness. We in India have grave problems to face. But I am overwhelmed by the thought of the crisis in civilization which the world is facing today the like of which it has not known ever before. I believe that it is in the power of America and Russia to solve this crisis and save humanity from the ultimate disaster which faces it.

Our earth has become too small for the new weapons of the atomic age. While man in the pride of his intellect and knowledge forces his way into space and pierces the heavens, the very existence of the human race is threatened. There are enough weapons of

mass destruction already to put an end to life on earth. Today America and Russia possess them in abundance and England also has them. Tomorrow it may be that other countries will possess them, and even the capacity to control them will go into the range of human power. Nuclear test explosions take place, contaminating air and water and food as well as directly injuring the present and future generations of mankind.

No country, no people, however powerful they might be, are safe from destruction if this competition in weapons of mass destruction and cold war continues.

Apart from these dangers ahead the civilization which thousands of years of human effort have built up is being corroded and undermined by fear and hatred and will progressively wither away if these trends continue. All the peoples of the world have a right to life and progress and the fulfilment of their destiny. They have the right to peace and security. They can only preserve these rights now by living peacefully together and by solving their problems by peaceful methods. They differ in their creeds and beliefs and ideologies. They cannot convert each other by force or threat of force, for any such attempt will lead to catastrophe for all. The only way is to exist peacefully together in spite of differences, and to give up the policy of hatred and violence.

The moral and the ethical approaches demand this. But practical common sense points this way even more.

I have no doubt that this can be done. I have no doubt that America and Russia have it in their power to put an end to this horror that is enveloping the world and darkening our minds and our future.

Millions of people believe in what is called Western capitalism. Millions also believe in communism. But there are many millions who are not committed to either of these ideologies and yet seek in friendship with others, a better life and a more hopeful future.

I speak for myself but I believe that I echo the thoughts of vast numbers of people in my country as well as in other countries of the world. I venture therefore to make this appeal to the great leaders, more especially of America and Russia, in whose hands fate and destiny have placed such tremendous power today to mould this world and either to raise it to undreamt heights or to hurl it to the pit of disaster. I appeal to them to stop all nuclear test explosions and thus to show to the world that they are determined to end this menace and to proceed also to bring about effective disarmament. The moment this is done, a great weight will be lifted from the mind of man. But it is not merely a physical change that is necessary but an attempt to remove fear and reverse the perilous

trend which threatens the continued existence of the human race. It is only by direct approaches and agreements through peaceful methods that these problems can be solved.

ON 'SPEAKING FROM STRENGTH'

THE OTHER DAY I ventured to make an appeal which was addressed to the other great countries, and more especially to the United States of America and the Soviet Union because it is in the hands of those who hold the reins of authority in these two countries that the question of peace and war lies. I have had replies from the heads of both these countries. I am very grateful for the trouble Mr. Bulganin and President Eisenhower have taken to reply at considerable length.

I should like hon. Members to consider these replies. While there appear to be some differences in their approach, and some criticism of each other, basically it will be noticed from these replies how strong the desire for peace and for some arrangements to ensure peace is. It would be right for us to lay stress rather on the similarities on the common urges, desires and objectives than on the differences. There are differences, of course; otherwise there would be no question of this crisis having arisen. It is true this issue ceased to be a wholly theoretical one. It is an issue of the highest practical importance.

It is an issue which does not merely demand a moral and ethical approach. No doubt, I would lay stress on the moral and ethical approach, because morality and ethics are involved when there is a question of war weapons being used for mass slaughter and when there is a danger of the extermination of the human species. However, there is something much more perhaps, and that is a very definite practical, and if you like, an opportunist approach to this problem. Mutual recriminations will not save humanity and there should be some solution of this problem. The time has gone by when these great countries, bound up in military alliances and blocs, can morally justify their attitudes or their policies by criticizing each other even though that criticism might be justified and be right. What the world seeks to achieve is not self-justification of one's action but survival and freedom from the daily fear that oppresses humanity today.

In Europe and maybe elsewhere aircraft fly about with hydrogen bombs on them all the time. Why? Because they must be ever ready they say to defend themselves. What an extraordinary state of affairs! Every country does the most aggressive things in the name of defence!

We have to deal with tremendously difficult problems, which apart from their inherent complexities, border on other major problems of the world. The hydrogen bomb and other ballistic weapons and the like are there to warn us of what would be the fate of the world if a false step is taken. Today the United States of America and the Soviet Union are the powers with the biggest and the most dangerous weapons. The United Kingdom, though presumably weaker has also joined the Hydrogen Bomb Club. I have no doubt that within a relatively short time France will also be having its test hydrogen bomb explosions and that other countries will do so before long. When this process goes on, it will become impossible to control this deterioration.

Therefore, we are today at a critical moment in history. If we fail to take advantage of this moment, the results may be very bad.

I believe in the speech which President Eisenhower delivered at the NATO conference yesterday. He said that the time has gone by when there can be any victory of one side over the other. He spoke to the effect that "the time has come when any right solution can only be a victory for all." These are pregnant words and they are right indeed. The only real victory for everybody is to put an end to this fear of war.

If that is so the approach should also apply to the cold war. I cannot understand how people talk about peace and the necessity for the avoidance of war but at the same time indulge in the cold war which brings about a situation which is progressively becoming more dangerous and may burst at any moment.

It is often said that all this is done to ensure security. It is a strange way to ensure security by adding to every conceivable danger. In the name of security, atomic tests should go on in the name of security hydrogen bombs should be flown all over the place in the name of security all kinds of terrible weapons should be evolved and in the name of security each party slings the other and thereby creates an atmosphere where the danger becomes more acute. Of course everyone must recognise the argument for security. No country and no government can risk its future, or can accept a position when another country can impose its will upon it. But, if in order to ensure security measures are to be taken which really endanger it still further then we fail in getting that security.

I do not propose to discuss the various subjects that have come up in disarmament conferences and in the United Nations in

regard to disarmament. It is a complicated subject. It did seem to us last summer that for the first time an agreement became conceivable, principally between two three or four great powers. But a little later various things happened which almost put disarmament into the shade it hardly remained a live issue, and there was a complete pause. The continuation of the situation is very unfortunate and very dangerous. The Soviet Government withdrew from the Disarmament Conference though perhaps for the time being. Therefore, at the present moment there are not even talks going on on the subject. This is a dangerous position.

It is a fact that the differences on the question of disarmament at one time were very limited, but something else happened which widened them. That "something else" is the mental approach to the problem, the approach of fear and of anger the approach of not being made to appear that one is weak. It is the approach which uses the words "Let us have a tough policy let us speak from strength."

We have been witnessing the results of this policy of "speaking from strength" for many years now. When one side grows a little stronger the other side grows stronger also, so that any reference to strength induces the other party to build up its strength as rapidly as possible. And we are where we were, and perhaps in a worse condition.

It is extraordinary how old slogans, old phrases and old platitudes continue to be repeated without any real attempt being made to grapple and wrestle with this problem and put an end to it. The time has gone by for resolutions and for wishful thinking. These great powers have to come to grips with the possibility that any slip on the part of individual gentlemen or commanders—not even on the part of their Governments—might precipitate a world war. Surely the first thing necessary for the sake of ensuring security is to prevent this odd slip which might occur on the part of any one of tens of thousands of persons who are in command, whereby a war will be precipitated.

May I suggest that the conditions of political and international thinking are also completely different now? The problems are difficult. The way the problems have arisen, the way these big enormous weapons have come into being require entirely a different order of thinking. I would add that they also demand some consideration on an ethical plane.

Therefore the only way is to approach these problems differently and realize that war can no longer solve them. The people of every country passionately desire peace. Why not allow this tremendous urge for peace to have full play and to help in reaching agreements which will ensure peace?

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Today the NATO council is meeting in Paris. It is not for me to advise them but, as I have said repeatedly we are not very much in favour of these military alliances because they do not create that atmosphere which will lead to a settlement. Every step of this kind is met by a counter-step on the other side. The result is that no one knows which power today is stronger. In the realm of the new types of weapons, maybe, the United States is stronger in some and the Soviet Union stronger in some others. The point is that both are strong enough to destroy the other and the world. In view of this, it is of hardly any significance as to who is a little stronger than the other. Therefore this rivalry in weapons ceases to have much meaning.

GROWING URGENCY

THE MOST IMPORTANT problem in the world today is the subject of disarmament and the cold war which involve the relationship between the two major military groupings. This is the basic thing. The issue has become even more urgent since the new phase of the Sputnik and the Explorer era has come in. Now a false step or even an accident might bring about that tremendous disaster from which there may well be no escape afterwards.

The other day the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom said that it was something that we had kept the peace even this severed peace. Without doubt it is something better than war. Nevertheless, it is hardly peace except that killing is not being undertaken on a large scale. Therefore this question of disarmament and of some kind of a settlement or an approach to a settlement of the various problems which entangle these two great military groupings has assumed high importance.

This has been discussed in the United Nations repeatedly. The present position there is that the talks on disarmament have ended. No progress was made after they had raised high hopes last year. Another Disarmament Commission of 25 was formed. Nobody quite knows whether it can function satisfactorily or not because no Disarmament Commission can function with any hope of results unless the two super powers are on it. Basically it is for the United States of America and the Soviet Union to agree. I do

From reply to debate in Lok Sabha on the President's Address,
February 18, 1958

not mean to say that others can be left out. Not at all. But unless these two powers agree, there can be no disarmament.

There has been talk of a high-level meeting, summit meeting and the like. Many letters have been exchanged between the authorities of the Soviet Union, the United States of America and of other countries. We would welcome a high level or summit meeting. Not to have it or to refuse to have it would be harmful. It is obvious at the same time that one does not meet in a conference with a blank mind. There has to be some kind of a mental or other preparation for the meeting. It has been suggested that a Foreign Ministers' meeting should take place. We are not opposed to it. However, we feel that a Foreign Ministers' meeting constituted as things are today might not lead us forward but might even result in more rigid positions being taken and make it more difficult for the other high level meeting. Therefore, some kind of thinking has to be done. It is being done perhaps on an informal, private level so as to prepare the ground for a high level meeting which ultimately I think, has to be held. A high level meeting creates big psychological reactions in the world conducive to a gradual relaxation of tension and freedom from fear.

It is true to say that everywhere today, whether it is in Europe or in the United States of America or in the Soviet Union or indeed in India, minds are in a state of ferment and they have come out of their old grooves. We see instances of this.

For example, when the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom came here, he talked about a pact of non aggression. He has not clarified what exactly he meant by it, but even the idea shows that people are coming out of the old ways of thinking.

There is, again, a proposal made originally by Poland for an area in Central Europe comprising several countries being made atom-free, that is, with no atomic bases and weapons, etc. The proposal does not take one very far. From a military point of view it does not make very much difference if Poland and Czechoslovakia, East Germany and West Germany and one or two other countries are made free of atomic weapons, but even such a step will create a new atmosphere and lead to other steps.

Then there is the advocacy of an area of disengagement by Mr. Kennan, an American who recently delivered a series of lectures in England. It is more or less the same as the Polish proposal but Mr. Kennan went further. He wanted all armies to be withdrawn—not only atomic weapons. That by itself will not solve the problems of the world, but the suggestion indicates the way people who thought otherwise previously are nowadays thinking.

So far as we are concerned, we naturally would like to help in every possible way in easing the path to some kind of a settlement.

We do not want to push ourselves into a conference or elsewhere. We have made it perfectly clear that we do not want to go to a conference unless the other parties concerned want our presence there. While, on the one hand the dangers which face the world have become much greater on the other there is a much keener awareness of these dangers and a keener desire to meet them in some manner. The world is coming out of the old ruts and grooves of thinking. These are hopeful signs.

A GESTURE

IN REGARD to disarmament, the outstanding event in recent months has been the proposal made on behalf of the Soviet Government—not a proposal but the decision—not to have nuclear test explosions. This has been criticized on the ground that, having indulged in a large number of tests, the Soviet Government can well afford not to have them for some time. This may be true but such criticisms can be advanced about any action that might be taken.

The major countries, the United States and the Soviet Union, have today probably got a vast stock of atomic or hydrogen bombs. It may not be necessary for them from any point of view to manufacture more. Nevertheless, if they decided not to manufacture any more of these even for the reason that they do not actively require them, it would be a great thing. A good step is a good step, however it might have come into being. Therefore we must welcome this step of the Soviet Government in regard to a stoppage of nuclear tests. In deciding on this, they have added a proviso or rather a warning more or less to the effect that if others do not stop them they would resume them. I trust this contingency will not arise.

There has been a further development. It has been said on behalf of the Soviet Government that they are prepared for control and supervision. That is an important factor. Because the real hurdle that comes in the way is fear and it has often been said that there can be no certain way of detecting an explosion. I am not scientist enough to say whether that is right or wrong. The scientists themselves differ. The obvious course seems to be for the United Nations or some other organization to ask some scientist

of high repute in these matters to find out how detection can be made certain if some kind of test explosion takes place.

On the side of the United States of America there is a proposal, made by President Eisenhower that fissionable material should not be produced for war purposes. That is an important proposal.

Here are all these proposals which, if taken together and acted upon together will make an enormous difference to the present atmosphere of strain and fear in the world. I do not say that acceptance of any of these proposals will mean the solution of any of the major problems. But, I do say that accepting them and acting up to them will produce conditions which help in solving these problems.

There is talk, as the House knows, of what is called a summit conference or a high level conference. As far as we can judge, the chances are that some high-level conference will be held in the course of the year. I have said often that while every country is naturally interested in this matter on which the peace of the world depends, the two countries in whose hands lies the final issue of war and peace today are the United States and the Soviet Union. Therefore, any agreement must involve an agreement between these two apart from other countries. Any disarmament conference which leaves out one of them is no disarmament conference, and cannot produce adequate results. Sometimes, India's name has been put forward for attendance or for participation in a high-level conference. The question when put to us has rather embarrassed us. Our reply has always been that if our presence is wanted by the principal parties concerned and if we feel that we can help we want to be of help. For these are world problems which affect us tremendously as they affect the whole world.

If the people are desirous of putting an end to the cold war it seems to us that the approach should not be hostile. Countries differ from one another in their policies, in the structure of their governments and in their economic approaches. We cannot put an end to these differences by war because war will exterminate the human race, and not put an end to these differences. Surely if we approach these questions with the mentality of war and with the language of war again we are not likely to succeed. Each country may maintain whatever opinions it has in regard to its policy and may naturally think in terms of its security which is vital, yet its approach to other countries should not be a hostile but a friendly approach. We may hold to our principles and to our idea of security but let us recognize the fact that we have to live in this world together in peace. We have to find a way of co-existence. The only way is by peaceful methods and not by

thinking or acting in terms of the cold war which means constant appeals to hatred, violence and fear

ON EDGE OF DISASTER

THERE IS NOT THE SHADOW of a doubt that if a war is once started the full panoply of the weapons of the atomic age will reveal itself. In this connection may I refer to something which goes on, namely the atomic tests? It has been argued sometimes that the harm that these tests do is so little that it can be ignored. Recently the General Assembly of the United Nations appointed a scientific committee consisting of representatives from fifteen countries, and this committee has furnished a report. I wish to read a few brief extracts from it. The report by the committee based on two years study of mass data, has said

Radioactive contamination of the environment resulting from explosions of nuclear weapons constitutes a growing increment to world-wide radiation levels. This involves new and largely unknown hazards to present and future populations. These hazards, by their very nature are beyond the control of the exposed persons.

Then again, One general conclusion that clearly emerged from the committee's studies was that even the smallest amounts of radiation are liable to cause deleterious genetic and perhaps also somatic physical effects, that is, distortion etc.

"The present knowledge of the long term effects of radiation did not permit the scientists to make a precise evaluation of the possible consequences to man of slight exposure" but the committee added, even a slow rise in the environmental radioactivity in the world whether from weapon tests or from any other sources, might eventually cause appreciable damage to large populations before it could be definitely identified as due to radiation. The situation required that mankind proceed with great caution to view of possible under-estimation.

These are extracts from the report of a very competent scientific body appointed by the United Nations.

This is the background of all international politics today whether it is in West Asia or elsewhere. We have managed for the time being during the last two or three weeks, to escape a world war. We may escape again perhaps, but if the present

background and this military approach attended by atomic tests and the accumulation of atomic weapons continue then a time may come when perhaps we do not escape. I am told that the capacity of the United States of America and, in a somewhat lesser extent, of the Soviet Union for the production of atomic and nuclear bombs is very great. They are piling up tremendously. Remember this apart from the nuclear tests, the piling up of the atomic bombs continues in each of these countries at the rate of tens of thousands a year and each, it is stated, has enough material to bomb this world out of existence if it so chooses.

This thought tends to pull one up a little and take one out of the normal moulds of thinking in international politics. I mention this to show how we live on the verge of a possible catastrophe. The only way to avoid this danger apart from reaching agreements and settlements, is to make a different type of mental approach. No people responsible for the government of any country whatever be their inner feelings, can adopt what I would call a pacifist attitude, giving up completely the idea of armies or of defence forces. But the fact remains that the purely military attitude has also completely failed and will fail even more disastrously if pursued. Therefore, while we take such precautions as are demanded by the requirements of defence, we must, and more especially the great countries must, start thinking and speaking in other terms and other language.

COLD WAR PROBLEMS

AT THE PRESENT MOMENT if one looks at the various problems afflicting the world, one comes up against the cold war. This is the basic issue which creates these problems.

There are two conferences which are going on in Geneva now. One is the conference on the suspension of nuclear tests, and the other is the conference to consider measures relating to the prevention of surprise attacks. Both the conferences have got rather bogged down, stalemated. But yesterday I thought some slightly hopeful news came from the conference on suspension of nuclear tests, hopeful in the sense that they provisionally and temporarily agreed on the first article of the long list. At least they have got moving. That does not take us very far. The difficulties are many.

Broadly speaking, in regard to nuclear tests, the attitude of the Soviet Union is that the question of suspension of nuclear tests should be separated from the other disarmament proposals and the discontinuance of tests should be immediate and permanent, while the attitude of the Western powers is that all these questions should be taken together. So far as we are concerned, the House knows how anxious and eager and how deeply we feel about the continuance of nuclear tests. We feel that it is in the nature of a crime against humanity to continue any tests which endanger not only the present generation but the future generations to come. For our part, nuclear tests should be suspended quite apart from anything else. The argument for that is strong enough. We will say abandon but certainly "suspend if you can abandon them later. At the same time, we realize that there is some ground, when people are afraid of each other for saying that the whole question should be considered together or at any rate nothing should be done which might in this present cold war context create a position of greater difficulty for one side than for the other. So it is not merely a question of taking item one first and item two next. The difficulties are deeper.

In so far as the other question, namely surprise attacks, is concerned, I fear the future is not at all promising. Here the approach of the Western nations is that the experts should confine themselves to the scientific study and analysis of the technical problems involved in reducing the risks of any possible surprise attacks. The Soviet side, on the other hand, contends that the problem of surprise attacks is a problem of unleashing a new war and therefore specific disarmament problems and political issues, which should include the question of foreign military bases, should be put on the agenda for discussion. So, as soon as we come up against political problems, there is a deadlock.

These conferences are proceeding at the present moment in a rather leisurely fashion without bringing much results and at the same time without daring to break up because breaking up would create a feeling akin to despair in the world. I hope they will gradually find some way to go on and even to reach some minor agreements rather than come to no agreement at all.

This question of the cold war covers every question in the world today whether it is in the Near East or in the Middle East or in the Far East or whether it is these military pacts or groups. Every issue is to form part of the cold war. It becomes difficult even to consider the question in the United Nations, separated from this approach of the cold war. I suppose it is inherent in the situation in the world. We on our part, have endeavoured with some success to keep out of it.

A rather curious result of this cold war is that well known words with very definite meanings are distorted and they begin to mean something different or are used in another context. If a country is tied to a group in a military alliance, then that country is supposed to be a standard bearer of light and freedom, whatever it may do or whatever institutions it may have. If a country is on the other side, then it is described by the opposite side as sunk in reaction or in other bad things. We see the use of the words democracy and free world and we also hear the word "peace" being bandied about. Everybody wants peace and sometimes people want peace with the atom bomb combined. At times peace is talked about in terms which appear to be almost more violent than the terms of war and the threats of war. "Democracy" too is used in a curious way in connection with a country which has martial law. It is for each country of course, to determine what kind of government or control it has. What I am venturing to point out is not what happens in that country but the reactions, in other countries, to what happens in that country. That is what I find interesting the attempts to explain martial law as some kind of an extension of the democratic principle. This intrigues me. This shows to what extent thinking can be distorted because, ultimately of the cold war technique.

Let us take another instance, if I may mention it. Day after tomorrow happens to be the tenth anniversary of the Human Rights Declaration. It is an important fact to be remembered by us and by the world. The Human Rights Declaration was passed ten years ago with nobody dissenting in the U.N. so far as I remember. While the practical application of it has been discussed ever since all the principles were accepted unanimously. Now by no stretch of imagination can the policy pursued by the South African Government, namely the policy of apartheid, be reconciled with any human rights. It is in direct conflict not only with the Charter of the United Nations but the Declaration of Human Rights. We hear certainly some criticism of the policy occasionally in other countries but when the matter comes up before the United Nations countries who stand for democracy freedom anti racialism and the rest, support, for some technical reason, the attitude of the South African Union Government in regard to apartheid or at any rate they refuse to criticize or condemn it.

All these produce a certain confusion in the public mind. The only yardstick left is not that of principle but of who is with us in the cold war irrespective of what happens in South Africa or Hungary or in some country having martial law. Even in England, which has been on the whole free from anti racial sentiments, there was a few months back some very unfortunate noting not

against Indians as such but against West Africans. Gradually the principles for which the United Nations or the various countries are supposed to stand get so mixed up with other matters that they get blurred and people tend to act in a wrong direction

CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH NEEDED

WHAT IS HAPPENING TODAY is that even the value which the military pacts might have had at one time is progressively diminishing in the context of modern weapons of war and of other factors. The whole thing has become rather unrealistic, sticking to old ghosts that have no real substance left, except the substance of a possible war. These military alliances and the cold war techniques of trying to overreach each other are out of date today. They neither strengthen nor promote the cause of peace.

A disarmament conference has been meeting in Paris and it has been considering the various proposals. Among these are the recent Soviet proposals. I think the Soviet proposals are a constructive and helpful approach to the problem of disarmament. I am not referring to every detail of them. But the broad approach undoubtedly exhibits a desire to bring about disarmament, not to play about with it. They have tried to meet several objections which were raised by the other countries previously. They have gone a long way trying to meet them. That is the impression created in me by these proposals. It is a good straightforward approach, which may of course, be varied here and there in its details. There are two or three main elements in it. Broadly one is, of course the statement of Mr. Khrushchev that from overall and complete disarmament he has come down to lower levels. Two aspects stand out in this. One is the elimination of carriers of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction. We have been talking for a long time about the actual destruction of atomic bombs and the rest. It may be remembered that some time ago a suggestion was made on behalf of India in regard to these carriers of atomic weapons in the United Nations Disarmament Commission. It is simpler to deal with the carriers than with the weapons. Remove the carrier and we reduce very greatly the capacity of harm being done by atomic weapons. We take away the surprise element from it—fast carriers, etc. That is what we had suggested. At that

time nobody accepted this. Then the French Government suggested carriers being eliminated in sea or air including submarines and intercontinental ballistic missiles. That has now been made one of the principal things in the new Soviet proposals.

The second major proposal made by the Soviet Union—it is an old one—is for the removal of foreign bases. We dislike the idea of foreign bases completely not only because on principle we do not like it, but because from the strictly practical point of view it is not helpful ultimately as we have seen in recent cases. A foreign base in a country is always a symbol of a foreign power in that country. However much of goodwill there might be, it is an irritating symbol and is always a reminder of war. It creates the fear of one side becoming more powerful than the other. There is again the fear of surprise attacks. Any procedure adopted should try to lessen these fears, and disarmament has to proceed in such a way as not to make one side appear to the other side to be much stronger. All these represent a balanced approach and deserve consideration. The proposals do indicate an earnestness on the part of the Soviet Government to achieve something in the field of disarmament.

FLEXIBILITY IMPAIRED

THE MOST IMPORTANT development in the international sphere during recent months has been the rather disastrous change following the collapse or the non-meeting of the Summit Conference preceded by other occurrences, like the U 2 incident. Since then there has been a full-blooded return to the cold war. Before that, for months and indeed, years there had been an improvement, and we had all hoped that this would lead to some permanent changes in the relationship between the great countries and that the barriers and the walls that had been erected separating them would gradually be removed. No one expected a solution of the problems of the world all on a sudden, but an approach to it was certainly expected with the result that this failure gave a great shock to the world. What has happened subsequently if I may say so with all respect to the countries concerned has not been a very edifying sight in so far as the language used and the various behaviour patterns of the cold war being repeated are concerned.

Broadly speaking we are at present in a more dangerous situation than we have been for some years past. I do not mean to say that the danger is immediate, but it is such that at any time it may become worse, if it does not improve. I believe the disarmament conference is going to meet today in New York. Though this is likely to be a preliminary conference, it might perhaps lead to a bettering of the situation. But, on the whole, the general attitudes of the great countries are so rigid now that the previous flexibility has been impaired. When this kind of rigidity comes, with the possession of large stocks of atomic bombs and with nuclear weapons flying about, there is a very great danger of some incident happening which might give rise to major conflicts and wars.

In regard to disarmament, various proposals have been made. In all these proposals there are many good points. I believe the major approach is the approach of preserving a certain balance and control. When there is so much suspicion and distrust towards each other disarmament can take place only in a balanced way so as not to change the relative positions of the major powers. If one becomes, according to one's thinking much weaker one will not agree to disarmament. Therefore, the changes have to be brought about in a balanced way so that, as disarmament comes gradually the suspicions against each other also become less. When I say gradually I do not mean that this process of disarmament should be lengthened out indefinitely. We should aim at almost complete disarmament, and every country in the world is interested in disarmament. But inevitably one has to proceed by steps. It is obvious that unless there is an agreement among the great powers, and notably among the three or four big nuclear powers, there can be no disarmament. That is the major issue.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE

I HAVE LISTENED attentively and with respect to many of the speeches made here and sometimes I have felt as if I was being buffeted by the icy winds of the cold war. Coming from a warm country I have shivered occasionally at these cold blasts.

Speaking here in this assembly chamber an old memory comes back to me. In the fateful summer of 1938, I was a visitor at a

meeting of the League of Nations in Geneva. Hitler was advancing then and holding out threats of war. There was mobilization in many parts of Europe, and the tramp of armed men was being heard. Even so, the League of Nations appeared to be unconcerned and discussed all manner of subjects, except the most vital subject of the day. The war had not started then. A year later it descended upon the world with all its thunder and destructive fury. After many years of carnage the war ended and a new age—the atomic age—was ushered in by the terrible experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Fresh from these horrors, the minds of men turned to thoughts of peace, and there was a passionate desire to put an end to war itself. The United Nations took birth on a note of high idealism embodied in the noble wording of the Charter. But there was also a realization of the state of the post-war world as it was. Therefore provision was made in the structure of the organization to balance certain conflicting urges. There were permanent members of the Security Council and there was provision for unanimity amongst the great powers. All this was not very logical. But it represented certain realities of the world as it was, and because of this, we accepted them.

At that time, large areas in Asia and even more so in Africa were not represented in the United Nations and they were under colonial domination. Since then the colonial part of the world has shrunk greatly and we now welcome here many countries from Africa in their new freedom. The United Nations has become progressively more representative. But we must remember that, even now it is not fully so. Colonialism still has its strong footholds in some parts of the world and racialism and racial domination are still prevalent, more especially in Africa.

During these past fifteen years, the United Nations has often been criticized for its structure and for some of its activities. These criticisms have had some justification behind them. But, looking at the broad picture, I think we can definitely say that the United Nations has amply justified its existence and repeatedly prevented the recurrent crises from developing into war. It has played a great role, and it is a little difficult now to think of this troubled world without the U.N. If it had defects, they lay in the world situation itself which inevitably it mirrored. If there had been no United Nations today, our first task would be to create something of that kind. I should like therefore, to pay my tribute to the work of the United Nations as a whole, even though I might criticize some aspect of it from time to time.

The structure of the United Nations, when it started, was weighted in favour of Europe and the Americas. It did not seem

to us to be fair to the countries of Asia and Africa. But we appreciated the difficulties of the situation and did not press for any changes. With the growth of the United Nations and more countries coming in, its structure today has become still more unbalanced. Even so we wish to proceed slowly and with agreement and not to press for any change which would involve an immediate amendment of the Charter and the raising of heated controversies.

Unfortunately we live in a split world which is constantly coming up against the basic assumptions of the United Nations. We have to bear with this and try to move even more forward to the conception of full co-operation between nations. That co-operation does not and must not mean any domination of one country by another any coercion or compulsion forcing a country to line up with another country. Each country has something to give and something to take from others. The moment coercion is exerted on a country not only is its freedom impaired but its growth suffers.

We have to acknowledge that there is great diversity in the world and that this variety is good and is to be encouraged so that each country may grow and its creative impulse might have full play in accordance with its own genius. Hundreds and thousands of years of history have conditioned us in our respective countries, and our roots go deep down into the soil. If these roots are pulled out, we wither. If these roots remain strong and we allow the winds from four quarters to blow in upon us they will yield branch and flower and fruit.

Many of the speakers from this forum have surveyed the world scene and spoken on a variety of problems. I would like to concentrate on what I consider the basic problem of all. My mind is naturally filled with problems of my own country and our passionate desire to develop and to put an end to the poverty and low standards of living which have been a curse to hundreds of millions of our people. To that end we are labouring, as indeed other underdeveloped countries are doing. Even so there is something else which we consider is of greater importance. That is peace. Without peace all our dreams vanish and are reduced to ashes. The Charter of the United Nations declares our determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, and for these ends to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours.

The main purpose of the United Nations is to build up a world without war, a world based on the co-operation of nations and peoples. It is not merely a world where war is kept in check by a balancing of armed forces. It is much deeper than that. It is a world

from which the major causes of war have been removed and social structures built up which further peaceful co-operation within a nation as well as between nations.

In the preamble of the constitution of UNESCO it is stated that war begins in the minds of men. That is essentially true and ultimately it is necessary to bring about the change in our minds and to remove fears and apprehensions, hatreds and suspicions. Disarmament is a part of this process, for it will create an atmosphere of co-operation. But it is only a step towards our objective a part of the larger efforts to rid the world of war and the causes of war.

In the present context, however disarmament assumes a very special importance for us, overriding all other issues. For many years past, there have been talks on disarmament and some progress has undoubtedly been made in so far as the plans and proposals are concerned. Still we find that the race of armaments continues, as also the efforts to invent ever more powerful engines of destruction. If even a small part of these efforts was directed to the search for peace, probably the problem of disarmament would have been solved by this time.

Apart from the moral imperative of peace, every practical consideration leads us to that conclusion. For as everyone knows the choice today in this nuclear age is one of utter annihilation and destruction of civilization or of some way to have peaceful co-existence between nations. There is no middle way. If war is an abomination and an ultimate crime which has to be avoided we must fashion our minds and policies accordingly. There may be risks, but the greatest risk is to allow the present dangerous drift to continue. In order to achieve peace we have to develop a climate of peace and tolerance and to avoid speech and action which tend to increase fear and hatred.

It may not be possible to reach full disarmament in one step though every step should be conditioned to that end. Much ground has already been covered in the discussions on disarmament. But the sands of time run out, and we dare not play about with this issue or delay its consideration. This, indeed, is the main duty of the United Nations today and if it fails in this, the United Nations fails in its main purpose.

We live in an age of great revolutionary changes brought about by the advance of science and technology. Therein lies the hope for the world and also the danger of sudden death. Because of these advances the time we have for controlling the forces of destruction is strictly limited. If within the next three or four years, effective disarmament is not agreed to and implemented, then all the good will in the world will not be able to stop the drift to certain disaster.

In the context of things as they are today the great nations, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, hold the key to war and peace. There is a great responsibility. But every country big or small is concerned in this matter of peace and war and therefore every country must shoulder its responsibility and work to this end. In order to deal with these big issues effectively we have to take big and impersonal views. It is only the United Nations as a whole that can ultimately solve these problems. Therefore, while all efforts towards disarmament must be welcomed the United Nations should be closely associated with such efforts.

The question of disarmament has been considered at various levels. There is the question of general disarmament, and of the ending of test explosions of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. So far as test explosions are concerned considerable progress has been made in the discussions of the committee which has been meeting in Geneva. Indeed it would appear that an agreement has been reached on many basic issues and only a little more effort is needed to complete this agreement. I suggest that a final agreement on this subject should be reached as early as possible. This is not, strictly speaking disarmament, but undoubtedly any such agreement will bring a large measure of relief to the world. Disarmament must include the prohibition of the manufacture storage and use of weapons of mass destruction, as well as the progressive limitation of conventional weapons.

It is admitted that disarmament should take place in such stages as to maintain broadly the balance of armed power. It is only on this basis that success can be achieved and this pervading sense of fear countered. It must also be clearly understood that disarmament and a machinery for control must go together and neither of these can be taken up singly.

A proposal has been made that the question of disarmament should be referred to a committee of experts. In fact, experts have been considering this matter during the past years and we have had the advantage of their views. A reference to a committee of experts should not lead to a postponement of the major issue. Any such delay may well be disastrous. Possibly while the major issues are being considered by the United Nations Commission or other committees a reference of any special aspect might be made to the experts. What is important is that the United Nations at the present juncture should ensure that there is adequate machinery for promoting disarmament and that this machinery should function continuously.

The fear of surprise attacks or accidental happenings leading to dangerous developments is undoubtedly present in the existing situation. The best way to deal with this fear is to reduce

international tension and create an atmosphere which will make it very difficult for any surprise attack to take place. In addition, such other steps as may be considered necessary for prevention of surprise attacks should be taken. If there is an agreement on the stoppage of nuclear tests and use of carriers, immediately danger from surprise attacks will be greatly lessened.

While disarmament is by far the most urgent problem and brooks no delay we have to face today a situation in Africa, in the Congo which has led the United Nations to assume heavy and novel responsibilities. Everyone present here, I am sure warmly welcomes the coming of independence to many parts of Africa, to many peoples there who have suffered untold agony for ages past. We wish them well, and the United Nations has shown its readiness to help them in various ways.

There are three aspects of this African problem first, full implementation of the independence and freedom that have been achieved secondly liberation of those countries in Africa which are still under colonial domination. This has become an urgent task. Today some of these countries are almost cut off from the outside world, and even news is not allowed to reach us. From such accounts as we have the fate of the people in these countries is even worse than that in the other countries of Africa. Thirdly there is the question of some countries in Africa which are independent but where that freedom is confined to a minority and where the great majority have no share in it and indeed, are suppressed politically socially and racially in defiance of everything that the United Nations and the world community stand for. Racism and the doctrine of a master race dominating over others can be tolerated no longer and can only lead to vast racial conflicts.

The recent developments in Africa have indicated the great danger of delay in dealing with these problems. It is not possible any longer to maintain colonial domination in any of the countries, and I think it is the duty and basic responsibility of the United Nations to expedite their freedom. There is a tremendous ferment all over the continent of Africa. This has to be recognized and appreciated and met with foresight and wisdom.

The question of the Republic of the Congo has especially come before us. The first thing that strikes one is the utter failure of a colonial system which left the Congo in its present state. Long years of colonial rule resulted in extracting vast wealth from that country for the enrichment of the colonial power while the people of the country remained utterly poor and backward. The situation there is a complicated and frequently changing one and it is not always easy to know what is happening. Disruptive forces have been let loose and have been encouraged by people who do not wish

this newly independent Congo well. Some footholds of the old colonialism are still engaged in working to this end. It is an encouragement to the disruption of the State. We must realize that it is essential to maintain the integrity of the Congo for if there is disintegration of the State, this is bound to lead to internal civil wars on a large scale. There will be no peace in the Congo except on the basis of the integrity of the State. Foreign countries must particularly avoid any interference in its internal affairs or encouragement of one faction against another.

The role of the United Nations is a mediatory one, to reconcile and help in the proper functioning of the Central Government. Help in the development of the Congo is again a tremendous and long term problem. Ultimately it is the people of the Congo who will have to produce their own leadership, whether it is good or bad. Leadership cannot be imposed and any attempt to do so will lead to conflict. The United Nations obviously cannot act all the time as policemen nor should any outside power intervene.

There is an elected parliament in the Congo though it does not appear to be functioning. It should be the function of the United Nations to help the country's parliament to meet and function so that out of its deliberations the problem of the Congo may be dealt with by the people themselves. The decisions must be of those parliament as representing the people of the Congo and not of others. The functioning of parliament may itself lead to the ironing out of internal differences.

I hope that it will be possible soon for the Congo to take its place in this Assembly. The Security Council has repeatedly laid stress on Belgian military personnel leaving the Congo. These decisions have apparently not been given full effect to. This is highly undesirable. It seems to me of great importance, both in view of past history and present conditions, that every type of military or semi military personnel of Belgium should leave the Congo. The General Assembly might well consider sending a delegation to the Congo to find out what foreign troops or other personnel apart from those sent on behalf of the United Nations are still there, and how far they are interfering in local affairs.

Recently an emergency session of the General Assembly considered the situation in the Congo and made certain suggestions. The resolution of the emergency session has rightly indicated the broad lines of approach and the basic principles laid down in it should be implemented. The problem of the development of a huge country has also become partly the responsibility of the United Nations. These responsibilities cannot be shirked, and it may have to be considered how best to shoulder these responsibilities.

Two aspects have to be borne in mind. Broad policies in these

grave matters must be laid down by the General Assembly or by the Security Council. In so far as executive action is concerned, it would not be desirable for the executive to be weakened when frequent and rapid decisions have to be made. That would mean an abdication of the responsibilities undertaken by the United Nations. If the executive itself is split and pulls in different directions, it will not be able to function adequately or with speed. For that reason, the executive should be given authority to act within the terms of directions issued. At the same time, the executive has to keep in view all the time the impact of various forces in the world. The Secretary-General might well consider what organizational steps should be taken to deal adequately with this novel situation.

It has been suggested that some structural changes should take place in the United Nations. Probably some changes would be desirable because of the emergence of many independent countries in Asia and Africa. But any attempt at bringing about these changes by an amendment of the Charter at the present juncture is likely to raise many controversial questions and thus add greatly to the difficulties we face. It should be possible for us even within the terms of the Charter to adapt the United Nations machinery to meet situations as they arise more especially in view of the increasing responsibilities of the United Nations.

If, as I earnestly hope, disarmament makes progress, the United Nations will come into another domain of vast responsibility which will have to be discharged. Possibly special commissions working under the umbrella of the United Nations might be charged with this task.

I do not propose to deal with many other matters here. But, in view of a controversy that is at present going on in the General Assembly I should like to refer briefly to the question of proper representation of China in the United Nations. For a number of years India has brought this issue before the United Nations because we have felt not only that it is improper for that great and powerful country to remain unrepresented, but that this has an urgent bearing on all world problems and especially those of disarmament. We hold that all countries must be represented in the U.N. We have welcomed during this session many new countries. It appears most extraordinary that any argument should be advanced to keep out China and to give the seat meant for China to those who certainly do not and cannot represent China. It is well known that we Indians have had, and are having a controversy with the People's Government of China over our northern frontier. In spite of that controversy we continue to feel that proper representation of the People's Republic in the U.N. is essential the longer we

delay it, the more harm we cause to the U.N. and to the consideration of the major problems we have before us.

In this connection I should like to mention another country—Mongolia. When we are rightly admitting so many countries to the U.N., why should Mongolia be left out? What wrong has it done, what violation of the Charter? Here are a quiet and peaceful people working hard for their progress, and it seems to me utterly wrong from any point of principle to exclude them from this great organization. India has a special sentiment in regard to Mongolia, because our relations with that country go back into the distant past of more than fifteen hundred years. Even now there are many evidences of these old contacts and friendly relations between the two countries. I would earnestly recommend that Mongolia should be accepted in this World Assembly of Nations.

There is one other matter to which I should like to refer. That is Algeria. It has been a pain and a torment to many of us in Asia, in Africa and possibly elsewhere, to witness this continuing tragedy of a brave people fighting for their freedom. Many arguments have been advanced and many difficulties pointed out. But the basic fact is that a people have struggled continuously for years at tremendous sacrifice and against heavy odds to attain independence. Once or twice it appeared that the struggle might end satisfactorily in freedom by exercise of the principle of self-determination. But the moments slipped by and the tragedy continued. I am convinced that every country in Asia and Africa and, I believe, many countries in other continents also are deeply concerned over this matter and hope earnestly that this terrible war will end soon bringing freedom to the Algerian people. This is an urgent problem to which the United Nations must address itself in order to bring about an early solution.

I do believe that the vast majority of the people in every country want us to labour for peace and to succeed. Whether we are big or small, we have to face big issues vital to the future of humanity. Everything else is of lesser importance than this major question. I am absolutely convinced that we shall never settle this question by war or by a mental approach which envisages war and prepares for it.

I am equally convinced that if we aim at right ends, right means must be employed. Good will not emerge out of evil methods. That was the lesson which our great leader Gandhi taught us, and though we in India have failed in many ways in following his advice, something of his message still clings to our minds and hearts. In ages long past a great son of India, the Buddha, said that the only real victory was one in which all were equally victorious and there was defeat for no one. In the world today that is the only practical victory. Any other way will lead to disaster.

It is, therefore this real victory of peace in which all are winners that I would like this great Assembly to keep before its mind and to endeavour to achieve.

FIVE-POWER RESOLUTION

MR. PRESIDENT two or three days ago I presented on behalf of Ghana, the United Arab Republic, Indonesia, Yugoslavia and India, a resolution to the General Assembly. That resolution is a simple one and requires little argument to support it. It does not seek to pre-judge any issue, or to bring pressure to bear on any country or individual. There is no cynicism in it. The main purpose of the resolution is to help avoid a deadlock in the international situation. Every delegate present here knows how unsatisfactory that situation is today and how gradually every door and window for a discussion of vital issues is being closed and bolted. As the resolution says, we are deeply concerned with the recent deterioration in international relations which threatens the world with grave consequences.

There can be no doubt that people everywhere in the world look to this Assembly to take some step to help to ease this situation and lessen world tension. If this Assembly is unable to take that step there will be utter disappointment everywhere. Not only will the deadlock continue, but there will be a drift in a direction from which it will become increasingly difficult to turn back. This Assembly cannot allow itself to be paralysed in a matter of such vital importance. Responsibility for this deadlock has to be shared by all of us. But in the circumstances as they exist today a great deal depends upon two mighty nations, the United States of America and the Soviet Union and if even a small step can be taken by them, the world will heave a sigh of relief.

We do not expect that some solution is likely to emerge from a renewal of contacts between these two countries. We do not underestimate the difficulties. Realizing all these and after giving a great deal of thought to these matters, we decided to share our apprehensions with this Assembly and to suggest a step which will undoubtedly help to ease the tension. The resolution has been placed before this Assembly not to add to the controversies already existing or to

embarrass anyone, but solely with the desire, which is anxiously felt, that something must be done. We cannot meet here in this Assembly and sit helplessly watching the world drift in a direction which can only end in a catastrophe.

Last night I received a letter from the President of the United States in which he was good enough to deal with this resolution. I presume that the other sponsors of the resolution have also received a similar reply. I am grateful to the President for writing to us in reply immediately after receiving our communication. Although the letter does not indicate that any contacts such as we had recommended are likely to take place in the near future, the President has not wholly rejected the idea. The door is still open for consideration of the idea. The President has expressed his deep anxiety to help in a lessening of international tensions. He has pointed out that "the chief problems in the world today are not due to differences between the Soviet Union and the United States alone and, therefore, are not possible of solution on a bilateral basis. The questions which are disrupting the world at the present time are of immediate and vital concern to other nations as well.

May I express respectfully my complete agreement with what the President has said? We are convinced that these great questions cannot be dealt with on a bilateral basis or even by a group of countries. They are of intimate and vital concern to the entire world and to all those who have gathered here from the four corners of the earth. It was because of this feeling that some of us ventured to put the resolution before this Assembly. If the matter is of concern only to the two countries, perhaps no necessity would have arisen for us to raise it here. Nor did we think that a renewal of contacts would lead to some magical solution. A solution will come after long and arduous labour in which many countries participate. But we did think that in the present situation of dangerous drift, even a small approach on behalf of the two great countries would make a difference and might mark a turn of the tide.

Oppressed by the growing anger and bitterness in international relations, we wanted to find some way out so that further consideration might be given to these problems. We have suggested no remedy nor any particular solution in the resolution. But we did and still feel that the General Assembly should consider this problem and try its utmost to find a way to remove the new barriers that have arisen.

As the President of the United States has rightly stated the importance of these matters is such as goes beyond the personal or official relations between any two individuals. We are dealing with the future of humanity and no effort which might perhaps improve the situation should be left out. It is with this intention

that we put forward the resolution as a part of the efforts which should be made to open the door for future consultations.

I earnestly trust, and appeal to the Assembly to adopt this resolution unanimously at an early date. Enveloped and bedevilled by the cold war and all its progeny, the world is faced with problems awaiting urgent solution and I have ventured to add my voice in appeal.

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I SHOULD LIKE, right at the beginning to say that I welcome the amendment which was proposed to the draft resolution by the Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic. The amendment makes no effective change, but I think it is a happier way of putting forward the idea contained in the resolution.

When I had the privilege to put forward the resolution from five nations before this Assembly I expressed the hope that it would be accepted unanimously. It did not seem to me reasonably possible that any member of this Assembly could object to the resolution. It was straightforward. It contained nothing in it against any individual or this group or that group. But it did represent a strong and passionate desire that things should get moving and that this Assembly should not sit paralysed, as if it could not act. Therefore, it was with considerable surprise that I received the paper containing an amendment on behalf of Australia.

I read it with care. I found some difficulty in understanding it. And the more I read it the more surprised I was that any member of this Assembly should have put this forward as an amendment. I venture to place before this Assembly my reasons for this.

First of all, it seemed to me, quite patently that it had nothing to do by way of amending the proposition which we had put forward. It is not an amendment. I do not, perhaps, know the rules of this Assembly but it is not an amendment. It may be, of course, a separate resolution in some form or another and might have been brought forward and considered by this House. If it was so considered, I would have had much to say about it and against it. The Prime Minister of Australia in his speech made it quite clear that it was not an amendment, although he might call it so. Therefore, I could not quite understand what meaning lay behind this amendment.

228
I have the greatest respect for the Prime Minister of Australia more especially for his keen mind and ability. I wondered if that keen mind and ability had not tried to cover up with a jumble of words something which had no meaning at all—or the wrong meaning. I was particularly keen and anxious to listen to the Prime Minister of Australia in the hope that he might throw some light on this aspect of the question which I had failed to understand. I listened to him with great care. The more I listened the more confused I grew and the more I realized that there was no substantive idea in this motion, but just a dislike of what the five-nation resolution had suggested.

He stated clearly that he dissented from the last paragraph of the resolution—a very innocuous one, nevertheless, with very considerable meaning. In fact, the whole resolution led up to this paragraph, the rest being a preamble. Therefore, he dissented from the very basis of the resolution. Coming forward with his amendment, he said that the effect of the resolution, if carried, would be undesirable. I wondered if I had understood him correctly or if I had made some mistake in regard to what he said. Why I ask the Prime Minister from any point of view or from any approach could the passage of the resolution possibly be undesirable? I have given thought to this matter but I am quite unable to understand his reasoning. Therefore it must be undesirable from some point of view of which I am not aware and which had nothing to do with the resolution. That is the conclusion I arrived at.

I would put it to this distinguished Assembly with respect and without meaning offence that this is a rather trivial way of dealing with this not only important question but vital question which is shaking the world—the question of world conflict and how to avoid it—by calling it an amendment of the resolution. I submit that we are discussing very important matters, affecting this Assembly and the world.

The Prime Minister in his argument, talked about a conference. Why does the resolution suggest a meeting or a conference? I would beg him to read the resolution again because he has failed to understand it. It does not necessarily suggest a conference or a meeting. It suggests a renewal of contacts.

Again, he asked, "Why should two people meet? Why should not four meet? Why dismiss the United Kingdom and France? Why omit them from summit talks?" These are quotations which I took down when he was speaking. "Why all this?" he asked. Well simply because there is no "Why?" about it, because nobody is dismissing or pushing out anybody or suggesting it. He has missed the point of the draft resolution and has considered, possibly that there is some kind of a secret motive behind this. I really regret that any such idea should have gone abroad.

The draft resolution was put forward in all good faith for the purposes named in it, and to suspect it of some secret device to push out somebody or not to pay adequate respect to some country is not fair on the part of the honourable gentleman. Indeed I greatly regret to say that the Prime Minister of Australia has done very little justice to himself in proposing this amendment or in making the speech which he did. I am sure that this Assembly will not look at this matter from the superficial points of view which the Prime Minister put forward, but will consider it from the basic point of view which is of the highest importance to this Assembly and to the world.

Let us look at this amendment. The wording is interesting. In the second paragraph it says

Recalling that a conference between the President of the United States of America, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the President of the French Republic and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland was arranged to take place in Paris on 17th May 1960 —

now note the words—

in order that these four leaders should examine matters of particular and major concern for their four nations

It is a private matter between the four nations, according to the Prime Minister of Australia. What has this Assembly to do with it? Then, later this amendment says

Believing that much benefit for the world could arise from a co-operative meeting of the heads of Government of these four nations in relation to those problems which particularly concern them

This is a very extraordinary idea to put before this Assembly—that is, these so-called summit meetings and the rest are private concerns of the four eminent dignitaries, heads of States or Prime Ministers of these four countries. Where does this Assembly come in? Where do all of us who happen to be in the outer darkness come in?

The Prime Minister of Australia then said that we, the sponsors of the draft resolution, had fallen into some communist trap which was aimed at describing the world as being divided up or as dealing with two great protagonists and ignoring the world.

What the communist technique may be in regard to this matter I am not aware. There may or may not be one. I am not particularly concerned with these techniques. But it seems to me that the Australian Prime Minister's technique is obvious. It is "There are these four powers"—whom, of course we respect and honour—"so leave it to them. What business has this Assembly to deal with these matters?" This is obvious and the amendment

says so Now surely this kind of idea or approach cannot, should not and must not be accepted.

When we suggested that the distinguished heads of the two great States should renew contacts, it was not with an idea that they should discuss the affairs of the world and finalize them I personally would not agree to a finalization of these matters between two powers or four powers or ten powers. Only this Assembly should finalize them But it is true that while dealing with these tremendous questions it is convenient and desirable for matters to be discussed in small groups and—more particularly for a question such as disarmament—by some of the countries which have most to disarm. Most of the people sitting here have practically nothing to disarm although we are greatly interested in the disarmament of others so that war may not break out and destroy the world.

Therefore, it is right that two powers or four powers or ten committees or commissions may consider these matters quickly and from a constructive point of view That is all right. But, in a matter of this magnitude no group of powers, however big, can dispose of the destiny of the world However that appears to be the idea behind the mind of the Prime Minister of Australia. Because he has that idea, he was somewhat irritated that only two powers should do so It is not my intention that any two powers, or four or six or more, should do so Therefore, I should like to disabuse his mind of the wrong opinion which he has.

My difficulty in dealing with this amendment is that it proceeds, I imagine, from some kind of a basic suspicion that there is a trick in the draft resolution. The Prime Minister is not able to put his finger on it, but he thinks that there must be a trick because the idea contained in the resolution has not come from him or his group. Personally I am rather innocent of the working of this Assembly But certainly I can assure the Prime Minister with all earnestness that there is no trickery in the draft resolution However there is something which I would like him to appreciate and that is that there is a passion in this draft resolution. It is not a question of words. The Prime Minister said that he prayed daily for the avoidance of armed conflict. I was happy to hear that. I earnestly hope that his prayers as well as the prayers of all of us will have effect. Even prayers require some action. We meet here not merely to pray but to initiate action and to give a lead to the world by inducing urging and sometimes pushing people to act in a particular way.

The draft resolution that we ventured to put before this Assembly represented that passion and conviction that something or the beginning of something must be initiated which may take effect later on Above all, it seemed to us that for this great organization to meet, with members coming from the four corners of the

earth, and to avoid discussing this matter as a confession of helplessness and of paralysis I submit that it would be an intolerable position that this great Assembly could not deal with these matters because some people were angry with each other. Anger may be justified but should not override the consideration of major issues which we have to deal with. We realize that the resolution which we put before this Assembly cannot lead to the path of a solution or even to a basic consideration of these problems. But what we were concerned with was the hope that this glacier that had come to surround us, as it were, might be pushed a little or might be made to melt here and there, so that in the future discussions could take place at suitable times. At the present moment they cannot. The United States of America is engaged in a great election and I quite realize that it is not convenient for them to enter into these basic talks. But if nothing is done to arrest the process of deterioration in international relations, it can become even more difficult at a later stage to have these talks. That is a fact which is to be borne in mind. Therefore, we suggested that this small but highly important step might be taken as an urgent step towards the renewal of contacts.

We think we were perfectly right. On the other hand, let us consider what the effect would be if the advice of the Prime Minister of Australia were to be followed. It would mean—it says so quite clearly—that this renewal of contacts would not take place, that the negative view prevails and that we should wait for some future occasion for some kind of summit conference to be held. I am all in favour of a summit conference but I realize and this Assembly realizes that it cannot be held in the next few months. Therefore we should have to wait and spend our time, presumably in daily prayer that this might take place and that war might be avoided.

I submit that this position is not only a completely untenable position, but it verges on absurdity. I am surprised that a man of the high ability of the Prime Minister of Australia should put this idea forward. I regret to say that this amendment does have a tinge of the cold war approach. It is obvious that if we are to seek solutions for these mighty problems it cannot be through such approaches. We have had plenty of charges and counter-charges, accusations and counter-accusations and perhaps we shall continue to have these. But the fact remains that if we are to deal with serious questions, the approach has to be different. We have to recognize facts as they are and deal with the problems as they are.

I am anxious, therefore, that the resolution which has been sponsored by the five nations should be passed unanimously or if not unanimously nearly unanimously. Not to pass it would be a dangerous thing from the point of view of the objectives for which the

United Nations stands, and from the point of view of creating some kind of a disengagement, the beginnings of a *detente* indicating some movement in the right direction. It would be dangerous, harmful and wholly unjustifiable not to pass it. Therefore, the resolution should be passed. I hope that the Prime Minister of Australia will realize that his amendment is not what he apparently imagined it to be and that it is harmful. The amendment would mean that we should let months pass and that subsequently these four great countries can meet together and possibly renew their charges and counter-charges. That position is not good enough. Even we of the humbler countries, without vast armies and nuclear weapons, may sometimes unburden our hearts if we cannot unburden our hearts and our minds in this Assembly: what are we to do? Are we to be shepherded into this group or that group, and not allowed to express even our innermost feelings? I do submit that this kind of approach would not be right.

Therefore, I beg again to press for the passage of this draft resolution, if not unanimously nearly unanimously.

MR. PRESIDENT you were good enough to allow the sponsors of the draft resolution an opportunity to consult amongst themselves on the position that has been created because of certain changes which have been made in the draft. We have consulted amongst ourselves and with many others who have supported the resolution. We feel that the changes made are of such a character as to make a difference to the purpose of the draft resolution. These according to our thinking not only make a part of the resolution contrary to fact, but also make an essential change which takes away from the main purpose underlying the draft resolution.

The resolution was drafted under great stress of feeling almost of oppression at what it described as "the recent deterioration in international relations". All over the world people will be looking to this august Assembly to indicate some step to prepare the way for an easing of world tension. Therefore the resolution referred to "the grave and urgent responsibility that rests on the United Nations to initiate helpful efforts". As the draft resolution has now been changed, it seems to us that that essential urgency has gone and the passionate feeling that something should be done has faded away in the wording of the resolution as it is. Further something

is being said in it which is not true to fact, that is, that these two great countries, the United States of America and the Soviet Union should renew their contacts. There has in fact been no break in those contacts politically, diplomatically or otherwise. Therefore, it is not a correct statement. It does not seem proper that this Assembly should be responsible for a statement which is so patently incorrect. At any rate, the sponsors of the draft resolution do not wish to associate themselves with such a statement. This is a relatively minor matter. The major point is that the resolution as it stands now lacks that sense of passion and energy and dynamism which we thought the situation required.

We have had a considerable discussion over procedural matters. As has become evident during these discussions, high questions of policy lay behind those procedural matters. We held certain opinions about the procedural matters also but I shall not refer to them. It transpired throughout this late hour in the evening that there were differences of opinion on basic matters and those differences were sought to be brought about in these changes which now form part of the draft resolution. Therefore, according to us, the purpose for which the sponsors had submitted the resolution is not being served. The resolution which has now been changed may indeed create an impression of these matters being taken up by this Assembly without that sense of urgency which we thought was necessary.

From another point of view all this discussion has seemed to us to raise major moral issues. I shall not go into them in any detail but we do consider that the resolution did involve a moral issue and that the way it has been changed has deprived it of that moral approach.

Because of all these reasons, the sponsors of the resolution feel that they cannot, after these changes, associate themselves any longer with the resolution as it is now. Its sponsors are unable to support it and, therefore, I would like to withdraw the resolution.

DURING THE DISCUSSIONS in the House, reference has been made to the five power resolution which we had sponsored to the United Nations General Assembly. An hon. Member opposite spoke in terms of subdued enthusiasm about Mr. Menzies' amendment to the resolution. So far as the General Assembly was concerned there were four—may be five—who voted for the amendment. Even

the closest colleagues and allies of Mr. Menzies did not vote for it. It is, therefore, worth considering that something was essentially wrong either in the amendment or in the context of it that it got so little support. It was said that this voting was quite a record in the United Nations.

Our idea in sponsoring the resolution was not that the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. should discuss international problems or solve them but help to bring an element of flexibility in the situation which could be taken advantage of at a later stage. The American people being naturally very angry at the things which had happened at the summit meeting and the Russian people also being very angry at some things that had happened it becomes beyond the power of even their leaders to go against public opinion when so strongly entrenched in a passionate attitude. It is sometimes dangerous when national passions tend to petrify. The purpose of the resolution was to draw attention to this aspect. The resolution achieved at least partly the object aimed at. If not, the situation would have gone on without any shaking being given to it. The sponsors of the resolution thought that if the situation was left as it was, it would become more and more rigid making it difficult to move in the future. So, after consultations we put forward the resolution which I thought quite honestly was not a controversial resolution, even if not approved wholly. It should be mentioned that even this resolution got a majority in the Assembly. According to the Chairman the resolution required a two-thirds majority and so in that sense it did not succeed. After all this had happened, the general opinion not only of the delegates in the Assembly and others but of the noted influential newspapers in the United States was that those who opposed the resolution had not been wise and that it did not serve their purpose. These reactions should be taken into account. I think the resolution achieved its purpose quite well.

POINT OF NO RETURN

ON MANY AN OCCASION during the past few years our delegation in the United Nations, and sometimes even we in this House have put forward certain proposals in regard to disarmament, a matter to which we have always attached the greatest importance. Our attempt has not been to propose something which in our

opinion is idealistically right, but something which fits in with the existing situation.

A situation has arisen, or is arising when perhaps an even greater urgency comes into the picture for a variety of reasons. If nothing effective is done in regard to disarmament in the course of the next three or four years, it may perhaps become too late to deal with it—it may become almost impossible to control the situation. So far as nuclear weapons are concerned, some kind of advance is being made almost from day to day from month to month making these weapons more powerful, more dangerous and, what is more important, relatively easier to make. Once this spreads to many countries, it will become exceedingly difficult to have any effective disarmament or any effective machinery of control. Therefore, something has got to be done in regard to disarmament before we pass this point of no return. There might well be a point of no return when we have gone too far and atomic and nuclear bombs and the rest spread out.

Only this morning I read in the newspaper a suggestion from the commander of the NATO forces that nuclear weapons should be distributed to all the NATO countries, which means quite a number. It is obvious that if in addition to the four countries which have some kind of nuclear weapons today a dozen more are able to get them, the difficulty of dealing with the situation becomes infinitely greater. And if, as is expected by eminent scientists, the process of manufacturing them becomes simpler and cheaper then, obviously the matter is quite out of hand. Therein lies the tremendous urgency of this matter.

When we talk of disarmament, we have to consider two or three aspects of it. Almost all the major countries concerned, and presumably the minor countries too, have agreed broadly to disarmament, and it is often forgotten what a large measure of agreement there is. I would remind the House of the resolution passed by the General Assembly last year and of another resolution passed unanimously this year on the necessity of general and complete disarmament. That is agreed to. It is also agreed that disarmament must be accompanied by effective controls.

There is a curious argument often as to which comes first and which comes second. Obviously they have to come simultaneously. The countries concerned are not going to agree to disarm without proper controls and controls cannot come without disarmament. Surely what we want is full and complete disarmament. Inevitably it can only be reached by phases, but the objective of full and complete disarmament must be kept in view. In any phasing or in any steps that might be adopted in regard to this matter care has to be taken that a certain balance is preserved between the rival groups

of nations who fear each other. If at any time they fear that a step to be taken increases the striking force or the military force of the other group then they will hesitate.

These are the major approaches to disarmament. There is a very large measure of agreement on this as there is in regard to nuclear weapons also. At present there are various resolutions before the General Assembly in regard to disarmament. Among them is a rather long resolution proposed on behalf of India. The resolution does not represent an idealistic approach of what we would like to be done, but a conscious deliberate attempt to put forward something which approaches as nearly as possible the various viewpoints and bring them together. Even that resolution is not a sacred writ to us. If by some change here and there we can achieve greater success, we shall adopt it.

PERSONNEL AND PUBLICITY

THE APPROACH TO EXTERNAL PUBLICITY

IN REGARD TO external publicity I have very little to say except to welcome many of the suggestions that Mr B Shiva Rao has made. External publicity it is called, and, perhaps, some hon. Members think that we should try to flood foreign countries with facts and figures in the nature of propaganda. I do not think that it is desirable for us to do so or that we can, in fact, do so. I do not think our approach should be the pure publicity or the advertisement approach. We cannot do it because the way to do this would be to spend far vaster sums than we can ever afford to engage far bigger personnel and so on. But my main reason for not desiring to do so is that I do not like that approach at all. That approach tends inevitably to become a tendentious approach, and while it may perhaps, create an impression now and then, the value of it lessens progressively when people realize that it is excessive propaganda of a particular type. I would much rather place the facts before the public here in India or outside. Naturally I shall place them from our point of view try to give the background of the facts—but facts and nothing more than facts as far as possible—and allow other people to judge. Of course, it makes all the difference in the world how facts are placed before the public.

This business of publicity whether factual publicity or any other kind of publicity is an extraordinarily tricky business anywhere, and more especially in foreign countries. It is easy to criticize it, and I think many of the criticisms advanced are justified. It is also easy perhaps, to draw up schemes which appear good on paper but which may not succeed so well in practice. As I told the House on the last occasion when we discussed this problem of external publicity external publicity is so intimately aligned with external policy that normally every country has its external publicity organized by its Foreign Office and not by its internal publicity machine. In our country owing to various developments, wartime developments—because this was only thought of in wartime—

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

external publicity became a part of our Information Department. The more I have given thought to it, the more I have realized that this is not a very satisfactory arrangement. Obviously there must be the closest co-operation between the internal publicity machine and external publicity. But it is far better I think, that the External Affairs Ministry should have a greater part in the organization of external publicity than it has had so far.

I agree with Mr. Shiva Rao when he refers to the public relations officers rather than the publicity agents abroad. That conveys far better the idea of the work they ought to do. At the present moment, the various hand-outs and other material that are issued, no doubt, serve some useful purpose, but I do not think they are worth the money we spend upon them. My own impression, not now I mean, but previously because I have myself tried to do—not as a member of the Government but as a private individual or as a member of the Congress organization—some kind of external publicity is that all these hand-outs and pamphlets and leaflets find their way to the waste-paper basket. They influence very few persons except those who are already converted and who use them and keep them for their own benefit. The whole thing has to be looked upon from an entirely different point of view from a psychological point of view from the point of view of the requirements of each country concerned. For instance the approach in the United States of America is likely to be different—I think completely different—from the approach in France and even more different from the approach in the Soviet Republic. The kind of paper that one may produce in America ought to have some bearing on the kind of information that America requires. In France it will not be the same I can say that with assurance. The kind of information that we send to the Soviet Republic will be entirely different again or almost entirely different. The kind of information that the Soviet Republic asks us our Ambassador tells us, is almost entirely economic information concerning for instance what is being done in our various projects, various schemes, dams, reservoirs, river valley schemes, irrigation and education. They ask us for these they are interested in them. No particular enquiry about politics as such has come from them. It may be that they deliberately put forward that kind of enquiry because it is mostly put forward by governmental agencies there. But my point is that the approach has to be different in every country. What is required and how it can be done properly can only be fully appreciated by competent public relations officers as well as our embassies and legations abroad. And then it has to be co-ordinated with our publicity arrangements here. So I think that this entire matter

has to be considered fully and in fact the External Affairs Ministry and the Home Ministry are considering it. We hope to evolve a more feasible and better method. Inevitably we shall have to approach this question by the method of trial and error. There is no way of finding the perfect method of doing things except by experience. Then, again, the other countries that have evolved their own methods of publicity have done so for many years and have a great deal of experience. They spend vast sums of money, employ very large numbers of people, and have already developed very intimate contacts with the publicity organizations in the countries in which they function. It is easy for them. We may send the brightest of our young men from here. It takes some time for them to develop those contacts, not only physical contacts, but psychological and other contacts, so that if results are not brilliant, the House should realize that it is not a mechanical matter of sending trunks of pamphlets, leaflets or lecturers and others, but developing something which is much more intricate and difficult. Undoubtedly the present arrangements are not very happy and they have to be changed more or less on the lines of some of the suggestions made in this House.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

THE HOUSE is very rightly vigilant about the matter. In regard to the growth of our administration there is an Economy Committee sitting and there are people considering this problem. Let us remember that India, which has been functioning since 1947, has had to face many more problems than any other country of India has had to face previously. First of all, the Government, although they took cognizance of certain problems, did not think of them as primary functions or as we necessarily must. Secondly, take the case of 1947. There were no foreign affairs then. It has been a great adventure for us, building up our foreign relations. This has meant necessarily additions to our foreign relations—large additions and large expenses. It may be that some economy is possible that we have not yet looked into. But we cannot be an independent country.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

those foreign relations. Indians are spread all over the world. We have to look after their interests. Apart from Indians living in other countries, we have various interests, trade interests and other interests. We have to buy things. We have to sell things. It is quite impossible for any independent country more especially a great and big country like India, to carry on its normal existence without these foreign relations, with foreign establishments, foreign embassies, legations, trade missions and the like.

I mention this because often enough there is criticism of our spreading out all over the world with our foreign embassies. It is perhaps thought that this is just a gesture to satisfy our own vanity. And I am told, sometimes, that I have some kind of a bee in my bonnet, that I forget the troubles in India and I do not consider our domestic problems, and that I think only of sending ambassadors from Timbuktu to Peru. Well, I should like the House to consider this matter and be quite clear about it, because to refer to Timbuktu and Peru in this connection does not appear to me to be the height of wisdom. It shows quite an extraordinary lack of appreciation of what India is and what internally and domestically India requires. If we do not go out and have our foreign establishments, somebody will have to look after our interests. Who is that somebody? Are we going to ask England to look after our foreign interests in other countries as Pakistan has done in many countries? Is that the type of independence we contemplate? What does independence consist of? It consists fundamentally and basically of foreign relations. That is the test of independence. All else is local autonomy. Once foreign relations go out of your hands into the charge of somebody else, to that extent and in that measure you are not independent. If we are an independent nation we must have foreign relations. In fact we cannot carry on without them. If we have foreign relations, we have to have the establishment necessary to carry on these foreign relations. And foreign relations, though they involve trade, business, etc. are not like opening a branch of a business firm, as sometimes some of our business magnates seem to imagine. It is a very intricate and very difficult business dealing with the psychology of human beings, the psychology of nations, involving considerations of their background and culture, language and so on.

Beginning from scratch, we have developed our Foreign Service rather rapidly. It has been a difficult business and it would be absurd for me to say that everything we have done in the development of our Foreign Service has been entirely to my satisfaction. But I would like to say from the experience I have gathered during the last eighteen months or so that we have on the whole done remarkably well and that the test—the one test of that of

course—is the status of India in the eyes of the world. Individuals may have erred here and there, but the final test is Does our foreign policy yield results or not? Does it deliver the goods or not? I think it has delivered the goods to some extent, to a considerable extent, indeed, to a surprising extent. I should like to express my high appreciation here in this House of the work of many of our ambassadors and ministers abroad and of the work of our delegations to the United Nations. And allow me to inform the House that the reputation of India in the United Nations assemblies is very high.

Our three chief foreign missions are, as the House knows, in London, Washington and Moscow. There have been criticisms about relatively small matters. It may be about appointments and the like. I shall not go into them. But I should like to tell the House, speaking always as Foreign Minister that I would welcome any query which is brought to me and I shall either enquire into it or give the information that I have in my possession to any member of the House. There are bound to be many such things deserving enquiry arising out of a vast establishment. I think these principal missions of ours in London, Washington and Moscow have done remarkably well. In China we have had to face very difficult situations and our Embassy there has faced them with great credit. In Paris we have had a succession of misfortunes for many reasons, but chiefly because we have hardly had any place to stay in for a year. There is no proper place and our representatives have lived in very undesirable quarters. On the whole, we have succeeded in building up our Foreign Service in a very short time with considerable success. Naturally we shall go on trying to improve it.

GROWTH OF DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

I DO NOT wish to say much about the quality and the extent of the work of our missions abroad. It is difficult to judge in these matters. But we may make a comparison to some extent, with missions of other countries, from the point of view of expenditure. That is easier—quality is difficult to compare. If we compare the former with that of any important country the level of expenditure incurred by us is far less. I do not mean to say that there is no

From speech in Lok Sabha, April 9 1958

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

wastage and there is no need for economy on our part. What I wish to submit is that, comparatively speaking our foreign affairs are conducted in a much less expensive way.

In this connection, I would also say that, broadly the rate of payment to our staff abroad is far lower than that which many other countries make to their heads of missions and others employed in their foreign offices. What we pay may often be inadequate to keep up a certain status which our embassies and legations are supposed to keep. On the other hand sometimes, it has been found that the money we pay them for this purpose is not fully and properly utilized. But these are rather rare cases. I am presenting both sides of the picture to the House.

I cannot say that the large number of persons employed in our Foreign Service are all of the same high level as we like them to be. But I do say that the quality of our heads of missions serving abroad is generally a high one compared to any diplomatic service that I know of. There are, no doubt, people who do not come up to the required standard and this is natural in a large service. At the same time I would submit to the House that our missions abroad have carried out their functions with dignity and ability and at much less cost than the diplomatic service or the missions of the major countries.

It is about ten years now since we started building up our Foreign Service and our missions abroad. We had very few missions before independence. There was India House in London, there was some kind of representation in Washington and there were a few others mostly dealing with commercial matters or educational matters. When we started on our career after independence we had the whole wide world to deal with. India started as a country in a big way. I mean to say that we did not creep on the international scene furtively as it were. We came almost with a bang and people's attention was directed to India. Many countries wanted to exchange diplomatic representatives with us. While we were quite agreeable to this, it was not an easy matter to build up the Foreign Service and all the apparatus that goes with it for the purpose. Foreign representation is not merely a question of employing good and educationally qualified men. In the foreign service of any country the accumulated experience of a Foreign Office is very useful and important, regardless of the specific policy that the country might pursue. In our case we started from scratch and gradually in the course of these ten years we have built up that experience and we are building it up.

We have now 41 embassies, seven high commissions, 11 legations—some of these are duplicated—6 consulates and vice-consulates, and 16 commissions, special missions and agencies

Altogether we have 101 missions of some kind or other apart from a considerable number of Indian information units abroad. This is a fairly large number I do not wish to generalize. But, taken all in all, they have preserved a fairly high level of work and there can be no doubt that they have a high reputation among the diplomatic personnel of the world.

As far as our relations with other countries are concerned, they are at a remarkably friendly level. Unfortunately we have not been able to maintain the same co-operative and friendly level of intercourse with our neighbour country Pakistan. As the House knows, we have no relations with Portugal, because of Goa. We have no diplomatic relations with South Africa the reasons are known to this House. Apart from these instances, where we have experienced some difficulty our diplomatic personnel are spread out directly or indirectly all over the world.

I do not propose to discuss at the present moment our broad policy in world affairs. I wish to refer briefly to one aspect. Our policy in international affairs has, I believe, the cordial approval of a very large section of this House and of the country. There are criticisms, legitimate criticisms, about particular aspects, and difference in emphasis on how things are to be done. But the broad policy has had that approval and this has naturally given great strength to the Government in carrying out this policy.

A POLICY OF FRIENDSHIP

THE WORK OF THE Foreign Office and the Foreign Service can be judged broadly by the way they serve the country's interests and the cause which the country has at heart. It is often said that our publicity is subjected to criticism. Sometimes people make certain rather remarkable statements which are as far removed from the truth as anything can be. For instance the statements that we have no friend in the world and that all countries are against us and so on show an amazing capacity for not knowing what is happening in the world and what the world is thinking about India. I do not pretend to say that we do not make mistakes. We make mistakes often enough. Our publicity certainly is not ideal, and can be improved. Nevertheless, the basic fact remains that—whether it involves our external publicity or the work of

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

the Ministry or the Government of India—the name of India stands high in the world and that is, after all the test.

The *bona fides* of India stand high. The respect for India stands high because of its policy because of what India has done. The criticism about our publicity may be justified in the sense that improvement can be effected. But the reaction of a country to the policy of another country does not depend so much on publicity as on other considerations.

There are plenty of foreign newspaper correspondents in India reporting about India. They mould the opinion of their countries probably more than any official work that we may do. But the relevant question in this matter is whether the policy we pursue fits in with the outlook and the mentality of the other country or not. If it does not, all the publicity that we may do will not help much.

What is happening in our case is that originally there was always a degree of respect for India, but an amount of resentment came in because of a certain feeling in foreign countries that we considered ourselves rather above the milling crowd and adopted a high and pious attitude of not being with this or that under cover of high moral phrases we exploited the situation to our advantage. Well I do not wish to seek shelter under any high moral phrases. What we have sought to do is to follow a policy which seems to us to be correct in regard to both our own short term and long term interests, and which helps in serving the broad cause we have at heart the cause of peace.

The fact is that there was this feeling that the way India functioned was somewhat different from the way other countries functioned. This was not because we did not join the military blocs—many other countries also did not join the military blocs—because there was a slight but significant difference in our approach to problems or rather in the way we expressed ourselves in regard to them. I do not claim great virtue for this difference in approach but it came to us because we had inherited it to some extent in the course of our movement for freedom. Many other countries did not have this conditioning or experience which we had. Therefore people are taken aback when we talk about a "purer than thou" attitude. It is not really a question of holier than thou attitude or high morality. We know our faults very well and we know the virtues of others sometimes even of those whom we criticize. But gradually in the course of years people came to realize that we were not posing or moralizing and that we were following a certain policy in all good faith a policy which, while deliberately being one of friendship to other countries, was also one of non-alignment and something even deeper—of doing what

we thought right in the circumstances. It is this realization that has gradually brought in a certain respect for what we do in spite of differences of opinion that might exist.

I submit in all humility that India's voice—and India herself—is looked upon with very considerable respect in international assemblies and among great and small nations alike, although we have no military power or financial power. We try to look at things through our own eyes, even though sometimes our eyes may be rather dim, and not through other people's eyes or minds or through coloured glasses which affect one's sight and sometimes distort or colour the vision. I should like this House to judge our activities from that point of view certainly not refraining from criticism but always keeping in mind this basic approach.

I should like to say a few words, which I intended to say at the beginning, about our Foreign Service. It is easy to criticize any service. I can myself criticize some things which happened in our Foreign Service. But, knowing many of them and their work myself and through other people who have known them, I can say that our Foreign Service by and large, is a fine service and can compare very favourably with the foreign service of any country in the world. During its existence of about 10 years, it has gradually spread, becoming bigger and wider. It has had to face many problems and many difficult situations all over the world and it is largely due to the activities of the Foreign Service as well as our own policies that this respect for India has grown in all the countries. An ambassador of ours or a minister of ours is frequently approached by other countries for advice because he is considered to represent, in a little degree, what is said to be the wisdom of India.

HANDLING OF PUBLICITY

WHEN WE DISCUSS our ambassadors' work or our external publicity it seems to me that there is some misapprehension. It is imagined that the best publicity is presumably to throw a large number of leaflets, books and other material on the people in the other country or for the ambassador to deliver speeches and otherwise do this kind of work. Now one must remember what type of people one deals with. The other government is not an

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

ignorant government. It has its own means of getting information from its ambassador from its publicity agents, from its newspaper men, and from its intelligence agents. The most important countries have all these various agencies, including the last named spread out. They get the information from these sources. It is, therefore, not correct to assume that foreign governments form their opinions by the speeches delivered by our ambassador or by the pamphlets issued by us. Most of this blatant type of propaganda may create an impression on some unlearned gathering but it creates the reverse. There is a reaction against such propaganda, so that to measure the extent of publicity by the ordinary yardstick of how many leaflets or pamphlets have been issued does not help at all.

I feel that our methods of publicity can be improved. They should be. But an hon. Member suggested that it should be in the charge of experienced journalists and not others. We have tried experienced journalists and found that they did not succeed at all. Of course, it always depends on individuals and individual journalists. But as a group they were found not suited to this kind of work because they function in a different mental climate. In a different climate they would do very well, but what I have in mind is the official climate of publicity which was not wholly suited to them as a group. In fact, after our experience we had to revert to giving our own men special training in this work. That is how we are functioning today and I believe we are functioning better than we used to do.

On the one side we are constantly being told that we must improve our propaganda, and on the other we are told that we are spending too much money on it. The two, of course, are not necessarily contradictory but there is an element of contradiction between the two. Normally speaking we spend far less on almost every one of our activities than most countries do in regard to their foreign service and publicity. The bigger countries spend much more than we do. I am glad we spend less. I am not saying for a moment that I do not appreciate the suggestion being made about better publicity. But I do venture to submit that the type of publicity that perhaps some hon. Members have in mind does not help much.

People are not easily taken in by leaflets, propaganda articles and speeches. It may be that we are fully convinced of our own rightness in a particular matter. But sometimes it is a little helpful to see oneself through other people's eyes also and not be confirmed in a Narcissus-like attitude of thinking that we must inevitably be right in everything that we do. Other people may disagree with us. We cannot force them to agree by our repeating something

We have to convince them, win them over by reason and not by the bludgeon of shouting. I am merely pointing out the approach to this question to help a proper understanding of it.

The best publicity is what one does in one's country. The best publicity figure that I have known in my term of years was Mahatma Gandhi because he did things in India. He did not talk to the outside world. He just did things which forced public attention on India, and which brought people running to India to see what he was doing in India and made newspapers write about him and his work. This happened because there was solidity in his work. In the ultimate analysis therefore what counts is this solid basis.

ASIA AND AFRICA

ASIA FINDS HERSELF AGAIN

FRIENDS AND FELLOW ASIANS! What has brought you the men and women of Asia, here? Why have you come from various countries of this mother continent of ours and gathered together in this ancient city of Delhi? Some of us, greatly daring sent you invitations for this Conference and you gave a warm welcome to that invitation. And yet it was not merely the call from us, but some deeper urge that brought you here.

We stand at the end of an era and on the threshold of a new period of history. Standing on this watershed which divides two epochs of human history and endeavour we can look back on our long past and look forward to the future that is taking shape before our eyes. Asia, after a long period of quiescence, has suddenly become important again in world affairs. If we view the millennia of history this continent of Asia, with which Egypt has been so intimately connected in cultural fellowship, has played a mighty role in the evolution of humanity. It was here that civilization began and man started on his unending adventure of life. Here the mind of man searched unceasingly for truth and the spirit of man shone out like a beacon which lighted up the whole world.

This dynamic Asia from which great streams of culture flowed in all directions gradually became static and unchanging. Other peoples and other continents came to the fore and with their new dynamism spread out and took possession of great parts of the world. This mighty continent became just a field for the rival imperialisms of Europe, and Europe became the centre of history and progress in human affairs.

A change is coming over the scene now and Asia is again finding herself. We live in an age of tremendous transition and already the next stage takes shape when Asia assumes her rightful place with the other continents.

It is at this great moment that we meet here and it is the pride and privilege of the people of India to welcome their fellow

Inaugural address at the Asian Relations Conference, New Delhi,
March '73 1947

Asians from other countries, to confer with them about the present and the future, and lay the foundation of our mutual progress, well being and friendship

The idea of having an Asian Conference is not new and many have thought of it. It is indeed surprising that it should not have been held many years earlier yet perhaps the time was not ripe for it and any attempt to do so would have been superficial and not in tune with world events. It so happened that we in India convened this Conference, but the idea of such a conference arose simultaneously in many minds and in many countries of Asia. There was a widespread urge and an awareness that the time had come for us, peoples of Asia, to meet together to hold together and to advance together. It was not only a vague desire, but the compulsion of events that forced all of us to think along these lines. Because of this, the invitation we in India sent out brought an answering echo and a magnificent response from every country of Asia.

We welcome you, delegates and representatives from China, that great country to which Asia owes so much and from which so much is expected from Egypt and the Arab countries of West Asia, inheritors of a proud culture which spread far and wide and influenced India greatly from Iran whose contacts with India go back to the dawn of history from Indonesia and Indo-China whose history is intertwined with India's culture, and where recently the battle of freedom has continued a reminder to us that freedom must be won and cannot come as a gift from Turkey that has been rejuvenated by the genius of a great leader from Korea and Mongolia, Siam, Malaya and the Philippines from the Soviet Republics of Asia which have advanced so rapidly in our generation and which have so many lessons to teach us and from our neighbours Afghanistan Tibet, Nepal Bhutan, Burma and Ceylon to whom we look especially for co-operation and close and friendly intercourse Asia is very well represented at this Conference and if one or two countries have been unable to send representatives, this was due to no lack of desire on their part, but because circumstances beyond our control came in the way. We also welcome observers from Australia and New Zealand, because we have many problems in common, especially in the Pacific and in the south-east region of Asia, and we have to co-operate together to find solutions.

As we meet here today the long past of Asia rises up before us, the troubles of recent years fade away and a thousand memories revive. But I shall not speak to you of these past ages with their glories and triumphs and failures, nor of more recent times which have oppressed us so much and which still pursue us in some

measure. During the past two hundred years we have seen the growth of Western imperialism and of the reduction of large parts of Asia to colonial or semi-colonial status. Much has happened during those years but perhaps one of the notable consequences of the European domination of Asia has been the isolation of the countries of Asia from one another. India always had contacts and intercourse with her neighbour countries in the north west, the north-east the east and the south-east. With the coming of British rule in India these contacts were broken off and India was almost completely isolated from the rest of Asia. The old land routes almost ceased to function and our chief window to the outer world looked out on the sea route which led to England. A similar process affected other countries of Asia also. Their economy was bound up with some European imperialism or other even culturally they looked towards Europe and not to their own friends and neighbours from whom they had derived so much in the past.

Today this isolation is breaking down because of many reasons political and other. The old imperialism are fading away. The land routes have revived and air travel suddenly brings us very near to one another. This Conference itself is significant as an expression of that deeper urge of the mind and spirit of Asia which has persisted in spite of the isolationism which grew up during the years of European domination. As that domination goes, the walls that surrounded us fall down and we look at one another again and meet as old friends long parted.

In this Conference and in this work there are no leaders and no followers. All countries of Asia have to meet together on an equal basis in a common task and endeavour. It is fitting that India should play her part in this new phase of Asian development. Apart from the fact that India herself is emerging into freedom and independence she is the natural centre and focal point of the many forces at work in Asia. Geography is a compelling factor and geographically she is so situated as to be the meeting point of Western and Northern and Eastern and South East Asia. Because of this, the history of India is a long history of her relations with the other countries of Asia. Streams of culture have come to India from the West and the East and been absorbed in India, producing the rich and variegated culture which is India today. At the same time streams of culture have flowed from India to distant parts of Asia. If you would know India you have to go to Afghanistan and West Asia to Central Asia to China and Japan and to the countries of South East Asia. There you will find magnificent evidence of the vitality of India's culture which spread out and influenced vast numbers of people.

There came the great cultural stream from Iran to India in

remote antiquity. And then began that constant intercourse between India and the Far East, notably China. In later years South-East Asia witnessed an amazing efflorescence of Indian art and culture. The mighty stream which started from Arabia and developed as a mixed Irano-Arabic culture poured into India. All these came to us and influenced us, and yet so great was the powerful impress of India's own mind and culture that it could accept them without being itself swept away or overwhelmed. Nevertheless, we all changed in the process and in India today all of us are mixed products of these various influences. An Indian wherever he may go in Asia, feels a sense of kinship with the land he visits and the people he meets.

I wish to speak to you not of the past, but rather of the present. We meet here not to discuss our past history and contacts, but to forge links for the future. And may I say here that this Conference, and the idea underlying it, is in no way aggressive or against any other continent or country? Ever since news of this Conference went abroad some people in Europe and America have viewed it with doubt, imagining that this was some kind of a pan-Asian movement directed against Europe or America. We have no designs against anybody—ours is the great design of promoting peace and progress all over the world. Far too long have we of Asia been petitioners in Western courts and chancelleries. That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own legs and to co-operate with all others who are prepared to co-operate with us. We do not intend to be the playthings of others.

In this crisis in world history Asia will necessarily play a vital role. The countries of Asia can no longer be used as pawns by others—they are bound to have their own policies in world affairs. Europe and America have contributed very greatly to human progress and for that we must yield them praise and honour and learn from them the many lessons they have to teach. But the West has also driven us into wars and conflicts without number and even now the day after a terrible war there is talk of further wars in the atomic age that is upon us. In this atomic age Asia will have to function effectively in the maintenance of peace. Indeed there can be no peace unless Asia plays her part. There is today conflict in many countries, and all of us in Asia are full of our own troubles. Nevertheless the whole spirit and outlook of Asia are peaceful and the emergence of Asia in world affairs will be a powerful influence for world peace.

Peace can come only when nations are free and also when human beings everywhere have freedom and security and opportunity. Peace and freedom, therefore, have to be considered in both their political and economic aspects. The countries of Asia,

we must remember are very backward and the standards of living are appallingly low. These economic problems demand urgent solution or else crisis and disaster may overwhelm us. We have, therefore, to think in terms of the common man and fashion our political, social and economic structure so that the burdens that have crushed him may be removed and he may have full opportunity for growth.

We have arrived at a stage in human affairs when the ideal of One World and some kind of a World Federation seem to be essential, though there are many dangers and obstacles in the way. We should work for that ideal and not for any grouping which comes in the way of this larger world group. We, therefore, support the United Nations structure which is painfully emerging from its infancy. But in order to have One World, we must also in Asia think of the countries of Asia co-operating together for that larger ideal.

This Conference, in a small measure, represents this bringing together of the countries of Asia. Whatever it may achieve the mere fact of its taking place is itself of historic significance. Indeed, this occasion is unique in history for never before has such a gathering met together at any place. So even in meeting we have achieved much and I have no doubt that out of this meeting greater things will come. When the history of our present times is written this event may well stand out as a landmark which divides the past of Asia from the future. And because we are participating in this making of history something of the greatness of historic events comes to us all.

This Conference will split up into committees and groups to discuss various problems which are of common concern to all of us. We shall not discuss the internal politics of any country because that is rather beyond the scope of our present meeting. Naturally we are interested in these internal politics, because they act and react on one another but we may not discuss them at this stage because if we do we may lose ourselves in interminable arguments and complications. We may fail to achieve the purpose for which we have met.

I hope that out of this Conference some permanent Asian Institute for the study of common problems and to bring about closer relations will emerge also perhaps a School of Asian Studies. Further we might be able to organize an interchange of visits and exchanges of students and professors so that we might get to know one another better. There is much more we can do, but I shall not venture to enumerate all these subjects for it is for you to discuss them and arrive at decisions.

We seek no narrow nationalism. Nationalism has a place in each country and should be fostered, but it must not be allowed to

become aggressive and come in the way of international development. Asia stretches her hand out in friendship to Europe and America as well as to our suffering brethren in Africa.

We of Asia have a special responsibility to the people of Africa. We must help them to their rightful place in the human family. The freedom that we envisage is not to be confined to this nation or that or to a particular people, but must spread out over the whole human race. That universal human freedom also cannot be based on the supremacy of any particular class. It must be the freedom of the common man everywhere and full opportunities for him to develop.

We think today of the great architects of Asian freedom—Sun Yat-sen, Zaghlul Pasha, the Ataturk Kemal Pasha and others, whose labours have borne fruit.

We think also of that great figure whose labours and whose inspiration have brought India to the threshold of her independence—Mahatma Gandhi. We miss him at this Conference and I yet hope that he may visit us before our labours end. He is engrossed in the service of the common man in India, and even this Conference could not drag him away from it.

All over Asia we are passing through trials and tribulations. In India also you will see conflict and trouble. Let us not be disheartened by this—this is inevitable in an age of mighty transition. There are powerful creative impulses and a new vitality in all the peoples of Asia. The masses are awake and they demand their heritage. Strong winds are blowing all over Asia. Let us not be afraid of them, but rather welcome them for only with their help can we build the new Asia of our dreams. Let us have faith in these great new forces and the dream which is taking shape. Let us, above all have faith in the human spirit which Asia has symbolized for those long ages past.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM FOR ASIA

MR. CHAIRMAN and Members of the Commission On behalf of the Government of India, I welcome you to this country and to this place. India has long been associated with the United Nations because India has believed in the aims and purposes of the United Nations, and even though sometimes no tangible results have followed in the United Nations, we have believed that we must—and the world must—follow that course in the hope that tangible results will come sooner or later.

We have taken part in your various Commissions, because we have felt that, quite apart from the political aspect of the United Nations the economic aspect is at least as important, if not more important indeed we cannot consider the one without the other. Politically we have not met with great success so far but I think that if we succeed in the economic field that will affect the political field also.

There has been talk in the past of One World in the political sense, but it is even more important to consider it in the economic sense. You are meeting here to deal with Asia and Asia's problems—inevitably in the context of the larger world—because we cannot escape looking at almost any problem except in the global context today. Asia is big enough and the subjects you have to deal with are vast and of very great importance.

The Governor of Madras referred to the numerous papers and memoranda that you have before you and I feel rather overwhelmed when I look at all these files and papers and when I see all these experts because I can only speak as a layman. But while experts are quite inevitable in the modern world, sometimes I have a feeling that they become very impersonal and look at problems as if they were mathematical and algebraic formulae. Well, we have to deal with human beings and the future of human beings and Asia, the area under survey has a population of at least a thousand million human beings. In India, including Pakistan there are forty per cent of those thousand millions—that is, four hundred millions, and we have to deal with these vast numbers—practically half the world's population. If you look at the human aspect of these thousand millions with their sufferings, with their wants, with their joys and sorrows, the problem becomes something much more than a dry economic problem which you have to solve and it assumes a tremendous urgency.

Now for many years past most of these problems have been

considered in the world context and I had a feeling and I still have that feeling, that the continent of Asia is somewhat neglected, somewhat overlooked. It is not considered important enough for as much attention to be given to it as is given to certain other parts of the world. Possibly that has been so because most of the people who were considering these problems were themselves intimately connected with the other parts of the world and naturally they thought of them in the first instance. Naturally also if I have to consider these problems, I would attach more importance to Asia, because it affects me more intimately. But that kind of reaction apart, it is quite obvious that you cannot consider the problem of Asia or the problem of Europe or the problem of America or the problem of Africa in isolation from the problem of other countries.

It just cannot be done and if some countries which are fortunate enough today—more fortunate than others—think that they can lead their lives in isolation irrespective of what happens in the rest of the world, it is obvious that they are under a misapprehension. Today if one part of the world goes down economically it has a tendency to drag others with it, just as when unfortunately war breaks out other people who do not want war are involved. So it is not a question of the prosperous, merely out of the generosity of their hearts, helping those who are not prosperous, though generosity is a good thing. But it is a question of enlightened self interest, realizing that if some parts of the world do not progress, remain backward they have an adverse effect on the whole economy of the world and they tend to drag down those parts that are at present prosperous. Therefore, it becomes inevitable to consider these problems in the global way and to pay even more attention to those parts which are relatively backward.

Asia has been for generations past in a somewhat static and backward condition. But during the last few years mighty forces have been at work in Asia. These forces inevitably thought in terms of political change to begin with, because without political change it was not possible to have any far reaching or enduring economic change. Large parts of Asia were colonial territory dominated by other countries. From that connection they have obtained some advantage sometimes. While it did undoubtedly in a sense shake up that static condition, at the same time it tended to preserve it too.

The political struggle of Asia is largely over but not entirely there are parts of Asia where some kind of struggle for political freedom is still going on and it is obvious that so long as there is that type of struggle on the political plane other activities will be ignored or will be thwarted. The sooner therefore it is realized

that politically every country in Asia should be completely free and be in a position to follow its own genius within the larger world policy that any world organization may lay down, the better it will be.

Now generally speaking this political aspect of the Asian struggle is drawing to its natural and inevitable culmination. But at the same time, the economic aspect continues and is bound up with all manner of economic problems affecting the world. From the Asian point of view it has become essentially a matter of extreme urgency to deal with these problems. From the world point of view it is equally urgent really because unless these problems are dealt with in Asia, they affect other parts of the world. I have no doubt that you ladies and gentlemen who are members of this Commission, realize the importance of what I have said, and will make it clear to the United Nations that any attempt to pay inadequate attention to Asian problems is likely to defeat the end which the United Nations has in view.

In Asia, many historical forces have been at work for many years past and many things have happened which are good and many things which are not so good as always happens when impersonal historical forces are in action. They are still in action. We try to mould them a little to divert them here and there, but essentially they will carry on till they fulfil their purpose and their historical destiny. That historical destiny can only be one of complete political and economic freedom within some kind of world framework. In Asia and the rest of the world, there are various systems at work, political and economic, in different countries. Obviously it will not be possible to co-operate easily unless we proceed on the basis of not interfering with any system, political or economic, in any country leaving it to that country to develop as it chooses within the larger sphere of world co-operation.

You can look upon the problems of Asia from the long term and the short term points of view. The short term problems demand immediate attention because of the urgency of solving some great difficulties. There is, for instance, the aspect of food. It is an extraordinary state of affairs that in a country like India or similar predominantly agricultural countries we should lack food or that we should not have a sufficiency of food. There is something obviously wrong if that kind of thing happens. I have no doubt in my mind that India for its part can and will produce enough food for itself—not immediately but in the course of a few years. But at the present moment we have to face this problem. Other urgent problems will similarly come up before you for deliberation. Looking at these problems from a long term point of view it seems to me that various deficiencies have to be made good. We have to increase

our productive capacity agricultural and industrial. It is admitted now that industrialization should proceed in these countries of Asia. In the past, this has been rather held up by various problems and various interests.

The real limiting factor in industrialization is the lack of capital equipment. The difficulties are of getting the capital equipment and special experience from those countries which happen to possess it and who have a surplus of it. How far that can be obtained, it is for you to calculate and the producing countries to decide. If it is not obtained quickly the process of industrialization may be somewhat delayed but it will go on.

If it is considered right in the larger interest of the world that a country like India and other countries in the East should be industrialized should increase and modernize agricultural production, it is in the interests of those countries that can help in this process to help the Asian countries with capital equipment and their special experience. But in doing so it is to be borne in mind that no Asian countries will welcome any such assistance if there are conditions attached to it which lead to any kind of economic domination. We would rather delay our development, industrial or other than submit to any kind of economic domination by any country.

That is an axiom which is accepted by everyone in India and I shall be surprised if any other country in Asia does not accept it. We want to co-operate in the fullest measure in any policy or programme laid down for the world's good, even though it might involve the surrender in common with other countries, of any particular attribute of sovereignty provided that is a common surrender all round. But a long period of foreign domination has made the countries of Asia very sensitive about anything which might lead to some visible or invisible form of domination. Therefore, I would beg of you to remember this and to fashion your programmes and policies so as to avoid anything savouring of the economic domination of one country by another. Political domination, it is admitted leads to economic domination, but an invisible or semi invisible economic domination creeps in unless you are careful if that creeps in. It will lead immediately to ill will and not to that atmosphere of co-operation which is so essential in this matter.

In a long term view—I speak of India—I suppose the most important thing is to develop our power resources. From that will flow the industrialization of the country and an addition to our food production. As it is, you know that India has probably more in the shape of irrigation than any other country in the world. We hope to increase that very greatly. We have in view at least a score of various river valley schemes—some very big some bigger than

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the Tennessee Valley scheme, some smaller much smaller. We have to push the schemes through soon, constructing huge dams and reservoirs, and thereby adding to the irrigated parts of India large tracts which are not at present under cultivation.

May I say a word here about the population of India? A great deal has been said and written about our tremendous population and how it overwhelms us and how we cannot solve any problem till the Indian population is checked or decimated. Well, I have no desire for the population of India to go on increasing. I am all in favour of the population being checked, but I think there is a great misapprehension when so much stress is laid on this aspect. I entirely disagree with that. I think India is an under populated country and I say this not because I want it to be much more populated. It is under populated, because large tracts of India are still unpopulated. It is true that if you go to the Gangetic plain it is thickly populated parts of India are thickly populated, but many parts are not populated at all. A delegate to this conference told me last night that coming from Karachi to Delhi, Madras and then to Ootacamund he was amazed to see the scarcity of population. Of course, he was travelling by plane nevertheless, the whole countryside appeared to him to be sparsely populated and after all it is possible to judge whether the country is heavily populated or not. That is a very correct impression, because large tracts are not populated.

We are over populated, if you like, because our productive capacity is low. If we increase our production, agricultural and other and if the population is put to work for production, then we are not over-populated. We have these big river valley schemes which, in addition to irrigating land, preventing floods, soil erosion and malaria will produce a very great deal of hydroelectric power and at the same time we will have industrial development. If you look at the map of India, you will see the noble range of the Himalayas from the north to the north-east. I do not think there is any part of the world similar in area which has so much concentrated power—latent, potential power if only it can be tapped and used. Well, we intend tapping and using it. To some extent we have done it. The Himalayas are also full of a variety of mineral resources.

But my point is that not only India, but the whole of this Asian region is full of vast resources, human and material, and the question before us is how to yoke them together and produce results. It is not that we are lacking in men or material. We have both. In order to yoke them together the easiest way is to have certain assistance in capital equipment and experienced technical personnel from those countries which may have a surplus. From the world's point of view that will inevitably lead to the world's good. If that

cannot be done, then naturally we have to act in a more limited way but we shall have to go in that direction anyhow

Apart from increasing production in this way—I mean new schemes and the rest—I think it is important for us to utilize our existing resources better. I do not think they are being utilized to the best advantage. We can get more out of what we have than we have been doing. That involves in India, as in the rest of Asia, many problems—the economic system, the relation of capital and labour and the satisfaction of labour. There is no doubt at all that in all or at any rate in most of these Asian countries there are long standing social injustices and naturally where there are these social injustices you will not get proper and satisfactory work, especially now when there is an acute sense of social wrong and social injustice.

I have no doubt that in India our production has suffered because of this acute feeling of social injustice. An individual or a community may undertake to shoulder almost any burden. We have seen during the last war how nations put up with the most enormous burdens in the shape of suffering and sacrifice but always when there is a sense of sharing the burden inequitably the burden being greater on some than on others, the sense of injustice becomes greater and you do not have that harmonious working and co-operation which is quite essential today more so than in the past. Therefore, this problem has to be viewed from the human point of view quite apart from a purely economic point of view.

If one does view it from that human point of view if one tries to co-operate without entering into a long argument, I think one can go far in solving it and in getting that measure of co-operation even among people who may hold different theories. So I would beg this Commission to consider this problem from the human point of view of removing social injustices. The Commission, of course, is not going to dictate to each individual country about its economic structure, but any advice from the Commission will no doubt go a long way and most countries will probably follow it in the largest measure they can.

Now to repeat what I have said, I hope this Commission will bear in mind the fact that we are dealing with hundreds of millions of human beings and not abstract countries and abstract groups. Each individual is a member of a family with children who are possibly starving who have possibly had no education and no opportunity for growth and advancement.

I mentioned right at the beginning certain parts of Asia which have not completely solved their political problems. Some in the past year have undergone a tremendous change politically. India has—a part of India has become Pakistan. Burma has become

independent and so on. May I here especially welcome the representatives of Burma and New Zealand to this Commission? I should also like to see representatives here of Indonesia. I am not entering into the legal or constitutional aspects of such matters, it seems to me necessary from the practical point of view in areas like the Indonesian Republic which is one of the richest in Asia should not be ignored in any plan that you might have up for Asia. If that area is not directly and sufficiently represented here, then your plan is inadequate. It does not meet the needs of the situation. You cannot leave out a highly important area and then make a plan for the rest of Asia. So I regret that representatives of the Indonesian Republic have not thus far taken a place here. I hope it may be possible for them to be invited to take part in the Commission's deliberations in some form or other.

India, as I said, from the population point of view forms per cent of this Asian region which you have in view. From a geographical point of view too it is rather important, situated as it is. India proposes to take the fullest part in this co-operative effort both for Asia and for the world.

People vaguely talk of India's leadership in Asia. I deprecate such talk. I want this problem to be approached not in terms of this country or that country being the leader and pushing or pulling others, but rather in a spirit of co-operation among all the countries of Asia, big and small. If any country pulls more than its weight well and good. If it can serve the common cause more than its share necessitates, well, I have no doubt it will be patted on the back and it will be a good thing but for any country to think of its leadership of others smacks too much of a complex of superiority which is not desirable in an organization working together for the common good.

We should talk only in terms of co-operation between countries, whatever they may be. It is in that spirit that I should like India to approach this problem but at the same time I should certainly like India to play a leading part in serving the common cause, whatever the result of that may be to India.

The Commission has come here for the first time. I believe one of the points that you have to determine is the location of your temporary headquarters. Probably there will soon be the question of locating the regional headquarters. It is for you to determine not for me to say much. But on behalf of the Government of India, I should like to invite you to have your headquarters in India. If you so decide you will be very welcome and we shall do our utmost to meet your requirements here. We should like the regional headquarters to be here—not only the Commission, the exact location in India can be decided afterwards.

convenience and the convenience of the Government of India. I wish to put this invitation before you informally and we shall, of course, accept whatever decision you may take and co-operate with you wherever your headquarters may be.

I should like to express my welcome to you again and to wish you success in your endeavour.

BEGINNING OF A NEW OUTLOOK

THERE ARE many factors that join the countries of Asia together apart from geography. There is the factor that for the last 150 to 200 years Asia has been dominated by Europe by certain European countries. They came here, exploited this continent, dominated it, and various consequences flowed from it. We are today rather overwhelmed by the recent history of 200 years of European domination. But if we look at the long process of history going back more than a few hundred years we get a truer perspective and in that perspective, of course, whether you look at Asia, or whether you look at India, the period of foreign domination is a very limited one. And now that foreign domination of most Asian countries has ended and it will end everywhere soon, there is a certain process of finding oneself, which each of the Asian countries is going through in various stages of advance according to modern standards: there is this looking into oneself, finding oneself, feeling a certain assurance, self-confidence, fear also. It may be in the case of some countries because of economic and other weaknesses—but on the whole, finding oneself. This is also a certain binding factor.

Then again, the problems of Asia today are essentially problems of supplying what may be called the primary human necessities. They are not problems which may be called problems of power politics. Of course every country to some extent has something to do with power politics in this world. But whichever countries we may take in Asia, one problem they always have and that is the problem of preserving their freedom—the fear that somebody might take away their freedom. That problem is always there quite apart from the fundamental problem, the problem of supplying primary necessities—food, clothing, housing, health, education and the like. These are common problems all over the world undoubtedly, but

a great part of the rest of the world has advanced in its standards much further than the countries of Asia. The countries of the rest of the world have room for still further advance, no doubt, and they have suffered a great deal from the last war. They have had to make up the tremendous losses caused by the last war. Unfortunately the whole outlook of European the past hundred years has been the outlook of countries possessing great power and being afraid of losing that power afraid of one another or desirous of extending power politics than Asia is at present. I do not know about the future. There is a fundamental difference of approach between them. And now since the last war Europe has been tied up to a number of very grave problems and conflicts. If I may say so the past *karma* of Europe pursues it. We cannot easily get rid of the curse of our past *karma* it pursues our country in various ways. But there is this basic difference, I think, in the European approach to problems and the Asian approach. The whole world wants peace. I have no doubt about it. But we see a terrible fear complex all over the world today or nearly all over the world. Europe is full of it at the present moment. Asia has it too, and, I suppose, a good deal of it but compared with Europe, I think, there is much less of it. Let me put it in another way the countries which have been the 'haves' in the world are very much afraid of losing what they have, while countries not having had so much to lose are not obsessed by that fear so much. Anyhow there are these different psychological approaches to these various problems.

Now take the United Nations. The United Nations Organization has most of the nations of the world in it, but it is true that it is dominated more or less by certain great nations of Europe and America, with the result that the main problems discussed there are the problems of Europe and America. Naturally we are interested in those problems, because they affect us too and if there is war obviously we are affected. But we cannot possibly get as excited about those problems as the people of Europe and America. For instance, the problem of Indonesia is more important to us than many European problems. Geography perhaps, is responsible, if you like. Whatever the reason may be, the real reason ultimately is not merely geography but a feeling deep down in our minds that if some kind of colonial domination continues in Indonesia, and is permitted to continue, it will be a danger to the whole of Asia to us in India as well as to other countries. Further if it is allowed to continue there, obviously it can only continue with the passive or active acquiescence of some of the great powers, the result being that those great powers who may acquiesce in it themselves become in the eyes of Asia partners in that guilt. This is an important

point to remember that it is not merely a political game of chess for us in India—it is, apart from the freedom of Indonesia, a most vital problem affecting the whole of Australia, Asia and perhaps America. From this point of view Europe and America are being tested in the eyes of Asia, just as we may be tested in the eyes of Europe and America.

I have no doubt that the countries of Europe and America are themselves very much disturbed and distressed by what is taking place in Indonesia. They want to help Indonesia. I think they realize that Indonesian freedom is not only desirable in itself, but is also desirable in the larger scheme of things which they have before them and if by any chance any kind of imperialistic domination succeeds in Indonesia it will affect the larger plan they have for the future. And I realize that the Asian nations as a whole will be very much affected and our action in future may be governed by what happens in Indonesia. Therefore, I have heard that they are very anxious to solve the Indonesian problem satisfactorily and bring about freedom and independence in Indonesia. True but then there comes the difficulty when you forget or you do not act up to certain definite principles. Any action taken in Indonesia concerns more especially the Indonesian people on the one side and the Netherlands Government on the other. Now in an entirely different context, some of the powers of Western Europe and America have, as you well know arrived at a settlement in which the Netherlands Government is also included—the Atlantic Pact. They were apparently justified in looking after their interests. It is another matter I am not discussing that. But here a conflict arises in the minds of all these countries. While on the one hand, they wish to have Indonesian freedom, on the other they are very anxious to have the Netherlands in their political grouping. Sometimes they do not take up the strict and direct line which they might otherwise take up, because they are pulled in other directions by these very difficulties.

So that while generally we may agree about various matters, the emphasis may be very different. We may look upon something as No. 1 which for them is No. 2 and what is for them No. 1 may be No. 2 for us. Although we may not be against No. 2 it is for us not No. 1. It does make a lot of difference what priorities you give to things. It makes all the difference in the world whether you give truth the first place or the second place in life and in politics.

TORMENT IN THE SPIRIT OF ASIA

MR. CHAIRMAN Your Excellencies and delegates The Governor and the Chief Minister of the State of Uttar Pradesh have welcomed you to the city of Lucknow May I on behalf of the Government of India, also offer you a cordial welcome and tell you how privileged we consider ourselves that you should have chosen this city and this country for this great gathering?

For about twelve or more years now I have been connected, first rather distantly and then more intimately with the work of the Institute of Pacific Relations. I have profited by reading your publications and have always felt that you were doing good work in trying to understand the problems of the Pacific or the Far East. For a long time I have felt that, as time goes on the problems of the Far East will become more complicated and the centre of gravity of the tension, prevalent in the world today will shift to the Far East and in particular to Asia. While people readily agree that Asia has, to a certain extent, become the focal point of world tension, they relegate Asian problems to positions of relative insignificance and tend exclusively to emphasize the importance of European and other world problems. I agree that European problems are and have been very important but I have felt that, in the perspective of things to come they were wrong in not devoting the requisite attention to the problems of developing Asia.

Asia compels attention in many ways. There are a large number of backward countries in need of urgent economic development and others in which acute scarcity of vital commodities prevails. But what is most needed is an understanding that Asia is going through a process of change and that it is in ferment. Some parts of Asia are quiet and relatively peaceful whereas others are torn by external troubles and disturbances. I am not referring to the external situation so much as to the characteristics inherent in the personality of Asia. I do not claim that this change is peculiar to Asia perhaps, it is taking place all over the world. In Asia we have been kept down and are now trying to catch up with others who are ahead of us. We have been engrossed in things of the past and time has passed us by. We have not been able to keep pace with it and so we must run now. We cannot afford to walk, but then when we run we also stumble and fall and try to get up again. We realize that speed especially in an age-old continent like Asia, involves risks and dangers but we have no choice in the matter. If you seek to understand us, you can do so to a limited extent, if you discuss

only our political, social and economic problems. You will have to look a little deeper and try to understand the torment in the spirit of Asia.

This crisis of the spirit takes different forms in different countries. Ultimately it is we who have to gain an insight into our problems with outside help if possible. Nobody can bear our burdens for us: we have to bear them ourselves. I hope that in your discussions you will give thought not only to our external problems but also to this crisis I have spoken of, which moves the minds of vast masses of people. If you asked me about my own country it would be very difficult for me to answer briefly because I see so many forces at play. I am often asked: How has communism affected your country? How do you deal with it? These are trivial questions and have perhaps a momentary importance. If you seek to understand a country by putting such trivial questions, then you are bound to get lost in its superficial aspects. One has to think of the problems which are fundamental to the life of a country before one can presume to understand its people.

Asia is a huge continent and the peoples of Asia are all different from one another as they were reared in different cultures and traditions. In spite of all this I think it is still true to say that there is such a thing as Asian sentiment.

Perhaps, this sentiment is merely the outcome of the past two or three hundred years of European influence in Asia. Personally I do not believe that any profound difference exists between the Orient and the Occident. Such differences as can be accounted for by history, tradition and geography exist even among the Asian countries and in fact even within the same country. Probably the existing differences mainly arose from the fact that certain parts of the world developed their resources and became prosperous while others were completely unaffected by the industrial revolution.

I think that thinking in terms of the Orient and the Occident sets us on the wrong track. As a rule the same type of problems lead to the same results everywhere. At the same time, there are certain countries like India and China with pronounced national characteristics, where history and tradition exert a profound influence on the course of events. I am sure there is a great deal of good in this tradition. We should have gone under but for that. We have survived on account of the good in our tradition and we propose to hold on to it. At the same time I have no doubt at all that it has a great deal that is bad, too. It prevents us from doing the things we ought to do so that between the good and the bad and between the past and the present, we do not quite know what we are going to do and what we should do.

If you ask me about India it would take me a long time to tell you about all the aspects of our problems. Our difficulties are not only external but also of the mind and spirit. There are certain tendencies that carry us forward and others that retard our forward movement—I will not call it progress—and compel us to look behind.

Progress consists in having the essential things of life and in that sense we obviously must have progress. We are going ahead and, I hope, rapidly. We are harnessing science in the service of the nation. Yet a doubt arises in my mind as to whether material progress really constitutes a remedy for our problems. It is, at best, only a partial solution something more is needed. We need a solution of the broad problems that afflict the world today. Many of these are probably evils that have resulted from an indiscriminate application of science which we have now begun to worship. What are we aiming at and where are we heading for? I feel that unless we answer these questions, we are apt to go astray. You know that many of us in this country have spent a great part of our lives in trying though imperfectly to follow the lead of our great leader. We were poor stuff. Again and again he gave us the strength and the vision to achieve our goal. For thirty years or more, we took shelter under his shadow and under his guidance. He preached non-violence and, strangely enough, we followed him to some extent, though we did not quite understand him. We felt the greatness of his presence and his personality and we followed him in certain things to the best of our ability. He preached non-violence and yet we see around us a world full of violence. Our own Government maintains an army, a navy and an air force and we are often constrained to have recourse to violence. The efficacy of non-violence is not entirely convincing. What are we to do about it all? None of us would dare in the present state of the world to do away with the instruments of organized violence. We keep armies both to defend ourselves against aggression from without and to meet trouble within. While I grant that we must keep armies, it is also true that the armed forces have not solved the problems for which violence is offered as a solution.

Our Army, Navy and Air Force are not worth mentioning compared with the armadas of other nations. But have these countries solved their problems with the help of their armed forces? I am of the opinion that they have not. We find that somehow the methods we adopt to deal with evil only result in more evil.

While there have been great soldiers and great men in the past, I do not think that the military outlook or the purely military method has yet solved any major problem of the world. That was why a great Frenchman once said that war was much too serious a thing to be entrusted to soldiers. But if it is too serious to be entrusted to

the soldier to entrust it to a civilian with a military outlook is worse. For the last three years or so we have been faced with a minor war in Korea which has in it the seeds of a mighty conflict. Almost every country wanted the war to be at least localized and ultimately brought to an end. Yet, the military mind wanted to go much further believing that by going further it would solve other basic problems also. It failed to recognize the essential lesson of history, namely that if you go too far you might topple over and create a fresh crop of problems.

I sometimes presume to think that perhaps we in India or in Asia may conceivably have a better understanding of the inner problems of mind and spirit which trouble Asia and which will ultimately determine her actions. Economics play an important and vital part in the lives of men but there are other forces which play an even more important part, and it may be that we in Asia, whatever the country to which we belong are in a somewhat better position to understand our neighbours in Asia than those nations who have an entirely different cultural heritage. In a spirit of arrogance I once ventured to say that many Western countries lacked subtlety of thought in understanding the East or in dealing with it but how can one acquire that understanding?

Are problems of nationalism in Asia different from those in Europe? If so, how are they different and what exactly do we mean by nationalism? It is difficult to define the concept of nationalism. In a country struggling against foreign domination one knows exactly what nationalism means. It is merely an anti-foreign feeling. But what is nationalism in a free country? Under certain conditions it can be a constructive force. Sometimes, we find that nationalism, a healthy force in a country striving for its freedom, may become after the country has been liberated unhealthy and even reactionary. It may seek to promote its interests at the expense of other countries and it may repeat the very errors against which it had to contend. But where shall we draw the line between what is good and what is bad in nationalism? We have just won our freedom but the nationalist sentiments which inspired our struggle still warm our hearts they warm the heart of every Asian because the memories of past colonialism are still vivid in his mind. So nationalism is still a live force in every part of Asia.

A movement must define itself in terms of nationalism, if it has to become real to the people. In any Asian country a movement will succeed or fail in the measure that it associates itself with the deep-seated urge of nationalism. If you go against it whatever the merits of your remedy or your reform it will not be appreciated. I am often asked by people from abroad as to what my reaction to communism is. The answer has of necessity to be complicated but

they become annoyed that we do not see the great danger facing the world. We do see dangers, many of them, both within and without. For instance, when Indonesia was struggling for its freedom it seemed monstrous to us that any country should support the cause of imperialism. Communism or no communism, we just could not understand the attitude which some of the countries adopted. Fortunately in the end the right counsel prevailed and Indonesian nationalism found support in many quarters. No argument in any country in Asia is going to carry weight if it goes counter to national aspirations. This is only understandable.

I do not necessarily consider nationalism to be a commendable ideology. It may or may not be healthy. I wish to stress its importance only because in large parts of Asia today it is a factor which must be recognized. It will perhaps, be good to remember that it is often based or intimately associated in people's minds with the memory of colonialism in the past. Anything that revives this memory produces a strong reaction.

I am aware that some of you here are experts on these subjects. I have, however, presumed to say something on this subject, because during my lifetime I have dabbled in many subjects though I am not an expert in any of them. I have come in contact with vast masses of human beings here in this country and elsewhere, have tried to understand them and to influence them and in turn been influenced by them. I have also tried to understand people with diverse views. I could have perhaps understood them better if I had the great advantage of being as scholarly as many of you are.

I have no doubt that your discussions will conduce to a better understanding among the nations of the world. You should also I feel, inquire into the attitudes that make it difficult for people to approach problems dispassionately. Speaking of India I can say that by modern standards, we are weak militarily, economically, and in other ways, although our potential resources are vast. At the present moment I have not a shadow of fear for what may happen to the world. I think that, to some extent, my people share this attitude. I should like to tell you that we, under the guidance of a great leader faced a mighty empire unarmed and apparently without any means of achieving our aims. We learnt from our leader not to be afraid of an opponent. If we are not overwhelmed by the fear that pervades large parts of the world, it is not for any lack of realization of the dangers with which we are all faced but because we have learnt how to face them during the last thirty years. Now when nations have entered the realm of warfare and developed a military mind they are prepared to take extreme steps but while fighting a war they lose sight of the objective.

If you have the time and opportunity I would advise you to read an ancient Sanskrit play written in the fifth century. It is a political play and deals particularly with the problems of peace and war. The great Indian who was the hero of the play was a master not only of statecraft but also of war. He waged war, established a powerful empire and came to the conclusion that the real objective of war was not victory. Fighting a war was only the means of gaining an objective. If the objective itself is lost, then new problems arise at the end of the war.

Ultimately, of course, the question is one of our having enough wisdom to prevent wars. We have rich stores of knowledge and we have universities and all kinds of institutions for imparting this knowledge to others but sometimes one wonders whether we are really growing in wisdom.

I am reminded of what a great Greek poet said long ago
 What else is Wisdom? What of man's endeavour
 Or God's high grace, so lovely and so great?
 To stand from fear set free, to breathe and wait
 To hold a hand uplifted over Hate
 And shall not Loveliness be loved for ever?

ASIA AND AFRICA AWAKE

FOR SEVEN DAYS we have been in this pleasant city of Bandung and Bandung has been the focal centre—I might even say the capital—of Asia and Africa during this period.

We have met here because of an irrepressible urge amongst the people of Asia and Africa. We have met because mighty forces are at work in these great continents, moving millions of people, creating in their minds urges and passions and desires for a change in their condition.

So we met and what have we achieved? Well, you have seen the draft statement which has been read to you. I think it represents a considerable achievement. But I should like to draw your attention even more to the importance of the fact that we have met here together, seen and made friends with one another and argued with one another to find a solution for our common problems.

My friend, the hon. Prime Minister of Burma, referred to our diversities of opinion as differences, and we wrestled with one another

these seven days because we wanted to arrive at a common opinion and common outlook. Obviously the world looks different according to the angle from which you look at it. If you are sitting in the far east of Asia, you have a certain perspective of the world and the world's problems. If you are sitting in the far west of Asia, you have a different perspective. Again, if you are in Africa, it will be quite different.

We all came with our own perspectives, each considering his own problem the most important in the world. At the same time, we are trying to understand the big problems of the world and to fit our problems into this larger context, because in the ultimate analysis all our problems, however important they may be, cannot be kept apart from these larger problems. Thus, how can we solve our problems if peace itself is in danger? So our primary consideration is peace. All of us are passionately eager to advance our countries peacefully. We have been backward. We have been left behind in the race and now we have a chance again to make good. We have to make good rapidly because of the compulsion of events. If we do not make good now we shall fade away not to rise again for a long time to come.

We are determined not to fail. We are determined, in this new phase of Asia and Africa to make good. We are determined not to be dominated in any way by any other country or continent. We are determined to bring happiness and prosperity to our people and to discard the age-old shackles that have tied us not only politically but economically—the shackles of colonialism and other shackles of our own making. No doubt there were differences in our discussions, and great criticism was levelled at certain resolutions we had to meet such criticism because we wanted to achieve a common goal. But it is not resolutions that will solve the problems that face us today. Only our practices and actions will bring success to our aims and ideals. It is only then that we can make good what we lost in the past. We have to take a realistic view of all things and face them in a realistic spirit.

But there is yet another spirit in Asia today. Asia is no longer passive—it has been passive enough in the past. It is no longer a submissive Asia—it has tolerated submissiveness too long. The Asia of today is dynamic—it is full of life. Asia might make mistakes, but they do not matter so long as she is alive. Where there is life there is advance.

Our achievements at this Conference have been great—because we have been in general agreement in all our resolutions—but much greater has been the background of all those agreements. We had to wrestle with our differences. We are not yes-men sitting here to say yes to this country or that, not even to one another.

We are great countries of the world who live in freedom without dictation. If there is anything that Asia wants to tell the world, it is that there is going to be no dictation in the future. There will be no yes-men in Asia nor in Africa, I hope. We had enough of that in the past. We value the friendship of the great countries, but we can sit with them only as brothers.

I say this not in any spirit of hatred or dislike or aggressiveness in regard to Europe or America. We have sent them our greetings, all of us here, and we want to be friends with them and to co-operate with them. But in the future we shall only co-operate as equals. There is no friendship when nations are not equal when one has to obey the other and when one dominates the other. That is why we raise our voices against domination and colonialism, from which many of us have suffered for so long. And that is why we have to be very careful to see that no other form of domination comes our way. We want to be friends with the West and friends with the East and friends with everybody. The only approach to the mind and spirit of Asia is the approach of toleration and friendship and co-operation, not the approach of aggressiveness.

I wish to speak no ill of anybody. In Asia, all of us have many faults as countries and as individuals. Our past history shows that. Nevertheless, I say that Europe has been in the past a continent full of conflicts, full of trouble, full of hatred. Europe's conflicts continue, its wars continue and we have been dragged into these wars because we were tied to Europe's chariot wheels. Are we going to continue to be tied to Europe's troubles, Europe's hatreds and Europe's conflicts? I hope not.

Of course Europe and Asia and America are all dependent on one another. It is not right to think in terms of isolation in this modern world which is moving towards the ideal of One World. Nevertheless, European and some other great countries, whatever the political persuasion may be, have got into the habit of thinking that their quarrels are the world's quarrels and that, therefore, the world must submit to them. I do not follow that reasoning. I do not want anybody to quarrel in Europe, Asia or America, but if the others quarrel, why should I quarrel and why should I be dragged into their quarrels and wars?

I realize, as the Prime Minister of Burma said, that we cannot exercise any decisive influence on the world. But there is no doubt that our influence will grow. It is growing in fact, and we do exercise some influence even today. But whether our influence is great or small, it must be exercised in the right direction, in a direction which reflects the integrity of purpose and ideals and objectives embodied in our resolution. This resolution represents the ideals and the new dynamism of Asia. We are not copies of Europeans or

Americans or Russians. We are Asians and Africans. It would not be creditable for our dignity and new freedom if we were camp-followers of America or Russia or any other country of Europe.

As I said, we mean no ill to anybody. We send our greetings to Europe and America. We send our greetings to Australia and New Zealand. And indeed Australia and New Zealand are almost in our region. They certainly do not belong to Europe, much less to America. They are next to us and I should like Australia and New Zealand to come nearer to Asia. I would welcome them because I do not want what we say or do to be based on racial prejudices. We have had enough of this racialism elsewhere.

We have passed resolutions about conditions in this or that country. But I think there is nothing more terrible than the infinite tragedy of Africa in the past few hundred years. Everything else pales into insignificance when I think of the infinite tragedy of Africa ever since the days when millions of Africans were carried away as galley slaves to America and elsewhere, half of them dying in the galleys. We must accept responsibility for it, all of us, even though we ourselves were not directly involved. But unfortunately in a different sense, even now the tragedy of Africa is greater than that of any other continent, whether it is racial or political. It is up to Asia to help Africa to the best of her ability because we are sister continents.

I am sure that the Conference has left its powerful impress on the minds of all who are here. I am sure that it has left an impress on the mind of the world. We came here as agents of historic destiny and we have made history here. We have to live up to what we have said and, even more so, to what the world expects of us, what Asia expects of us, what the millions in these countries expect of us. I hope we shall be worthy of the people's faith and our destiny.

THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE

THE HOUSE will be interested to have some account from me of the recent Asian-African Conference held at Bandung.

At the meeting of the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, Indonesia and India at Bogor in December last, it was decided to convene such a conference under the joint sponsorship

of the five Prime Ministers. The main purposes of the Conference were set out as follows

To promote goodwill and co-operation

To consider social, economic and cultural problems, and the problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples and finally

To view the position of Asia and Africa in the world today and the contribution they could make to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

The Prime Ministers further agreed that the Conference should be composed of all the independent and near-independent nations of the continents of Asia and Africa. In the implementation of this principle, with minor variations, they decided to invite the representatives of twenty-five countries, who together with themselves, thirty in all, could compose the Conference. The invitations thus extended were on a geographical and not on an ideological or racial basis. It is not only significant but impressive that all but one responded to the invitation of the sponsors and were represented at the Conference in most cases by Prime Ministers or Foreign Ministers and in others by their senior statesmen.

Arrangements for the Conference were entrusted to a joint secretariat composed of the five sponsoring nations. The main burden of organization, including accommodation and the provision of all facilities to the visitors, however fell upon the Indonesian Government. I am happy to pay a wholehearted tribute to the Government and the Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia for the excellent arrangements that had been made and the enormous amount of labour and attention which they devoted to their task. Their achievements in this regard contributed in no small measure to the success of the Conference itself.

The Asian African Conference was opened on April 18 by the distinguished President of the Republic of Indonesia, Dr Ahmed Sukarno. The President's opening address to the Conference gave not only an inspiring and courageous lead to the delegates present, but proclaimed to the world the spirit of resurgent Asia. To us in India President Sukarno's address is a further reminder of the close ties of our two countries and of our joint endeavours in the cause of Asian freedom.

I think we may all profit by the concluding words of his speech which are well worth recalling. He said

Let us not be bitter about the past, but let us keep our eyes firmly on the future. Let us remember that no blessing of God is so sweet as life and liberty. Let us remember that the stature of all mankind is diminished so long as nations or parts of nations are still unfree. Let us remember that the highest

purpose of man is the liberation of man from his bonds of fear his bonds of poverty the liberation of man from the physical, spiritual and intellectual bonds which have for long stunted the development of humanity's majority

And let us remember Sisters and Brothers, that for the sake of all that, we Anans and Africans must be united.

Introductory speeches delivered in the plenary session by a number of delegations revealed the diversities as well as the common outlook that prevailed and thus, to an extent, projected both the common purposes of the Conference and the difficult tasks before it. The rest of the work of the Conference, except for its last session, was conducted in committees, in private sessions, as being more calculated to further the purposes of the Conference and to accomplish them with expedition.

It was part of the decisions at Bogor that the Conference should draw up its own agenda. This was not an evasion of responsibilities by the sponsors but a course deliberately adopted to make the Conference the master of its own tasks and procedures. The Conference also decided that its final decision should set out the consensus of its views.

Economic and cultural issues were referred to separate committees and their reports were finally adopted by the Committee of the whole Conference. This committee also dealt with the remainder of the agenda including the main political issues. The House will be familiar from the final communiqué of the Conference which has been laid on the table of the House, with the proceedings of these committees and the recommendations made. It is, however relevant to draw attention to their main characteristics. These recommendations wisely avoided any provision for setting up additional machinery of international co-operation, but, on the other hand, sought to rely on existing international machinery in part and, for the rest, on such decisions as individual Governments may by contact and negotiation, find it possible to make. I respectfully submit to the House that in dealings between sovereign governments, this is a wise and practical step to adopt. It is important, further to note that all delegations without exception realized the importance of both economic and cultural relations. The decisions represent a break away from the generally accepted belief and practice that Asia, in matters of technical aid financial or cultural co-operation and exchange of experience, must rely exclusively on the non Asian world. Detailed recommendations apart, the reports of these committees, which became the decision of the Conference proclaim the reaching out of Asian countries to one another and their determination to profit by one another's experience on the basis of mutual co-operation.

In the economic field, the subjects dealt with include technical assistance, early establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development appointment of liaison officers by participating countries stabilization of commodity trade and prices through bilateral and multi-lateral arrangements increased processing of raw materials study of shipping and transport problems establishment of national and regional banks and insurance companies development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and exchange of information and ideas on matters of mutual interest.

In the cultural field, the Conference similarly dealt with a wide range of subjects, recognizing that the most powerful means of promoting understanding among nations is the development of cultural co-operation. The links that bound the Asian and African countries together in earlier ages had been sundered in their more recent history of foreign conquest and annexation. The New Asia would seek to revive the old ties and build newer and better forms of relationship. While the Asian renaissance has legitimately and naturally played an important part in the thinking of the delegates, it is important they remembered and recorded in accordance with the age-old traditions of tolerance and universality that the Conference believed that Asian and African cultural co-operation should be developed in the larger context of world co-operation.

As a practical step the Conference decided that the endeavours of the respective countries in the field of cultural co-operation should be directed towards better knowledge of each other's country mutual cultural exchanges and the exchange of information, and that the best results would be achieved by pursuing bilateral arrangements, each country taking action on its own in the best ways open to it.

The work of the Committee of the whole Conference was devoted to problems mainly grouped under the headings of Human Rights and Self-determination Problems of Dependent Peoples and the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation. Under each head were grouped a large number of specific problems. In the consideration of Human Rights and Self-determination specific problems, such as racial discrimination and segregation, were considered. Special consideration was given to the Union of South Africa and the position of people of Indian and Pakistani origin in that country as well as to the problem of Palestine in its relation to world peace human rights and the plight of the refugees.

The problem of Dependent Peoples or colonialism was the subject which at once created both pronounced agreement and disagreement. In the condemnation of colonialism in its well-understood sense namely the rule of one people by another with

its attendant evils, the Conference was at one. It affirmed its support of those still struggling to attain their independence and called upon the powers concerned to grant them independence. Special attention was paid to the problem of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria as well as to West Irian. Aden, which is a British protectorate and is in a different category also came in for consideration.

There was, however, another and different view in the Conference which sought to bring under colonialism and to include in these above affirmations the alleged conditions in some countries which are sovereign nations. Some of these are members of the United Nations and all of them are independent in terms of international law and practice. They have diplomatic relations with ourselves and other countries of the world including the big powers. It appeared to us that irrespective of whatever views may be held in regard to the conditions prevailing in these countries or of relationships that may exist between the Soviet Union and them, they could in no way be called colonies nor could their alleged problems come under the classification of colonialism. To so include them in any general statement on behalf of the Conference could be accomplished only by acceptance by a great number of the participants of the Conference, including ourselves, of political views and attitudes which are not theirs. It is no injustice to anyone concerned to say that this controversy reflects a projection of the cold war affiliations into the arena of the Asian-African Conference. While the countries concerned did—and indeed had a right to—hold their own views and position on this as on any other matter, such views could not become part of any formulation on behalf of the Conference. It was, however, entirely to the good that these conflicting views were aired and much to the credit of the Conference, that after patient and persistent endeavour a formulation was forthcoming which did not do violence to the firmly held opinions of all concerned. This is a matter of which it may be said that one of the purposes of the Conference, namely to recognize diversities but to find unity stands vindicated.

Asia and Africa also spoke with unanimity against the production and use of weapons of mass destruction. The Conference called for their total prohibition and for the establishment and maintenance of such prohibition by efficient international control. It also called for the suspension of experiments with such weapons. The concern of Asian and African countries about the armaments race and the imperative necessity of disarmament also found expression.

The most important decision of the Conference is the "Declaration on World Peace and Co-operation". The nations assembled set out the principles which should govern relations between them and indeed the countries of the world as a whole.

These are capable of universal application and are historic in their significance. We in India have in recent months sought to formulate the principles which should govern our relations with other countries and often spoken of them as the Five Principles. In the Bandung Declaration we find the full embodiment of these Five Principles and the addition to them of elaborations which reinforce these principles. We have reason to feel happy that this Conference representative of more than half the population of the world, has declared its adherence to the tenets that should guide their conduct and govern the relations of the nations of the world if world peace and co-operation are to be achieved.

The House will remember that when the Five Principles, or Panchasheel as we have called them, emerged, they attracted much attention as well as some opposition from different parts of the world. We have maintained that they contain the essence of the principles of relationship which would promote world peace and co-operation. We have not sought to point to them as though they were divine commandments or as though there was a particular sanctity either about the number or about their formulation. The essence of them is the substance and this has been embodied in the Bandung Declaration. Some alternatives had been proposed and some of these even formulated contradictory positions. The final declaration embodies no contradictions. The Government of India is in total agreement with the principles set out in the Bandung Declaration and will honour them. They contain nothing that is against the interests of our country or the established principles of our foreign policy.

The Declaration includes a clause which has a reference to collective defence. The House knows that we are opposed to military pacts and I have repeatedly stated that these pacts based upon the idea of balance of power and "negotiation from strength" and the grouping of nations into rival camps are not, in our view, a contribution to peace. We maintain that view. The Bandung Declaration, however, relates to self-defence in terms of the Charter of the United Nations. The provisions of the Charter (Article 51) make it clear that the inherent right of self-defence individual or collective is "if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security." I also invite a reference to Chapter VIII of the Charter where the conditions about regional arrangements are set out in detail. It has been stated in the Bandung Declaration in express terms that these rights of collective defence should be in accordance with the Charter. We have not only no objection to this formulation but we welcome it. We have subscribed to collective defence for the purposes

defined in the Charter. It will also be noted that the Bandung Declaration further finds place for two specific safeguards in relation to this matter—namely that there should be no external pressures on nations, and that collective defence arrangements should not be used to serve the particular interests of the big powers. We are also happy that the Declaration begins with a statement of adherence to Human Rights and, therefore, to the fundamental values of civilisation. If the Conference made no other decision than the formulation of the principles of the Bandung Declaration, it would have been a signal achievement.

So much for the actual work and achievement within the Conference itself. But any estimate of this historic week at Bandung would be incomplete and its picture would be inadequate if we did not take into account the many contacts established, the relations that have emerged, the prejudices that have been removed and the friendships that have been formed. More particularly reference should be made to the conversations and, happily, some constructive results arising from private talks. Such results have been achieved in regard to some of the difficulties that had arisen in relation to the implementation of the Geneva decisions in Indo-China. Direct meetings of the parties concerned and the good offices of others, including ourselves, have been able to help to resolve these difficulties and create greater understanding and friendship. This is the position in regard to Cambodia, Laos and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. We regret, however, that we have not been able to make progress in this regard in respect of South Viet Nam. This must await time and further endeavour.

The House is aware that the Prime Minister of China made, while he was at Bandung, a public statement announcing his readiness to enter into direct negotiations with the United States to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East and especially the question of relaxing tension in the Formosa area. We have known for some time that China was willing to enter into direct talks, and other parties concerned have also not been unaware of it. The announcement itself does not, therefore, represent a new attitude on the part of China, but the fact that this has been publicly stated at a gathering of the Asian and African nations represents a further and wholesome development. If this is availed of by all concerned it can lead to an approach towards peaceful settlement.

I had several conversations with Premier Chou En-lai. Some of these related to Formosa. At my request Mr. Krishna Menon also explored certain aspects of this question with the Prime Minister of China. In the last few months we have also gained some impressions on the reactions and the attitude in Washington, London and Ottawa in regard to the Formosan question. We cannot speak

for other Governments and can only form our own impressions and act according to our judgement of them. We have increasingly felt that efforts to bridge the gulf are imperative in view of the gravity of the crisis and the grim alternative that faces us if there are to be no negotiations. We feel and hope that patient and persistent endeavour may produce results or at least show the way to them. We have the privilege and advantage of being friendly to both sides in this dispute. We entertain no prejudices and do not feel ourselves barred in respect of any approach that will lead to peace. We propose, therefore, to avail ourselves of such opportunities as are open to us to help resolve this grave crisis. In order to continue the Bandung talks, Premier Chou En lai has invited Mr Krishna Menon to go to Peking. I have gladly agreed to this.

The Bandung Conference has been a historic event. If it only met, the meeting itself would have been a great achievement as it would have represented the emergence of a new Asia and Africa of new nations who are on the march towards the fulfilment of their independence and of their sense of their role in the world. Bandung proclaimed the political emergence in world affairs of over half the world's population. It presented no unfriendly challenge or hostility to anyone but proclaimed a new and rich contribution. Happily that contribution is not by way of threat or force or the creation of new power blocs. Bandung proclaimed to the world the capacity of the new nations of Asia and Africa for practical idealism, for we conducted our business in a short time and reached agreements of practical value not quite usual with international conferences. We did not permit our sense of unity or our success to drive us into isolation and egocentricity. Each major decision of the Conference happily refers to the United Nations and to world problems and ideals. We believe that from Bandung our great organization the United Nations, has derived strength. This means in turn that Asia and Africa must play an increasing role in the conduct and the destiny of the world organization.

The Bandung Conference attracted world attention. In the beginning it invited ridicule and perhaps hostility. This turned to curiosity, expectation and, I am happy to say later to a measure of goodwill and friendship. In the observations I submitted in the final plenary session of the Conference I ventured to ask the Conference to send its good wishes to our neighbours in Australia and New Zealand for whom we have nothing but the most fraternal feelings, as indeed to the rest of the world. I feel that this is the message of the Asian and African Conference and also the real spirit of our newly liberated nations towards the older and well-established countries and peoples. To those who are still dependent but struggling for freedom Bandung presented hope to sustain

them in their courageous fight and in their struggle for freedom and justice

While the achievements and the significance of the meeting at Bandung have been great and epoch making, it would be a misreading of history to regard Bandung as though it was an isolated occurrence and not part of a great movement of human history. It is this latter that is the more correct and historical view to take.

Finally I would ask the House not only to think of the success and achievements of the Conference, but of the great tasks and responsibilities which come to us as a result of our participation in this Conference. The Government of India are confident that in the discharge of these responsibilities, our country and our people will not be wanting. Thus we will take another step in the fulfilment of our historic destiny.

'AN ASIAN APPROACH'

FOR A LONG TIME PAST foreign affairs have meant largely the projection of the European point of view on the world. This was to some extent natural because Europe was a dominant continent and it controlled the destinies of a great part of the world. This gave rise to Europe-centred thinking in foreign affairs. Then the United States of America came gradually into the picture, and by force of circumstances and of various historical developments, it began to play a tremendous part in the world. Thus, after the end of the first world war we began to think of this century as America-centred. At the same time, the development of the Soviet Union was a very vital and important factor which did not fit in with the Europe-centred or the America-centred view of international affairs. This brought a new angle of the Moscow-centred view of the world. We are even now a good deal conditioned by the European thinking, the American thinking, and sometimes the Moscow thinking, in world affairs. All the same, during the last dozen years or so other developments have taken place which resulted in the independence of many countries in Asia.

The emergence of the independent nations in Asia naturally leads to what might be called vaguely an Asian way of looking at the

world I do not say there is one Asian way because Asia is a big continent, offering different view points. However it is a new angle, and is a change from the Europe-centred or any other view of the world. Because of various factors, the adjustment of the mind in other parts of the world to this new development in Asia has involved a painful process. Many difficulties have arisen and are arising because they cannot quite adjust themselves to this Asian view of seeing conditions of Asian countries in a way somewhat different from their own view.

For example, take India. It is unaligned uncommitted. India's policy is influenced not only by factors like history and tradition but geography. We naturally look first to the countries around India, then further afield, because geography counts a great deal in such a matter. Therefore, there is this new approach, which might be called broadly an Asian approach. It does not mean hostility to Europe or America or Russia.

RISE OF ARAB NATIONALISM

OUR GENERAL VIEW in regard to West Asia has been frequently stated. Our approach is not inimical to any country there. It is friendly to all countries, but inevitably our sympathies are with the Arab countries and with Arab nationalism which represents today the urge of the people. Also according to our general policy, as well as our views on the present situation in West Asia we do not accept that foreign troops should be used in any territory in the area in the circumstances prevailing there. We are convinced that there can be no settlement and no return to normality till foreign troops are removed from the area. Sometimes it is stated that these countries should be treated like tender infants and be under the guardianship of bigger countries. But it is quite clear that they do not like this offer of guardianship and patronage and in fact resent such suggestions.

One has to take, to some extent, a historical view of the developments in West Asia. For hundreds of years these countries in West Asia were under Turkish domination. They came out of it at the end of first world war. The Western powers decided what they liked about these countries without really caring much for the wishes of the people. Probably there was no organized way for

the people to express their views. New nations were created, and the contacts of the Western powers were with the rulers of their own creation or chiefly with the landed gentry. There were few contacts with the people. The whole period between the two world wars was one when Arab nationalism was trying to push out this foreign domination and was gradually making some progress in that direction. Then came the war and the post war period, when much has happened in the various countries of the Middle East.

The major fact in West Asia is the growth of Arab nationalism in a very powerful, resurgent way. Egypt took the lead in this matter and under the wise leadership of President Nasser has played a very important part. Nasser in fact, became the most prominent symbol of Arab nationalism. This fact which was patent, was neither liked nor appreciated by many powers, and an attempt was made to split the Arab countries, in fact Arab nationalism.

The House may remember the talk about building up the northern tier defence and about the Baghdad Pact. The motives were supposed to be to protect these countries from attack or invasion from the Soviet Union and to give them security and peace. As a matter of fact, the result was quite the contrary. The trouble of these countries only increased because of such an approach. The Arab countries, at any rate the Governments, were divided—some in the Baghdad Pact and some outside it. While the Governments carried on a cold war against each other, the people almost in every Arab country were powerfully affected by this tide of Arab nationalism. Thus in the countries associated with the Baghdad Pact there was a hiatus between the Governments and the people, the people looking more and more towards Arab nationalism and the Governments looking in another direction and rather ranged against this spirit of Arab nationalism. How big this hiatus was can be seen from the *coup d'etat* in Baghdad which surprised everyone. I believe it surprised even the people in Iraq and Egypt. The surprise was not essentially that it took place but the speed with which it took place and the complete success which attended it. It showed how utterly divorced from public opinion the Government of Iraq was. When the change came, it brought tremendous relief all over Iraq and the people flocked to the side of the new Government. So this attempt at not recognising the spirit of Arab nationalism, even trying to come in its way and obstructing it, really achieved the opposite effect—it encouraged nationalism as such an approach will inevitably do. This has resulted in the Arab nations coming nearer to one another and will no doubt bring about a great deal of co-operation between them. It was said that some kind of an Arab empire was being built up, which was dangerous. I do not know

about the future but I see no empire much less an Arab empire.

The theory of the vacuum is sometimes advanced, as if the removal of the influence of some great powers must necessarily be filled in by some other powers. It is an extraordinary appraisal of the situation which does not recognize the effect of Arab nationalism which has become such a dominant force.

We are convinced that any effective solution of the problems of West Asia must be based on the recognition of the dominant urge and force of Arab nationalism. Any settlement must have the goodwill and co-operation of the Arab nations. The need of the European countries for oil is patent, but there should be no difficulty in arriving at a friendly arrangement which ensures the supply of oil. However the presence of foreign forces of any kind in this area will be a constant irritant, leading to trouble. Peace in this area, as indeed anywhere else, will come if the area is removed from the orbit of the cold war. Every one of the Arab countries has tremendous problems of development to face. If the threat of war is removed from them, they will apply themselves to these problems and become a source of strength to the forces of peace.

There is another aspect of the West Asian problem which cannot be ignored. This is the continuing element of danger in the relations between the Arab countries and Israel. Ever since Israel came into existence, it has been a source of constant irritation to the Arab countries. The invasion of Egypt by Israel two years ago is fresh in our memory. Apart from this, there is the big problem of the old Palestine refugees. The Arab countries have looked upon Israel as an outpost from which their freedom might at any time be threatened. Israel, on the other hand, fears the Arab countries which surround it. There can be no real peace in the area till this difficult problem is settled in a satisfactory way. Naturally a settlement can be reached only with the goodwill of the countries of this area. There can be no settlement by war which if it occurs, may well become a major war. I do not suggest that any attempt should, or can be made to deal with this problem now. The question should not be raised at this stage, but will have to wait for some time. Only when the other problems of West Asia have advanced towards a solution and the passions have cooled to some extent can this difficult problem be tackled.

IN REGARD to the situation in West Asia we have said right from the beginning that according to our thinking it was unfortunate and harmful for foreign troops to have been sent to the Lebanon and

Jordan, and that there will be no peace or an advance towards a settlement there till they are withdrawn from these countries. This has been our basic approach. I shall not go into the question as to why these troops went to the Lebanon and Jordan. Obviously the troops were sent to the Lebanon not because of what was happening in the Lebanon—the situation was in a sense under control and there was the U.N. Observation Group there—and not because of anything that had happened in Jordan, but because of what happened in Iraq the *coup d'état* and the fear that it might spread. Of course, the problems are not solved merely by the withdrawal of the foreign forces, but a situation will be created in which problems can be considered objectively.

The basic situation in West Asia is positively the rise of Arab nationalism. I have no doubt that this is felt all over the Arab countries.

The other basic fact in regard to the West Asian countries is that the political and economic development has not kept pace with the development of Arab nationalism. They have been trying to catch up and to some extent they have been forced to do so.

We have faced in the last two weeks a situation of extreme gravity in West Asia. On a number of occasions we were on the verge of a major war. Any little incident could have started it. There is intense diplomatic activity going on in the United Nations in New York bearing on West Asia. Probably the persons least consulted in the context are the people of the countries in West Asia whose fate is being considered and decided. Not wholly of course these countries cannot be ignored—they have their representatives too in the U.N. But, broadly that is so. Often enough we live, in the international sphere in a world of make-believe. When conclusions in regard to West Asia are arrived at ignoring the real forces in West Asia, and an attempt is made to bolster up conditions or regimes which have gone out of date, difficulties arise. Then suddenly some thing happens which surprises people, like the *coup d'état* in Iraq.

There is much reference at present to "indirect aggression." I recall the long discussions in the League of Nations in the twenties about disarmament, and about aggression, that is, the attempt to define aggression. They found it very difficult to define aggression as such. Now we have another expression, "indirect aggression" which is used and bandied about. I suppose indirect aggression does exist. In fact, the whole essence of the cold war is the approach of indirect aggression. It means pressure. It is an approach of propaganda, of military threats, and of building up armaments. All this is indirect aggression in a sense. There was undoubtedly

indirect aggression in West Asia as between the members of the Baghdad Pact and the opponents of the Baghdad Pact. Each party wanted to weaken the other party as much as possible by propaganda and by other means. I have always been of the view that the problems, especially those of Asia and Africa cannot be solved through a military approach. They can be shelved or suppressed for some time. Therefore, I earnestly hope that in regard to West Asia an attempt will be made not to think in terms of a military approach of suppressing people there, or even of imagining that a political problem can be by passed by dealing with the economic issues. The economic issues are of high importance on my part I welcome what President Eisenhower has said in regard to economic help being given to the West Asian countries. But that does not set aside the major political problems. The economic approach can work only if the right political approach has been made. Any solution of the problems of West Asia must necessarily have the goodwill and co-operation of the countries concerned.

PROBLEMS OF ASIAN DEVELOPMENT

IT IS AN HONOUR and a privilege for me to welcome all of you who I have come here to participate in this great gathering. We are happy for various reasons, that you decided to hold this conference of the great international financial agencies in Delhi. This would enable us to know you better and to learn much from you. This also enables us to express our gratitude for the help which these agencies have given us. At the same time it might be profitable for many of the distinguished delegates who have come here to have an opportunity to get a glimpse into our minds in our own environment. For environment counts, and you have been to the past surrounded by Europe or America. It is good, therefore that for a change you should feel the sun of Asia and the problems that pertain to Asia.

I do not mean to say that Asia is one solid, whole thinking alike and acting alike of course not. And yet, it may have certain common features. Even now you have the problems of West Asia which are peculiar to it. You have the great tensions and dangers at present

Address to the Joint session of the meeting of the Boards of Governors of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation, New Delhi, October 6 1958

in the Far East of Asia, and you have the problems of Southern Asia. The problems are different. But they have a major connecting link, which is the tremendous ferment and change in Asia.

Another important factor which you may remember is that Asia is not a country which has only recently come into the light, if I may say so. If a conference of this nature could have met some 300 years ago it would probably have found that apart from other fields of thought, Asia was rather ahead of the rest of the world even in the technological sphere. Something happened subsequently—very probably it was the fault of Asia—which stopped its progress, making it static, even stagnant, while the countries of Western Europe and America went fast ahead and brought about the industrial revolution. Europeans came to India because India was a producer not of raw materials but of manufactured goods which went to Europe and elsewhere. It had as high a standard of living as most other countries then, and even higher.

With the industrial revolution changes took place with an ever increasing rapidity which made the industrialized communities of the West wealthier while, for a variety of reasons, we in the countries of Asia actually went backwards. We did not even stay where we were. No doubt, some big cities arose and some other faint reflections of industrialization were evident in the countries of the East, but these did not affect the major premise that we went backwards in general welfare, in general living conditions and in per capita income, partly because the population was growing and production was not keeping pace with it. This process has been marked in the last 150 years. Up to the end of the 18th century India was considered to be a fairly big manufacturing country. All that has changed, of course. I refer to India as an example more than as a specific country and what applies to India applies to most countries in Asia and perhaps also to some countries in Africa. Whatever be the reasons, the fact remains that we have arrived at a stage when there is a vast difference in living standards and all that goes with it between the highly industrialized countries and the non-industrialized countries. And what is even more significant is that that gap is increasing.

The pace of progress through science and technology is tremendous in countries where these have been developed to help economic growth while on the other hand, countries like India struggle hard just to keep themselves going. It is a life-and-death struggle not for a group here or a group there, but for the nation as a whole for the 400 million people who live here. Therefore I want you to feel this human element in our thinking and in our continual struggle and the strain with which we have to face this problem. No doubt we have to look upon the problem from the

point of view of our resources, but even more important is the human element involved in it and the deep ferment going on in the minds of hundreds of millions of people.

Asia is and will continue to be in an explosive state. The changes that have come over Asia in recent years have unleashed a giant which had for long been kept down politically, economically and in other ways. Naturally it does not propose to behave as when it was in leash either in the political sphere or in the economic sphere, but would rather stumble and fall and rise up than be pulled and pushed hither and thither. Above all it does not want to continue as a starving continent, living on the verge of subsistence. There are these tremendous and vast urges in Asia which often make it act wrongly and turn in wrong directions. Let us try to restrain them, but let us try to understand these long-suppressed urges which are coming up.

In a political sense, the world is divided in various ways—the communist world, the anti-communist world, and the countries which may be called non-communist but not ranged in any anti-group. Yet, the major division of the world today is the division into the undeveloped communities, and the industrialized or the developed communities whether you talk of a communist State like the Soviet Union which has become an industrialized State or the many non-communist States which are highly industrialized. Though the latter may differ in their politics and in their economic theories, in the final analysis they worship the same god—the god of industrialization of higher production and the utilization of nature's power and resources to the greatest advantage. On the other hand, the underdeveloped countries struggle hard for a bare subsistence and the realization is growing that if they do not expand their productive capacity substantially to offset the rate of their population growth they remain where they are or slip down. That is the basic problem in Asia.

It is sometimes suggested that India's second Five Year Plan is beyond her resources, or is too ambitious. Perhaps there is some justification for this view if one looks at it strictly from the point of view of resources alone. But these resources themselves depend on so many factors, including that tremendous one—the human factor. If you consider the urgent, vital needs of the situation, our Plan is a feeble plan, being big. We have to meet these needs, and we have to find a way of doing it. And if we do not, somebody else will find a way for you cannot ignore the problems by merely turning your back to them. This is the difficulty, not before India but before any country engaged in this adventure of pulling an undeveloped, backward state to a state when modernization is the goal.

IDENTITY OF VIEWS

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen When I was waiting at our airport today eagerly expecting Your Highness's arrival, my mind went back to the long past of our two countries. When Your Highness arrived, I saw the word ARIANA inscribed on Your Highness's aircraft. I was again reminded of the long ages during which we were connected. It was inevitable that we should be so connected. We were neighbours, and geography is a powerful factor which cannot be ignored. Apart from that, these long ages of contacts of trade and of culture—sometimes of conflict too—which affected each other very much came to my mind. Then I thought of the period, which is relatively short in our long history when we were rather cut off from each other. We were under foreign rule, and Your Highness's country was also faced with many difficulties. Then came another change when we became independent. The change came all over Asia and in Africa also. We live in this period of change, and one of the major aspects of the modern world apart from the tremendous discoveries of science which are changing it, has been this reawakening of the hundreds of millions of people in Asia and the new life that is coursing in the veins of the people of Africa.

As we became independent, the partition of India separated our direct boundaries and direct contacts. But that made little difference to our age-long community of interests, and our old friendship survived. Ever since India's independence, we have grown closer to each other for a variety of reasons. The long memory of our past contacts was there, and the moment it was possible to renew them, we renewed them. And then came mutual interest which is a powerful factor. There has also been a very great community of interests between our two countries in the many important matters which affect the world. Both our countries decided that we should not become a part of the international conflicts, of what is known as the cold war and of military alliances and blocs of the great countries. This basic identity of views between us brought us nearer to each other and we have followed these policies in spite of difficulties and pressures. Whether in the United Nations or elsewhere we have often seen eye to eye with each other.

Last year we had the privilege of welcoming His Majesty the King of Afghanistan who with his charm and his friendly feelings

From speech at banquet held in honour of His Royal Highness Lamer Z-Ali Sardar Mohammad Dawud, Prime Minister of Afghanistan, New Delhi, February 5 1959

for India, won the regard of all the people who met him during his brief stay here. Today we are happy to have Your Royal Highness as our distinguished and honoured guest and friend. You have been here many years ago when the first foundations of New Delhi were being laid. New Delhi has now grown up into a big city and the centre of this Republic of ours. Even so, the country is largely a country of small villages, and we have to struggle against the burden of ages, of the poverty of our people, which we have to labour hard to remove. We have our Five Year Plans and the like, and we are struggling with good heart and with faith and confidence in our people and, if I may say so, in the friendship and co-operation of our friends elsewhere, and more especially of your country. We have seen in the past decade the growing friendship between the countries of Asia, even though sometimes they differ from each other. As between Afghanistan and India, I cannot remember any point of real difference, and they take each other for granted. We may have discussed occasionally matters of trade or some other minor matters but broadly we have always been in agreement in these ten or twelve years, and this has been a source of great satisfaction to us. So, we should like Your Royal Highness to feel that you are among friends, among a people who not only wish your country well, but who wish your country and our country to co-operate with each other to help each other and to march together to the many common goals that we have together with other countries.

Today the biggest thing in the world is peace. Then comes the advancement and progress of the countries of Asia, of your country and our country. In this work to which Your Royal Highness is devoted in your country and we are devoted in our country we may be of help to each other. And certainly our mutual friendship itself gives us strength.

As I AM here in Afghanistan, a very old wish of mine to visit this country is fulfilled. I feel I have not come to a strange country or a strange people but a people among whom I feel perfectly at home. It would be right for us to think of the contacts between our two countries which go back thousands of years. These contacts have sometimes been marked by conflicts, but on the main they have been contacts of the mind, of the hearts and of culture which are sometimes more enduring than physical or political contacts. So we have this long heritage to bind us and

to cheer us and to help us in the future. But something more is necessary in the present to draw us together. In these 13 years or so when we became free again to develop contacts with other countries and to pick up the old threads of friendship inevitably we thought of Afghanistan, our old friend, and we felt very friendly to her. As time passed we discovered to our pleasure and satisfaction that we had much in common in our broad outlook, in our policies, and in the way we looked at other countries. That again became a bond. Each country has its own problems and has to find their solution by its own efforts, though at times helped by other countries and often in co-operation with them. Nevertheless, there are many common problems between us, and certainly I believe the broad approach is identical.

Immediately after India's independence the great problem that faced us was how to better the standard of living of the four hundred millions, and how to give them the sensation of freedom which can only come with economic freedom. That was a very great problem for us as it is for Afghanistan and for the various countries in Asia and Africa and may be elsewhere, who are politically free but underdeveloped. We have tried to face this problem in our own way while others have tried to face it in their own way. But all these underdeveloped countries in Asia and Africa in their different stages of growth and with their different problems face basically the problem of getting rid of underdevelopment, of backwardness, in order to give the good things of life to their people.

We in India have followed in international affairs a policy of what is called non-alignment, that is, not associating ourselves with military pacts but seeking the friendship of all countries, even though we may not agree with their policies. That, I believe, is the policy of Afghanistan also. That is an additional factor which brings us together.

BURMA

A FRIENDLY NEIGHBOUR

THERE is Burma which has seen a great deal of internal trouble in the last two or three years and has faced enormous difficulties. Naturally our Government and our people are interested in the

present and future of Burma. It is not our purpose—and it is not right for us—to interfere in any way with other countries, but, wherever possible, we give such help as we can to our friends. We have ventured to do so in regard to Burma too without any element of interference.

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I SHOULD LIKE to say that with Burma our relations are very friendly. The House knows that Burma has had to face great difficulties and has still to face them. There is disorder in parts of Burma. In the north-east of Burma a tremendous problem has existed for some time because of some of the so-called Kuomintang troops having come in, unwelcome as they were and squatting and creating mischief there. Burma has had to face all these grave difficulties, and throughout this period our relations with Burma have hardly ever been quite so co-operative and friendly as they are now.

ABIDING GOOD RELATIONS

MR PRIME MINISTER. Your Excellencies ladies and gentlemen. We have met here to accord a warm welcome to the Prime Minister of Burma. It seems a little curious to me that we should be formal about this welcome for he is not formal towards us nor are we. I hope formal towards him. It has been our privilege to welcome him often in this country and in this city of Delhi. He comes casually and he goes casually without fuss or ceremony. He comes as a friend, a dear friend. That is as it should be not only because of the old relations and abiding friendship between the countries of Burma and India, but because you, Mr Prime Minister, are particularly welcome here for a number of reasons, peculiar to you if I may say so.

Any Prime Minister of Burma would have been warmly welcomed by the Government and the people of India. But when you come here you not only bring the perfume of your country but also an air of serenity of calm of friendliness. And in this world

bedevilled by fierce animosities and conflicts and by the expressions of these animosities, it is good to come into an atmosphere of peace and calm and serenity. How you have developed these qualities, I do not know. It may be because of your deep devotion to the message of the Buddha, a message which we have the high privilege of sharing with you and many others. In this world today we live with hope for the future, as well as with certain forebodings of disaster. The world Janus-like, is two-faced—with a good face and an evil face. When you come, the evil face recedes, and only the good face is evident, and our spirits rise within us and our hopes also rise and we feel the better for it. If most of us had that capacity to spread serenity and calm which you possess, it would be good for the world and its problems would be easier of solution. Yet, in spite of this evil face of the world, which shows itself sometimes, I believe that essentially we are passing through these very difficult phases to something much better for the world. We see the stirrings of a better life, better thinking, more co-operation and more friendliness in many places.

We see and we have seen the whole of Asia stir. We are now seeing Africa in a state of ferment, full of hope and expectation, of vitality and also of difficulties, which I suppose, are anywhere the price we pay for moving forward. Difficulties cease to exist only when we are static, unmoving and decadent. I do not think Asia or Africa or for that matter the countries in other continents, in spite of all the difficulties that they are passing through, are looking backwards. They are looking forward. In this forward march of the human race, it seems to me inevitable that Asia and Africa should play a great part. In this moving dynamic, exciting world, it is good to have the friendship of countries and the friendship of individuals like yourself who are helping so much in various ways the development of friendly relations among the nations of the world. You are welcome, Sir, as the representative of a country which is dear to us and near to us. You are welcome in yourself as you represent certain noble human qualities which we cherish. I wish you and your country all success in the future and in the abiding friendship with us.

PATH OF CO-OPERATION

SOME MONTHS AGO I visited Cambodia, and the visit fulfilled a long felt desire. Your Royal Highness was then functioning as the King of Cambodia. The young King of his own will, abdicated to join the people and function as the national leader. I do not know of a similar example anywhere else.

Helped by Your Royal Highness, your people have recently achieved independence. That was a great event and yet there is no end to a nation's tasks or problems. You and your country have to face other problems, not merely political but social and economic. To remove the burden of poverty is a tremendous task.

One of the greatest gifts that this country gave to your land of Kamboj was the message of the Buddha, of peace and friendship. Perhaps at no other time is that message more needed in our countries as well as in other countries as today. When you are leaving New Delhi tomorrow I hope to present you a small and simple gift and yet, I think, a very precious one—a sapling from the Bodhi tree of Buddha-Gaya. I hope that it will remind you and your people not only of our feelings towards your country and our old relationship but of our resolve that in the future too we shall tread the path of co-operation and friendship.

We in India earnestly wish your people progress and prosperity and if in any way we can help in this, our services will be at the disposal of your country. I hope that the few days which you spend in this country will be pleasant and will give you some further insight into the various aspects of India—of the old India which you will see at Sanchi at Buddha-Gaya, and the face of New India which you will see during your visit in the Damodar Valley. There are many such sites all over this country where our people are labouring hard to build up this New India. While we value greatly the old India which has made us what we are we live in a new India and we hope to build a newer India tomorrow. And the newer India, we hope will live in friendship and co-operation with all countries, more specially with those countries with whom we have been associated in ages past.

PEOPLE OF INDIAN DESCENT IN CEYLON

I FIND A GREAT DEAL of difficulty in dealing with this matter of people of Indian descent in Ceylon because I am quite convinced that this, more than other questions, is a question which can be solved only in a friendly and peaceful way and I do not wish to say or do anything which ruffles the atmosphere or makes it a little more difficult. The House knows that some month ago—in January I think—there was what was called the Indo-Ceylonese Agreement. That was rather a big word to describe it—it was not a solution, but it was an understanding as to how to proceed about the matter in order to reach a solution. There were certain procedures and one of the things that we laid down specifically was that neither Government would take any step in this matter without consulting the other. That, of course, does not lessen the sovereignty of either Government in the least. It is a very common thing for two countries to decide that they would consult each other. That does not make them less sovereign or less independent. Since then, nothing very big has happened but certain small things that have happened have made large numbers of people in Ceylon very apprehensive about the future. There is the problem here. Members will remember of persons who at the present moment can only be described as stateless. They are certainly not Indian nationals. They and their families have lived in Ceylon for a long time many of them have been born there. Normally they would be Ceylon nationals. Ceylon, of course, has the right and authority to decide about its own nationals. So long as Ceylon does not accept these people as nationals, they are nationals of no state. They are certainly not Indian nationals. So they have become stateless people living in Ceylon and hoping for Ceylonese nationality. In fact, they have applied for it, nearly all of them.

I am not at the moment referring to the Indian nationals who are there. They are there in large numbers too, probably 150,000. The House should always distinguish between the two. The Indian nationals who are in Ceylon claim only the normal rights of no discrimination and of freedom to function as any other foreign nationals in Ceylon can claim. The others are people of Indian descent who have been there for a long time, some of them for generations. Nobody has been able to go to Ceylon from India as an immigrant legally for the last fifteen years, in fact since the

thirties. There have, of course, been illegal immigrants, but leave them out. The Indian nationals in Ceylon constitute a separate problem, because there is a certain process of squeezing them out. While I may regret the manner in which it is being done I cannot challenge the right of the Ceylon Government to deal with any individual as they choose to. But when it is not a question of an individual but large groups, then the situation becomes more difficult. Most of these Indian nationals there are professional people—merchants, domestic employees and so on.

The other problem, and the real problem is that of the so-called applicants for Ceylonese nationality. The matter is being considered by a committee in Ceylon which accepts some applications and rejects others. Lately there have been far more rejections than acceptances. I do not wish to go more deeply into this question except to express my regret at the trend of events in Ceylon which has produced this strong apprehension. There are, after all, 600 000 or 00 000 of these persons in Ceylon. It is a fairly large number and it is in the interest of Ceylon, as it is in the interest of these people, to settle the matter peacefully; otherwise an unfortunate feeling of conflict will naturally persist, which will do no good to anybody.

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I SHALL SAY A WORD about Ceylon. I should not like to say much because the Prime Minister of Ceylon is coming here in about ten days' time and it would not be fair or courteous for me to discuss these matters. But I would say that the so-called agreement that we arrived at many months ago has not proved a success. Among various matters, the principal question is about the fate of a considerable number of people of Indian descent—remember people of Indian descent, not Indian nationals—who are in Ceylon. What is their future going to be? An hon. Member who is very much concerned about this question said something about the large numbers of Chinese who are in various countries of South East Asia and elsewhere. It was a perfectly relevant observation. There are considerable numbers of Indians too in other countries. In fact, in discussing other questions with the Prime Minister of China, I pointed out to him the large number of Chinese in South-East Asia and a fairly considerable number, not quite so many of Indians too. I told him that both because of the size of our respective countries and because our populations have overflowed into other countries, the smaller countries round about us were understandably

afraid of us. They were afraid of China or India, depending upon where geography had put them. He agreed with me and said he would do everything in his power to get rid of this fear in so far as he could.

In regard to Ceylon, there is the fact that Ceylon is a relatively small island very near to India. Because of this there is a fear—which I think is completely unjustified—that India may overwhelm Ceylon and absorb it. I have repeatedly said that nobody in India thinks that way. We want an independent Ceylon and a friendly Ceylon. In every sense Ceylon is nearer to us than any other country—culturally, historically, linguistically and even in the matter of religion.

Why should we look with greedy eyes on Ceylon? We do not. But the fact remains there is fear and because there is this fear I would beg this House not to say at any time things which might add to that fear. A Member talked of economic sanctions and the like. I deprecate that kind of talk, although I have been deeply pained by many events in Ceylon, because I want this House and this country to look ahead. We are a country with a great future. It is proper for us not to get lost in the present, but to have some vision of the future. We should not do things now which may come in the way of that future, whether in regard to Pakistan or Ceylon or any other country. We should treat and continue to deal with Ceylon in a friendly way even though Ceylon's response might be unfriendly.

Coming to this agreement, the question is about the large numbers of people who are now sometimes called stateless. They are not our nationals, and if the Ceylon Government does not make them their nationals, they have for the moment no regular constitutional position of being attached to any state. Of course, they are in Ceylon.

This raises legal and constitutional issues, as well as issues of social well being and decency.

In the past two or three decades, such questions arose in another context. When Hitler started his career as Chancellor in Germany large numbers of people fled from Germany and they became stateless because no other state would father them, and Hitler far from fathering them was after their blood. This question of stateless people became an important constitutional issue in Europe and elsewhere. In fact, many books have been written on the subject. I do not mean to say that question is at all comparable to the question of people of Indian descent in Ceylon but I am merely referring to an important constitutional aspect. Normally speaking people are not driven out of a country even if they are nationals of another country. Individuals may be sent out if they

misbehave, but whole crowds of people tens and hundreds of thousands, are not sent out. Such a thing is unknown, except under very abnormal conditions such as prevailed under Hitler.

This is the background. But we shall gladly meet the Prime Minister of Ceylon and his colleagues when they come here and talk to them in a friendly way.

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I AM NOT prepared to use any strong language about Ceylon, in so far as I can help it, because I feel strongly that the broad policy that we pursue everywhere applies in a special measure to our neighbours. And even though they have often said hard, unconscionable things about us, we have refrained from saying anything in reply because I know very well that the people of Ceylon are friendly to the people of India, by and large. But unfortunately various hangovers and various fears and suspicions come in the way which make this problem difficult of solution.

I should like the House to remember that the problem is not that of Indian citizens, as one hon. Member referred to it. If it were a problem of Indian citizens, there would be no problem to be settled immediately. It is a problem of the people who are not Indian citizens. It is a problem of the people of Indian descent, who never were citizens of India, but in whose fate we are interested, for historical, cultural and other reasons. Normally we would not be interested in them, but both Ceylon and we have inherited certain things. We were both parts, at one time of the British Empire, and we were all dubbed as British subjects. And all kinds of things happened in the British Empire, and a large number of Indians were taken to Ceylon and put down there in tea estates chiefly and so many of them have been living there for generations. I think they are by now the citizens of Ceylon.

The hon. Member Dr Subbarayan, made a very remarkable suggestion. He asked Why not apply the Indonesian-Chinese parallel to Ceylon, that is, make them choose their nationality? If he had known anything about Ceylon, he would have found that that was the same thing that had been said by us for many many years. But it is the other party that has to apply it, not we. According to us, the difficulty is created by the Government of Ceylon. There are two separate questions. There are the Indian nationals, and they should be treated with the courtesy which foreign nationals receive. If they are not getting that amount of

courtesy then it is up to the Government of India to protect. We may say that they are there as guests, or they are permitted to remain there as foreign nationals, and they should be treated with the same courtesy as is extended to foreign nationals here in India. The second question is about the others. Their status is different, because we are not directly responsible for them. These 800 000 or 900 000 people are people of Indian descent, but according to us they have ceased to be Indian nationals. Their problem concerns us chiefly because of certain historical and other reasons. We are prepared to accept them as our nationals if they want to become our nationals and if they satisfy our tests of nationality. Our tests of nationality are very broad for example, if their fathers and grandfathers were our nationals these people could become our nationals, if they want to. But we say at the same time, that an equal opportunity should be given to them to become Ceylon's nationals, if they so choose. That is exactly what Dr. Subbarayan has said. This was more or less agreed to and both the Ceylon Government and the Government of India opened registers for such people as wanted to apply for the respective nationality. We have not, I believe, rejected even a single application thus far. A very large number of people had applied for Ceylonese nationality. The proportion of registrations was not good, to begin with but it was at least appreciable. That was about a year or two ago. In the first year I am told, about 46 per cent were registered. But the proportion of registrations recently has come down to one per cent of the applications. The rest are rejected. And what are the reasons for rejection? I remember there are estate labourers there, a very fine lot whom I admire. I had said in Ceylon once—probably in 1938 when I was not Prime Minister—that a day would come when the people in Ceylon would put up a monument to the tea estate labourers who had come from India and who had done so much for Ceylon. It is these people who apply for citizenship. They are summoned to answer certain questions. But many never receive the summonses, which are sent to the estate managers, possibly in a bundle. And the estate managers are not at all interested in this question. The result is that the people summoned do not appear before the officials concerned, and a large number of applications are therefore, dismissed and rejected on the ground of non-appearance. And the poor people would not even have known what had happened. There are other reasons also for rejection but they are only formal reasons.

This question, basically is between the Ceylon Government and these people. We come in because we are interested in these people. They are not our citizens, which we must remember. If they had been Indian nationals, the position would have been

completely different. They are not Indian nationals, and the Ceylon Government apparently do not like this idea. For when we say that they are not our nationals, it means that we are not going to accept them here. We have to accept our nationals only if they are pushed out from there. But we are not going to accept the others. Whatever the legal position about their nationality, they are the residents and inhabitants of Ceylon, and have been so for generations. We suggested to the Ceylon Government in our recent messages that we would be glad if they dealt with them directly.

THE QUESTION OF PEOPLE of Indian descent in Ceylon is a complicated problem. Such problems become difficult because of factors like the growth of population, unemployment and economic difficulties which are at the back of them. The problem is, in the main, that of the Ceylon Government, because these people according to our showing are not Indian nationals. Whether registered or not, we feel they are or ought to be Ceylon nationals. We are interested in the problem because of past history and are interested in the solution of the problem because we are friendly with the Ceylon Government. It is unfortunate that the issue has dragged on for so long. The Ceylon Government have their difficulties but they should realize our position just as we are prepared to consider their difficulties. It is obvious that we cannot ask a large number of people who have been born in Ceylon and have lived there to walk across to India or accept them as our nationals. Fortunately in spite of the complicated and difficult nature of the problem, it is increasingly realized in Ceylon by the Government and others and by us that it should not be treated as a political issue or dispute but as a human problem. I do hope that, however long it may take, it will be settled in a friendly way and to the advantage of the large number of human beings whose welfare is involved.

LIBERATION OF TIBET

THE STORY OF TIBET so far as we are concerned is very simple. Ever since the People's Government of China talked about the liberation of Tibet our Ambassador told them, on behalf of the Government of India, how we felt about it. We expressed our earnest hope that the matter would be settled peacefully by China and Tibet. We also made it clear that we had no territorial or political ambitions in regard to Tibet and that our relations were cultural and commercial. We said that we would naturally like to preserve these relations and continue to trade with Tibet because it did not come in the way of either China or Tibet. We further said that we were anxious that Tibet should maintain the autonomy it has had for at least the last forty years. We did not challenge or deny the suzerainty of China over Tibet. We pointed out all this in a friendly way to the Chinese Government. In their replies, they always said that they would very much like to settle the question peacefully but that they were, in any event, going to liberate Tibet. From whom they were going to liberate Tibet is, however not quite clear. They gave us to understand that a peaceful solution would be found though I must say that they gave us no assurance or guarantee to the effect. On the one hand, they said they were prepared for a peaceful solution on the other they talked persistently of liberation.

We had come to believe that the matter would be settled by peaceful negotiations and were shocked when we heard that the Chinese armies were marching into Tibet. Indeed, one can hardly talk about war between China and Tibet. Tibet is not in a position to carry on war and obviously Tibet is no threat to China. It is said that other countries might intrigue in Tibet. I cannot say much about it because I do not know.

I HAVE SPOKEN OF CHINA and more particularly of Tibet. Prof Ranga seems to have been displeased at my occasional reference to Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. Please note that I use the word suzerainty not sovereignty. There is a slight difference, though not much. I was telling the House about a historical fact. I was not discussing the future. It is a historical fact, and in the context of things it is perfectly true that we have repeatedly admitted

Chinese suzerainty over Tibet just as we have laid stress on Tibetan autonomy. But apart from this historical or legal or constitutional argument or even the argument that Mr. Gantam raised about buffer states and the like which, if I may say so, is not much of an argument, though it may be his desire and my desire, the real point to be made is that it is not right for any country to talk about its sovereignty or suzerainty over an area outside its own immediate range. That is to say, since Tibet is not the same as China, it should ultimately be the wishes of the people of Tibet that should prevail and not any legal or constitutional arguments. That, I think, is a valid point. Whether the people of Tibet are strong enough to assert their rights or not is another matter. Whether we are strong enough or any other country is strong enough to see that this is done is also another matter. But it is a right and proper thing to say and I see no difficulty in saying to the Chinese Government that whether they have suzerainty over Tibet or sovereignty over Tibet, surely according to any principles, the principles they proclaim and the principles I uphold, the last voice in regard to Tibet should be the voice of the people of Tibet and of nobody else.

AGREEMENT ON TIBET

A VERY IMPORTANT event to which I would like to draw the attention of the House is the agreement between India and China in regard to Tibet. That agreement deals with a large number of problems, each one of them not very important in itself perhaps but important from the point of view of our trade, our pilgrim traffic, our trade posts, our communications there, and the rest. It took a considerable time to arrive at this agreement, not because of any major conflict or difficulty but because the number of important points were so many and had to be discussed in detail. The main thing about this agreement to which I would like again to draw the attention of the House is the preamble to the agreement.

states

The principles and considerations which govern our mutual relations and the approach of the two countries to each other are as follows

- (i) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty

- (ii) Mutual non-aggression
- (iii) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs
- (iv) Equality and mutual benefit and
- (v) Peaceful co-existence

These principles indicate the policy that we pursue in regard to these matters not only with China but with any neighbour country or for that matter any other country. What is more, it is a statement of wholesome principles, and I imagine that if these principles were adopted in the relations of various countries with one another a great deal of the trouble of the present-day world would probably disappear.

It is a matter of importance to us, of course as well as, I am sure to China that these countries, which have now almost about 1 800 miles of frontier should live on terms of peace and friendliness, respect each other's sovereignty and integrity and agree not to interfere with each other in any way and not to commit aggression on each other. By this agreement, we ensure peace to a very large extent in a certain area of Asia. I would earnestly wish that this area of peace could be spread over the rest of Asia and indeed over the rest of the world.

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SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS have referred to the melancholy chapter of Tibet. I really do not understand. I have given the most earnest thought to this matter. What did any hon. Member of this House expect us to do in regard to Tibet at any time? Did we fail, or did we do a wrong thing? I would beg any hon. Member who has doubts about this question just to find out the background, the early history and the late history of Tibet and India and China, and the history of the British in Tibet. Where did we come into the picture unless we wanted to assume an aggressive role of interfering with other countries? Many things happen in the world which we do not like and which we would wish were rather different but we do not go like Don Quixote with lance in hand against everything that we dislike. We put up with these things because we would be, without making any difference, merely getting into trouble.

Big changes have taken place in the world since the last war. Among them has been the rise of a united China. Forget for a moment the broad policies it pursues—communist or near-communist or whatever it may be. The fact is, and it is a major fact of the

middle of the 20th century that China has become a great power—united and strong. By that I do not imply that because China is a great power India must be afraid of China or submit to China or draw up its policies in deference to China. Not at all. The fact of the matter is, with all respect to all countries of the world the two great powers striding across the world are the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Now China has come into the picture with enormous potential strength, though not much actual strength. Remember China is still far less industrially developed than even India is. Much is being done in China which is praiseworthy and we can learn from them and we hope to learn from them, but let us look at things in proper perspective. India is industrially more developed than China. India has far more communications, transport and so on. China, no doubt, will go ahead fast. I am not comparing or criticizing but what I said was that this enormous country of China, which is a great power and which is powerful today is potentially still more powerful. Leaving these three big countries, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and China, aside for the moment, look at the world. There are many advanced highly cultured countries. But if you peep into the future and if nothing goes wrong—wars and the like—the obvious fourth country in the world is India.

I am not speaking with any vainglory but merely analysing the situation. Given economic growth, given unity, given other factors, India, by virtue of her general talent working capacity, geographical situation and all that, will rise. Countries like China and India once they get rid of foreign domination and internal disunity inevitably become strong there is nothing to stop them. They have the ability and the capacity. The only things that weaken them are internal disunity and any kind of external domination.

These great countries, after some hundreds of years of being submerged, are coming up. Do not get mixed up and tied up with the rather superficial arguments, important as they might be of communism and anti-communism. It is far better to forget these for the moment in order to analyse the world situation. But the misfortune has been that in Western countries, or in some of them they are so obsessed with communism and anti-communism that they completely fail to see the forces at work in the world.

TRADITION OF GOOD NEIGHBOURLINESS

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO I went to China and had hoped to stay there for a month or more. Among the people I had particularly hoped to meet there was Mr Chou En-lai. But before many days were past, war broke out in Europe, which developed into the second world war and I had to hurry back to my country. To my regret I did not meet Mr Chou En-lai then. Now after these 15 years of storm and stress and change, my old wish has been fulfilled. I am happy to meet an eminent statesman of our neighbouring country and I am happier still to meet the distinguished representative of a great people.

We meet as individuals but we meet also as representatives of great nations. It is a matter of interest and significance, not only to our two countries, but to Asia and even the world, how these countries behave to each other and how far they can co-operate for the peace and well being of the world.

The past two thousand years stand witness to our mutual relations. We have been neighbours during this long stretch of years and we have been vital countries throwing out our thought and culture to each other and to other neighbouring countries. Our people have come into contact in many lands, more especially in South East Asia yet there is no record of war between us. This long period is of the peaceful commerce of ideas, of religion and of art and culture.

Both China and India have their particular and individual backgrounds. Each has her own special cultural inheritance. In many ways they are different, and they have grown according to their own genius. Yet in spite of these differences, we have been good neighbours and friends and have not come into conflict with each other during the millennia of history.

This is the witness of the past, and as we stand on the fine edge of the present in this turbulent world of ours, we can learn a lesson from that past, which will help us in the present and in the future. Both our countries have recently succeeded in achieving freedom and the opportunity to work out our destiny according to our will. We achieved our freedom under different circumstances and by different methods. Our great leader and master Mahatma Gandhi led us by peaceful methods through travail and many bitter experiences to freedom. China's course was differently fashioned. Both our countries have placed the good of the common man before them and are aiming in their different ways, to raise the millions who

have suffered so much in the past and now live in the hope of a better future. That future for us or for any country in the world depends primarily on the avoidance of war and the assurance of peace and security.

You have been recently engaged, Sir, with other eminent statesmen in wrestling with the great problems of war and peace. We have been happy to learn that some success has attended your efforts and the efforts of the other statesmen at Geneva. We congratulate you and the others who participated in the Geneva Conference on this happy turn of events.

If we can remove the fear of war and aggression that oppresses people and ensure that each country will have freedom to work out its destiny according to its own wishes without interfering with other countries, we shall have served our generation well and laid the foundation of enduring peace in the world. Peace is necessary for the entire world and peace is indivisible today. But in Asia, peace is even more vital and necessary than elsewhere, for we have to build our nations and we want to utilize all our energies in the task of construction and not of destruction.

There are divisions and differences in the world, but there is also a sense of unity and of growing oneness. I earnestly trust that our minds will be directed towards this growing feeling of oneness and to the pursuit and realization of the common ideals that animate humanity today instead of laying stress on the divisions and differences.

Recently India and China came to an agreement about certain matters, and in respect of that agreement, we have laid down certain principles, which have governed the relations of our two countries. These principles are recognition of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country, mutual non-aggression, mutual benefit, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual and peaceful co-existence. These principles are good not only for our two countries but for others as well. If these principles can be recognized in wider spheres, then the fear of war would disappear and the spirit of co-operation between nations would develop. Each country would have freedom to follow its own policy and work out its own destiny, learning from others, co-operating with others, but basing itself essentially on its own genius.

Destiny beckons to our countries and I hope that neither of them will be found wanting at this great moment of history. I hope that our two countries will stand for peace and will live amicably together and co-operate together in the cause of peace and human advance as they have done through the past two thousand years of human history.

THE NEW CHINA

I AM ASKED QUESTIONS about China as if I had gone to some unknown land about which nobody knew anything or somewhere in the heart of Africa where nobody had gone previously. I happen to be rather well acquainted with China's history of the past few thousand years, and I have even written something about not only Chinese history but the history of other Asian countries. I have tried to follow very closely what has happened in China during the last thirty or forty years, just as I have attempted to follow what has happened in other countries of Asia and outside. So I did not go to China with a blank mind.

I go there, and spend a few days. Naturally it makes all the difference in the world to see a thing for yourself rather than read about it or hear about it. Nevertheless, there is nothing that I saw in China which, if I may say so, surprised me. I had many vivid impressions, but I found things as I had expected to find them. I would like you gentlemen, to keep this in mind. First that I did not go either to preach or to be preached to—either to give guarantees or to demand them, but rather to understand—to be impressed and to impress, in a friendly way.

May I strike a certain personal note, and then go on to other considerations? We, of my generation in India, have been conditioned in particular ways by events. There is the background of two thousand years or more. There is the conditioning we have had during the 150 or 200 years of British rule. And then there is the big conditioning, during the last 30 or 35 years, of what is called the Gandhian movement. We are the resultants of these various conditioning factors. If you want to understand us, you have to understand these conditioning factors. If that is so about me and my generation in India—that applies to the world at large also. We have to understand other people's basic conditioning factors, their past history, traditions, habits, conflicts, etc., and more particularly the recent history of the last half a century or so. Countries like India and China have millennia of history. It is not an easy matter for me, whatever new knowledge I may gather to get out of the 2 000 years of Indian history. So also with other countries. Yet, in order to understand another country it is no good looking at it through the spectacles of our own country. If an Indian presumes, with his Indian background, to judge England or Germany or Russia, he will probably not be objective enough.

Now take China. Leaving out past history. It has been conditioned for more than forty years—ever since the end of the Manchu

Dynasty—by continuous trouble That was China's experience Take the background of the present rulers of China. It is a background of struggle for the last 25 years. I remember and some of you may also recall, the "Long March" in China. Quite apart from its merits, that "Long March" was a terrific feat. It meant being hunted being harassed, with many people collapsing and some surviving. They often found a habitat in the mountains and in the caves and lived there for a number of years organizing themselves. Then came the Japanese invasion. They fought the Japanese invasion That turned into a world war later.

Imagine what a powerful determining influence these factors must have had on the people who took part in a march of 8 000 miles. It was an unprecedented thing. Then look at the present picture. Number one these hundreds of millions of people of China, after 45 years of internal trouble have got peace in China—at any rate, there are no marauding armies about, there are no bandits about. There is peace and order whatever the system of government which is a great relief after two generations of disorder. The peasant is cultivating his fields, and people can pursue within limitations, no doubt, their avocations. The people's reaction is that after 45 years of trouble they have peace.

The second is their feeling of nationalism. They feel that their great country which had been kicked and tossed about for generations has become unified and strong and can stand up on its own feet and look any other country in the face. Look at it from the Chinese point of view. I am not for the moment, considering communism or anti-communism. I tell you a Chinese living in Singapore Laos or elsewhere even if he is completely anti-communist, is still proud of China's condition today. He has his nationalist pride that his State his country is strong and unified.

This is the background of China today. Of course it did not require my going to China to know all this. But if you keep it in mind you will understand something of what is happening in China. You and I know very well that in China today they have got a certain political structure and a certain economic structure. The rulers of China are communists—convinced communists there is no doubt about that. They have evolved a political and economic system which is partly based on their Marxist ideas and partly adapted to conditions in China. We all know that it is not full-blooded communism. It is adapted to their conditions. So now if you ask me "Is there freedom of the Press there?" with all respect I shall say that question is rather unnecessary. The whole structure of government there is of a type which is completely different from parliamentary democracy. Whether you can call it democracy or not is another matter. They call it people's democracy.

That is an argument which we need not go into. My point is that it is different. We know it. What results it yields you can partly see now and ultimately the future will show. It is the future that will show whether the results achieved by the methods they pursue—I am talking about national development—will be worthwhile or not or have been worth the price paid for them.

Each people, and specially these big chunks of humanity like India and China, with long records, as soon as they find freedom to function according to their wishes, are influenced by various external forces—industrial revolution, technological advancement, political ideas and so on. But if we are worth our salt, we have to stand on our own feet and function in accordance with our own thinking and conditioning of minds. I shall have little respect for India if it followed blindly the American pattern or the Russian or the Chinese or the British. Then it would not be India but a pale imitation of somebody else. That does not mean that I do not respect the American, British or other patterns. What I say is that we shall have to function according to our thinking. What is the good of an individual who does not have an integrated personality who merely copies something or somebody else—much more so a nation which just copies? I do not presume to criticise other countries for the way in which they have developed. But I am anxious to learn from other countries what may be good for me. We can learn much from Europe. We have learnt a good deal. We can learn much from the United States of America. But I think we can learn a good deal too from Russia and China, and more particularly now from China.

I shall tell you why. Because, quite apart from their system of government, the problems they face in China are far more similar to our problems than the problems of Europe or America. There are in China and India huge agricultural communities with vast populations, industrially and technologically backward wanting to advance in welfare, wanting to have higher standards of life, wanting to industrialize, wanting to deal with land problems and all that. The nature of problems is similar between India and China. They are not so similar between India and Russia. The Soviet Union is a vast territory but very thinly inhabited, compared to India. We have the problem of vast numbers of human beings but limited land. The Soviet Union has plenty of land. See the consequences of this, apart from communism. If they in Russia want to deal with their land problems, it is very easy because the population is small and land plentiful. With us human beings are too many and land is little. That is a basic difference. Take our Gangetic Valley which is heavily populated. The problem of our introducing, let us say tractor cultivation in a

heavily populated area is completely different from the problem of introducing tractor cultivation in a sparsely populated area, which the Soviet Union is. One has to approach the problem by taking into consideration various factors, quite apart from theories. That is why I say that the problems of India and China in regard to land development, industries, and even in regard to floods, are rather similar though, on the other hand, as you know there are basic differences in living standards and in mental outlook between the Chinese and us.

When I went to China, I was anxious to learn. They were dealing with some similar problems in engineering and flood control. I flew over the central China area and immediately I thought of my flying over the Bihar area a few weeks earlier. It was the same picture—vast areas covered with water. I could see no end of them, there or here.

We all rely on some pictures or maps. But one of the obvious factors of the present age is that all maps have changed or are changing. Not only the physical maps, but, what is much more important, the mental pictures. This process began after the first world war and you know what a big change it brought about. The process has continued after the second world war. Among the major changes in the world are these changes in Asia—whether in India, China, Indonesia or Western Asia. I feel that the mental picture the people in the rest of the world have had of Asia no longer fits in with the present conditions in Asia. That is why they can neither understand Asia nor solve the problems of Asia. They try to solve them frequently but without taking the people of Asia into consideration.

I went to China and spent about nine or ten days. There being so many similarities in our problems, I was constantly comparing how we were dealing with a particular problem, and how they had dealt with or were dealing with it. I am not going into details, but in some matters I took it that we had the advantage and had done better. In some matters I felt they had done much better. I tried objectively to understand things. Of course the conditions of functioning are different. Remember that in China there is what they call "democratic centralism" which is a highly centralized form of government over a vast territory. Apart from certain territories which have some measure of autonomy like Tibet, a large chunk of China has a highly centralized government. They have a method—a very widespread and effective method—of administration by local organs, conferences, etc., while power remains at the Centre. We, as you all know have a federal State with autonomous provinces and a parliamentary democracy which has many virtues but which also functions slowly. There they issue a decree as soon

as they come to a decision, and it takes effect from the next day. We have to go through slow processes—introduction of a Bill, reference to a select committee, first reading, second reading, third reading, opposition and so on. It takes years, and it may be that the Bill may be declared *ultra vires* by the Supreme Court afterwards. In all it is a slow moving picture. I am quite conscious of the delay that the democratic processes involve, but still I am convinced that for my country this system of parliamentary democracy is the best. Yet, it is not a question of my opinion or your opinion of what is best. In the final analysis that system is the best which yields the best results from the point of view of human welfare, from the point of view of the welfare of the 360 million people in our country. I feel that our system of parliamentary democracy will yield results and is yielding results.

I come to another factor. Now some of you gentlemen are constantly—often rightly but not always rightly—criticising this Government here. There is hardly a day when I do not see some headlines about the corruption and ineptitude of the Government. On this general criticism I may declare that I think quite honestly that this conception of widespread corruption in the Government is totally wrong. Not that there is no corruption in the Government, but there is such a thing as a balanced outlook and balanced judgement. I say I am prepared to compare my country with the other countries of the world. There are very few that are better off in this respect than our country and the vast majority are infinitely worse, but leave them out. I said that here we have all this constant criticism and condemnation. There is none of that in China. There is a great deal of internal criticism on minor matters, but of what I might call criticism of the Government with regard to major policies, there is none. That is the way they function and the result is that there are advantages and disadvantages. It is advantageous to them in the sense that it creates an optimistic atmosphere of great progress being made, while here if a person does not look round for himself, and merely reads the newspapers, he will feel that the country is going to the dogs.

THE CLASH IN TIBET

AT THE PRESENT MOMENT we have a mass of statements in the Press—rumours, allegations and statements of the Chinese Government—from which it is a little difficult to sort out exactly the truth of what is happening. One thing on which you can be certain however is the press communique issued by the Government of the People's Republic of China. The news agency did a right thing in placing the official communique before us and before the public.

The hon. Member Mr. Mohammed Imam, has talked in his adjournment motion about the massing of troops. My information is that there is no massing of troops on the Indian border.

The contacts of India with Tibet—geographical, commercial and even more, cultural and religious—are very old. This relationship is something deeper than the changing political scene. Large numbers of people in India venerate the Dalai Lama, and he was our honoured guest some time ago. Because of these contacts our reaction to anything that happens in Tibet is bound to be very deep. One has, however, to see the difficult situation as it is and not create conditions which make it more difficult to deal with the situation.

The feeling of kinship between the people of India and Tibet does not mean that we interfere in Tibet in any way. The previous Government of India did do so, by sending an expedition to Lhasa under Col. Younghusband fifty-five years ago. It was very much an imperialist intervention. The expedition sat down there and imposed the British Government's will on Tibet, through placing their troops in Yatung and Gyantse. All kinds of extra territorial privileges were imposed on Tibet because Tibet was weak and the British Empire was strong. With some variations, we inherited these special extra territorial privileges when India became independent.

Regardless of what happened in Tibet or China or anywhere else, we could not, in conformity with our own policy, maintain our forces in a foreign country. That was a relic of British imperialism which we did not wish to continue even if there had been no change in Tibet. So we withdrew them. It so happened that soon after the change in the Government in China their armies marched into Tibet. But the policy we adopted towards Tibet would have been adopted regardless of what China did. We would anyhow have withdrawn our forces. Apparently people seem to imagine that we surrendered some privileges in Tibet. The privileges which we surrendered in Tibet were privileges which we do not seek to have in any country in the world, Tibet or any other.

Our attitude and the position of all previous Governments in India and elsewhere has historically been the recognition of some kind of suzerainty or sovereignty of China over Tibet, and Tibetan autonomy. The measure of the autonomy has varied depending upon the relative strength and weakness of China and Tibet, which have varied in the last hundreds of years. Every Government in China has claimed suzerainty there. Many Governments in Tibet have repudiated it. When the Prime Minister of the Chinese Government came here, two or three years ago, he discussed the situation in Tibet with me at his own instance. I did not raise it, so far as I remember. He told me then that Tibet had always been, according to him and according to the Chinese position, a part of the Chinese State, although Tibet was not China in the sense of being a province of China. Tibet was an autonomous region which had been a part of the Chinese State. They had always claimed it and had it. Those, as far as I remember were the words of the Chinese Premier. He said they wanted to treat Tibet as an autonomous region and give it full autonomy. All I can say is that we had to recognize Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. But I was glad to hear Mr. Chou En lai laying such stress on Tibetan autonomy. I said that if this was fully acted upon and was well known to Tibetans, possibly the difficulties would be much less, because, I remember difficulties had already arisen three years ago.

For nearly three years, there has been what is called the Khampa revolt in China. The Khampa region, although it contains people of Tibetan origin, is not technically Tibet now. About fifty or sixty years ago, the Khampa region in Eastern Tibet was incorporated in China. It was never really adequately controlled or ruled by any authority Tibetan or Chinese, because the Khampas are tough mountain people and do not like anybody ruling over them.

When the new Chinese Government came in, the Khampa region was in China proper. They started introducing their new reforms or changes there. These brought them into trouble with the Khampas. The trouble, which started three years ago, spread to the south and south-east chiefly. It was a kind of guerilla activity which caused much trouble and damage to both the parties. When Premier Chou En lai talked to me, this Khampa trouble had started. It was not the kind of trouble which is of great military importance to a Government, but it prevented things from settling down.

That has been continuing. Some convoy is attacked or taken away or something like that has been happening. But what has happened in Lhasa does not follow from that. It is a completely new development. The matter was mentioned by me in this House and to the Press the moment we heard of the fighting in Lham.

Only a few days previously I had spoken in this House and talked about the conflict of wills there. I thought that that was the correct expression to describe what was happening there, because there had been no violence at that stage. But the conflict came out into the open. It lasted three or four days when actual firing began. I cannot say who began it. One would say that where it is a question of military might, the Chinese Government is much stronger than local recruits of the Tibetan Army. That is obvious.

I do not know the exact extent of the damage done, but considerable damage has been done to some of the old monasteries in Lhasa, and probably some valued manuscripts have suffered. It is unfortunate and our sympathies go out very much to the Tibetans, quite apart from who was to blame and who was not to blame.

The Chinese News Agency has published some letters in the Press today which it is said, have been written by the Dalai Lama to the Chinese military governor of Lhasa just this month. I should like to have a little greater confirmation about them—about what they are, in what circumstances they were written and whether they were written at all. It is exceedingly difficult to sift the truth out of this lot of chaff. And whatever our Government or I may say or do may have far reaching consequences.

We want to have friendly relations with the people of Tibet, and we want them to progress in freedom. At the same time it is important for us to have friendly relations with the great country China. That does not mean that I or this Government or this Parliament or anyone else should submit to any kind of dictation from any country however great it may be. It does mean however that in a difficult situation we should exercise a certain measure of restraint and wisdom and not do anything in excitement which might lead our country into difficulties.

Today is the 30th day of the month. It was on the 20th, early in the morning that firing began. This was ten days ago—in a country from which no news comes except rumour. The only news that has come to us or to the wide world—leaving out China—is our Consul-General's telegrams to us. We got them pretty rapidly. But what can the Consul-General report? He reports by and large what he sees from the window of his consulate. Obviously I cannot tell us what is happening all over Tibet. He does not know. He is in Lhasa, and he can report more or less what he sees from his consulate—such as around what buildings firing is going on and so on. He cannot even tell us what is happening in Lhasa. He cannot tell us precisely and definitely what has happened to the Chinese nationals who are spread out. He can tell us definitely that the staff in our consulate is safe. He can tell us also that the Chinese

knows our other Indian nationals are safe, but he is not certain, because he just cannot reach them. All news has been cut off and what comes to us, and is reliable, comes in extremely small dribbles. Therefore, it becomes difficult for me to make statements or to say that we shall take some action.

May I just say one word about the people from Ladakh? It has been the old custom of people from Ladakh to go to Lhasa, and they do not take any travel papers. They go for courses of instruction. From the Buddhist point of view Lhasa is their spiritual and educational centre. Therefore plenty of people go there. I have been informed that, at the present moment, four head abbots from Leh are there, as well as some monks and others—may be fifty or may be about a hundred. We have not got them on our register because they travel freely and do not report to us. But as soon as we heard about this two days ago, we began making inquiries about them.

I now come to the statements issued presumably by the Chinese Government. These statements give a narrative of facts, according to them. I can neither confirm them nor deny them. If it had been in my knowledge to make a firm statement, I would have made it. So far as the letters which are said to have been written by the Dalai Lama are concerned they are rather surprising letters. But more I cannot say. I should like to know more about them before I speak.

There are two things mentioned in the statement of the Chinese authorities. One is about Kalimpong. As soon as it appeared, the External Affairs Ministry through a spokesman, contradicted the statement and corrected it. I shall read out a part of it.

Asked for his comments on the description of Kalimpong as 'the commanding centre of the rebellion in the news communique released' an official spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs emphatically repudiated the suggestion. He said that a number of people from Tibet have been residing in Kalimpong for many years.
—many years meaning twenty thirty forty fifty and more—
"and among them are some who arrived during the last three or four years. The Government of India have repeatedly made it clear to them that they should not indulge in any propaganda activities against a friendly Government on Indian soil. The last warning was given about six months ago and since then these persons have remained quiet. There have been no unlawful activities in Kalimpong or elsewhere either by these people or others. It is, therefore entirely

incorrect to say that Kalimpong is the centre of any rebellious activities. The check posts on the India Tibet border are adequately manned and the strictest watch is always maintained on movements between India and Tibet.

An hon. Member wanted precise information as to whether the Chinese Government had complained to us about Kalimpong. So far as I can remember in the last few months there has been no complaint but on two or three occasions in the last three or four years there were references to Kalimpong and to some people in Kalimpong carrying on propaganda and like activities. Our position has always been—and we have made it quite clear to people who came from Tibet—that they were welcome to come here but we could not allow Indian soil to be used for subversive activities or even aggressively propagandist activities against friendly Governments. That general policy of ours applies to every embassy and to every foreigner here. It may be that they sometimes overstep the mark. It may be we did not object when we might have objected. On two or three occasions some leaflet came out in Kalimpong which we thought was undesirable, and we told the people who had brought it out that they should not do that kind of thing from Indian soil. Our instructions and warnings had effect. We are not aware of any activity in Kalimpong in the last many months. It is wrong to say that Kalimpong was a kind of centre from which activities were organized. We have very good control of our check posts and over people coming and going between Tibet and India. In Kalimpong itself nobody can easily come or go.

The second point to which reference has been made by hon. Members is what is said in those press statements about our discussions here in this House. This Parliament is completely free to say or do what it chooses and to discuss any matter it chooses. Unfortunately the methods of government and the way legislatures and organizations function in China are different from ours. Perhaps the way of our functioning is not realized there. We need not be over-eager to find fault with somebody who describes our system in a different way but it should be made perfectly clear to all concerned that this Parliament is not going to be limited in the exercise of its right of discussion by any external or internal authority.

DECISION OF THE DALAI LAMA

THREE DAYS AGO when speaking about the recent happenings in Tibet, I said that I would keep the House informed of every fresh development. In the last two days we have been receiving a number of messages. They were often delayed because they had to come through a rather devious route.

Yesterday I was thinking of informing the House of a certain development, but I hesitated to do so because I wanted it to be fully confirmed. I was waiting for some details which we received last evening. We could have issued this news to the Press last evening but I thought I should inform the House first.

The facts are that on April 1 that is the day before yesterday morning, we received a message via Shillong dated March 31 evening that an emissary with a message from the Dalai Lama had arrived at our border check post at Chutangmu in the North East Frontier Agency. The emissary had arrived there on March 29 stating that the Dalai Lama requested us for political asylum and that he expected to reach the border on March 30 that is, soon after he himself had come. We received the message on April 1. The same evening a message was received by us again via Shillong dated April 1 which informed us that the Dalai Lama with a small party of eight had crossed into our territory on the evening of March 31.

Expecting that some such development might occur we had instructed the various check posts there what to do. So, when the Dalai Lama crossed over into our territory he was received by our Assistant Political Officer of the Tawang Sub-Division, which is a part of the Kameng Frontier Division of the North East Frontier Agency. A little later the rest of his party the entourage, came in. The total number who have come with him or after him is 80. From the evening of yesterday we learn that this party in two groups is moving towards Tawang, which is the headquarters of that sub-division, and that he is expected to reach Tawang the day after tomorrow Sunday April 3 in the evening.

A MEMBER I want a clarification. There is a report in the Press that the New China News Agency had published the very same news yesterday. How is it that the Government of India here did not get confirmation even till last evening? May I know whether we are going to give political asylum to the Dalai Lama?

ANOTHER MEMBER The Dalai Lama is the temporal and spiritual head of Tibet. Does the asylum confer the same right on him and will he be functioning in the same capacity on Indian soil?

THE PRIME MINISTER So far as spiritual rights, etc., are concerned, I cannot answer the question. It is a complicated matter which will have to be considered. But there is no doubt that he will receive respectful treatment.

A MEMBER I would like to ask whether it is a fact that the Dalai Lama was injured

THE PRIME MINISTER No Sir he is quite healthy. As for the other question, I myself stated that we knew the day before yesterday evening about his having crossed the frontier but we wanted certain confirmation about details—whether the whole party had crossed over where they were and so on before I mentioned it to this House. Yesterday morning I was not in a position to do so although I had known that he had crossed the border. In the evening I was, but I wanted to wait for the meeting of the Lok Sabha today.

HAPPENINGS IN TIBET

I HAVE MADE several statements in the House in regard to the developments in Tibet. The last statement was made on April 3 in which I informed the House that the Dalai Lama had entered the territory of the Indian Union with a large entourage. I should like to bring this information up to date and to place such additional facts as we have before the House.

A few days ago the Dalai Lama and his party reached Mussoorie, where the Government had made arrangements for their stay. I have had occasion to visit Mussoorie since then and have had a long talk with the Dalai Lama.

In the course of the last few days, reports have reached us that considerable numbers of Tibetans, numbering some thousands, have crossed into the Kameng Frontier Division of the North East Frontier Agency and some hundreds have also entered the territory of Bhutan. They sought asylum, and we agreed. Such of them as carried arms were disarmed. We do not know the exact number yet. Temporary arrangements are being made in a camp for their maintenance until they can be dispersed in accordance with their wishes and the necessities governing such cases. We could not leave these refugees to their own resources. Apart from the humanitarian considerations involved, there was also the law and

order problem to be considered. We are grateful to the Government of Assam for their help and co-operation in this matter.

So far as the Dalai Lama and his party are concerned, we had to take adequate measures on grounds of security and also to protect them from large numbers of newspaper correspondents, both Indian and foreign, who, in their anxiety to obtain first-hand information in regard to a matter of world importance, were likely to harass and almost overwhelm the Dalai Lama and his party. While we were anxious to give protection to the Dalai Lama and his party we were agreeable to giving these newspapermen suitable opportunities to see him. I had received an appeal from nearly 75 representatives of news agencies and newspapers from Tezpur requesting me to give them such opportunities. A senior officer of the External Affairs Ministry was, therefore, deputed to proceed to Tezpur in advance to deal with the press representatives and photographers who had assembled in that small town of Assam. This officer made the necessary administrative arrangements to meet, as far as possible, the wishes of the newspapermen to see the Dalai Lama and to photograph him. Soon after entering India, the Dalai Lama indicated his wish to make a statement. We were later informed that this statement would be released at Tezpur. Our officer made arrangements for the distribution of a translation of the statement to the newspaper correspondents.

In view of certain irresponsible charges made, I should like to make it clear that the Dalai Lama was entirely responsible for this statement as well as a subsequent briefer statement that was made by him from Mussoorie. Our officers had nothing to do with the drafting or preparation of these statements.

I need not tell the House that the Dalai Lama entered India entirely of his own volition. At no time had we suggested that he should come to India. We had naturally given thought to the possibility of his seeking asylum in India and when such a request came, we readily granted it. His entry with a large party in a remote corner of our country created special problems of transport, organization and security. We deputed an officer to meet the Dalai Lama and his party at Bomdila and to escort them to Mussoorie. The particular officer was selected because he had served as Consul-General in Lhasa and, therefore, was to some extent known to the Dalai Lama and his officials. The selection of Mussoorie for the Dalai Lama's stay was not finalized till his own wishes were ascertained in the matter and he agreed to it. There was no desire on our part to put any undue restrictions on him, but in the special circumstances, certain arrangements had necessarily to be made to prevent any mishap. It should be remembered that the various events in Tibet, culminating in the Dalai Lama's departure from Lhasa and entry

into India had created tremendous interest among the people of India and in the world Press. After arrival in Mussoorie, steps were taken to prevent the Dalai Lama from being harassed by crowds of people trying to see him as well as by newspapermen. Apart from this, no restrictions about movement were placed on him. He has been told that he and his party can move about Mussoorie according to their wishes. It should be remembered that the Dalai Lama has recently not only had a long strenuous and dangerous journey but has also had harrowing experiences which must affect the nerves of even a hardened person. He is only just 24 years of age.

These are some bare facts, but behind these facts lie serious developments which may have far reaching consequences. Tragedy has been and is being enacted in Tibet, passions have been let loose charges made and language used which cannot but worsen the situation and our relations with our northern neighbour. I am sure that the House will agree with me that in considering matters of such high import, we should exercise restraint and wisdom and use language which is moderate and precise. In these days of the cold war there has been a tendency to use unrestrained language and often to make wild charges without any justification. We have fortunately kept out of the cold war and I hope that on this, as on any other occasion, we shall not use the language of the cold war. The matter is too serious to be dealt with in a trivial or excited way. I would therefore appeal to the Press and the public to exercise restraint in language. I regret that occasionally there have been lapses on our side. In particular I regret that grave discourtesy was shown some days ago to a picture of the head of the Chinese State Chairman Mao Tse tung. This was done by a small group of irresponsible people in Bombay. In the excitement of the moment, we cannot allow ourselves to be swept away into wrong courses.

It is not for me to make any similar appeal to the leaders, the Press and the people of China. All I can say is that I have been greatly distressed at the tone of the comments and the charges made against India by responsible people in China. They have used the language of the cold war regardless of truth and propriety. This is peculiarly distressing in a great nation with thousands of years of culture behind it, noted for its restrained and polite behaviour. The charges made against India are so fantastic that I find it difficult to deal with them. There is the charge of our keeping the Dalai Lama under duress. The Chinese authorities should surely know how we function in this country and what our laws and Constitution are. Even if we were so inclined we could not keep the Dalai Lama under some kind of detention against his will, and there can be no question of our wishing to do so. We can gain nothing by it except the burden of difficult problems. In any

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

event, this matter can be easily cleared. It is open to the Dalai Lama at any time to go back to Tibet or wherever he wants to. As the Panchen Lama has made himself responsible specially for some strange statements I have stated that we would welcome him to come to India and meet the Dalai Lama himself. Should he choose to do so, every courtesy will be extended to him. I have further said that the Chinese Ambassador or any other emissary of the Chinese Government can come to India for this purpose and meet the Dalai Lama. There is no barrier against anyone coming peacefully to India, and whether we agree with him or not, we shall treat him with the courtesy due to a guest.

Another and an even stranger allegation has been made about Indian expansionists who it is alleged, are inheritors of the British tradition of imperialism and expansion. It is perfectly true that British policy was one of expansion into Tibet and that they carried this out by force of arms early in this century. That was, in our opinion, an unjustified and cruel adventure which brought much harm to the Tibetans. As a result of that, the then British Government in India established certain extra territorial rights in Tibet. When India became independent, we inherited some of these rights. Being entirely opposed to any such extra territorial rights in another country we did not wish to retain them. But in the early days after independence and partition, our hands were full, as this House well knows, and we had to face very difficult situations in our own country. We ignored if I may say so, Tibet. Not being able to find a suitable person to act as our representative at Lhasa, we allowed for some time the existing British representative to continue at Lhasa. Later an Indian took his place. Soon after the Chinese armies entered Tibet, the question of these extra territorial rights was raised and we readily agreed to give them up. We would have given them up anyhow whatever developments might have taken place in Tibet. We withdrew our Army detachments from some places in Tibet and handed over Indian postal and telegraph installations and rest houses. We laid down the Five Principles of Panchsheel and placed our relationship with the Tibet region on a new footing. What we were anxious about was to preserve the traditional connections between India and Tibet in regard to pilgrim traffic and trade. Our action in this matter and whatever we have done subsequently in regard to Tibet are proof enough of our policy and proof that India had no political or ulterior ambitions in Tibet. Indeed even from the narrowest practical point of view any other policy would have been wrong and futile. Ever since then we have endeavoured not only to act up to the agreement we made, but to cultivate the friendship of the Chinese State and people.

It is, therefore, a matter of the deepest regret and surprise to us that charges should be made which are both unbecoming and entirely void of substance. We have conveyed this deep feeling of regret to the Chinese Government, more especially at the speeches delivered in the current session of the National People's Congress in Peking.

I stated some time ago that our broad policy was governed by three factors (1) the preservation of the security and integrity of India (2) our desire to maintain friendly relations with China and (3) our deep sympathy for the people of Tibet. That policy we shall continue to follow because we think it is a correct policy not only for the present but even more so for the future. It would be a tragedy if the two great countries of Asia, India and China which have been peaceful neighbours for ages past, should develop feelings of hostility against each other. We for our part will follow this policy but we hope that China also will do likewise and that nothing will be said or done which endangers the friendly relations of the two countries which are so important from the wider point of view of the peace of Asia and the world. The Five Principles have laid down, *inter alia* mutual respect for each other. Such mutual respect is gravely impaired if unfounded charges are made and the language of the cold war used.

I have already made it clear previously that the charge that Kalimpong was a centre of the Tibetan rebellion is wholly unjustified. We have a large number of people of Tibetan stock living in India as Indian nationals. We have also some Tibetan emigres in India. All of these deeply respect the Dalai Lama. Some of them have been exceedingly unhappy at the developments in Tibet some no doubt, have anti-Chinese sentiments. We have made it clear to them that they will not be permitted to carry on any subversive activities from India and I should like to say that by and large they have acted in accordance with the directions of the Government of India. I cannot obviously say that someone has not done something secretly but to imagine or to say that a small group of persons sitting in Kalimpong organized a major upheaval in Tibet seems to me to make a large draft on imagination and to slur over obvious facts.

The Khampa revolt started in an area of China proper adjoining Tibet, more than three years ago. Is Kalimpong supposed to be responsible for that? This revolt gradually spread and no doubt created a powerful impression on the minds of large numbers of Tibetans who had kept away from the revolt. Fears and apprehensions about their future gripped their minds and the nationalist upsurge swayed their feelings. Their fears may have been unjustified, but surely these cannot be denied. Such feelings can only be dealt with adequately by gentler methods than warfare.

When Premier Chou En-lai came here two or three years ago he was good enough to discuss Tibet with me at considerable length. We had a frank and full talk. He told me that while Tibet had long been a part of the Chinese State, they did not consider Tibet as a province of China. The people were different from the people of China proper just as in other autonomous regions of the Chinese State the people were different, even though they formed part of that State. Therefore, they considered Tibet an autonomous region which would enjoy autonomy. He told me further that it was absurd for anyone to imagine that China was going to force communism on Tibet. Communism could not be enforced in this way on a very backward country and they had no wish to do so even though they would like reforms to come in progressively. Even these reforms they proposed to postpone for a considerable time.

About that time, the Dalai Lama was also here and I had long talks with him then. I told him of Premier Chou En-lai's friendly approach and of his assurance that he would respect the autonomy of Tibet. I suggested to him that he should accept these assurances in good faith and co-operate in maintaining that autonomy and bringing about certain reforms in Tibet. The Dalai Lama agreed that his country, though, according to him, advanced spiritually was very backward socially and economically and reforms were needed.

It is not for us to say how far these friendly intentions and approaches materialized. The circumstances were undoubtedly difficult. On the one side there was a dynamic, rapidly moving society, on the other a static, unchanging society fearful of what might be done to it in the name of reforms. The distance between the two was great and there appeared to be hardly any meeting point. Meanwhile change in some forms inevitably came to Tibet. Communications developed rapidly and the long isolation of Tibet was partly broken through. Though physical barriers were progressively removed mental and emotional barriers increased. Apparently the attempt to cross these mental and emotional barriers was ill fared and made or did not succeed.

To say that a number of "upper strata reactionaries" in Tibet were solely responsible for this appears to be an extraordinary simplification of a complicated situation. Even according to the accounts received through Chinese sources, the revolt in Tibet was of considerable magnitude and the basis of it must have been a strong feeling of nationalism which affects not only upper class people but others also. No doubt vested interests joined it and sought to profit by it. I feel that any attempt to explain a situation by the use of rather worn-out words, phrases and slogans is seldom helpful.

When news of these unhappy developments came to India, there was immediately a strong and widespread reaction. The Government did not bring about this reaction. Nor was this reaction essentially political. It was largely one of sympathy based on sentiment and humanitarian reasons also on a certain feeling of kinship with the Tibetan people derived from long-established religious and cultural contacts. It was an instinctive reaction. It is true that some people in India sought to profit by it by turning it in an undesirable direction. But the fact of that reaction of the Indian people was there. If that was the reaction here one may well imagine the reaction among the Tibetans themselves. Probably this reaction is shared in the other Buddhist countries of Asia. When there are such strong feelings, which are essentially not political, they cannot be dealt with by political methods alone, much less by military methods. We have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet. We have every desire to maintain the friendship between India and China but at the same time we have every sympathy for the people of Tibet, and we are greatly distressed at their helpless plight. We hope still that the authorities of China, in their wisdom, will not use their great strength against the Tibetans but will win them to friendly co-operation in accordance with the assurances they have themselves given about the autonomy of the Tibet region. Above all, we hope that the present fighting and killing will cease.

I had a long talk with the Dalai Lama three days ago at Mussoorie. He told me of the difficulties he had to face, of the growing resentment of his people at the conditions existing there and how he sought to restrain them, of his feelings that the religion of the Buddha, which was more to him than life itself was being endangered. He said that up to the last moment he did not wish to leave Lhasa. It was only on the afternoon of March 17 when according to him, some shells were fired at his palace and fell in a pond near by that the sudden decision was taken to leave Lhasa. Within a few hours the same day he and his party left Lhasa and took the perilous journey to the Indian frontier. The departure was so hurried that even an adequate supply of clothes, etc., could not be brought. When I met the Dalai Lama no member of his entourage was present. Even the interpreter was our own. The Dalai Lama told me that the two statements which had been issued were entirely his own and there was no question of anybody coercing him to make them. Even though he is young I could not easily imagine that he could be coerced into doing something he did not wish. All my sympathy goes out to this young man who at an early age has had to shoulder heavy burdens and to face tremendous responsibilities. During the last few weeks he has suffered great physical and mental strain. I advised him to rest for

a while and not to take any hurried decisions. He felt very unhappy at the conditions in Tibet and was especially anxious that fighting should stop.

ASYLUM FOR THE DALAI LAMA

MR. BHUPESH GUPTA asked rather rhetorically "Do we stand by Panchsheel? So far as India is concerned we have earnestly striven to stand by these principles and I do not think we have offended any principle. If these principles are right, we should hold by them and we hold by them. Some people, taking advantage of the occurrences in Tibet, have raised the cry that India should now consider how far she can adhere to the policy of non-alignment. That shows a strange misunderstanding of our ways. Non-alignment, despite the negative form of the term is a positive concept, and we do not propose to have a military alliance with any country come what may. The moment we give up the idea of non-alignment, we lose every anchor that we hold on to and we simply drift.

The present difficulties that we have to face in relation to the happenings in Tibet will, I hope, gradually pass. But it is a tragedy that something that we have laboured for all these years, something which may be said to be enshrined in Panchsheel or in Bandung has suffered considerably in people's minds. I may say I shall hold on to it, but the fact is that in people's minds there is a crack, there is suffering there is uneasiness. Words like Bandung and Panchsheel have begun to lose their shine and to be hurled about without meaning even as the word "peace" has become almost a thunderbolt.

We have received the Dalai Lama and party and subsequently some thousands of refugees. We have given them asylum. As a sovereign country we have every right to do so, and nobody else can be a judge of that except ourselves. If it is suggested by some people outside India that we should have refused to give asylum to the Dalai Lama when he asked for it, well, I can tell them that the hundreds of millions of Indians would have become angry at any such decision. It would have been utterly wrong for us to do otherwise.

Now it is said that the commanding centre of the rebellion in Tibet has shifted to Mussoorie. And why? Because the Dalai Lama

is there and because the brother of the Dalai Lama, who normally lives in Darjeeling went to see him, and, after seeing him went back to Darjeeling or Kalimpong. These are very serious charges against a country's leaders being made irresponsibly in this way by the leaders of a people whom we have not only honoured and respected but whom we have considered particularly advanced in culture and politeness and the gentler art of civilization. It has been a shock to me beyond measure.

An extraordinary thing has appeared in the newspapers in Peking. They refer to some memoranda that we had sent in 1950 when Chinese armies were entering Tibet. They were polite memoranda but the answers were not very polite. The point is that now they say that we wrote them after consultation with the British Government, and that though we called ourselves independent we really acted as stooges or tools of the British Government.

Of course it is completely untruthful. There was no question of our consulting the British Government. Our view on Tibet was different from that of the British Government.

Some foreign newspapermen said, about two days after the Dalai Lama had come to Mussoorie, that we were keeping him behind barbed wire. That sounds horrible. The fact was that the Mussoorie police, to lighten their burden because of all kinds of curious people trying to go into the compound of the house, had put a little barbed wire on the compound before he came, for his security and general protection. It was not to keep him in and I believe he goes about in Mussoorie.

It is no use my repeating what I have said earlier that the Dalai Lama is not kept under duress here that he did not enter India under any duress, excepting the duress of circumstances. And having met him and talked to him, I can certainly say that he is staying there of his own free will.

Hon. Members might have seen some newspaper headlines to the effect that I said I would be happy if the Dalai Lama went back to Tibet. When somebody asked a question I said, "Naturally I would be happy if he went with dignity." That does not at all mean that I am going to push the Dalai Lama out. It is entirely for him to decide what to do and when to do it.

I may refer one more matter to the Press. I do not fancy the constant sensational way of referring to the Dalai Lama as the God-king and I do not think he likes it either. This is not the Indian way. It is a foreign way of doing things. I hope that that word will not be used. It is good enough to refer to him as the Dalai Lama.

INCURSIONS IN LADAKH

THERE IS A LARGE area in eastern and north-eastern Ladakh which is practically uninhabited. It is mountainous, and even the valleys are at an altitude generally exceeding 13 000 feet. To some extent, shepherds use it during the summer months for grazing purposes. The Government of India have some police check-posts in this area but, because of the difficulties of terrain, most of these posts are at some distance from the international border.

Some reports reached us between October 1957 and February 1958 that a Chinese detachment had crossed the international frontier and visited Khurnak Fort, which is within Indian territory. The attention of the Chinese Government was drawn to this, and they were asked to desist from entering our territory. They were also informed of our intention to send a reconnaissance party in that area. It may be mentioned that there is no physical demarcation of the frontier in these mountainous passes, although our maps are quite clear on the subject.

Thereafter at the end of July 1959 that is last month a small Indian reconnaissance police party was sent to this area. When this party consisting of an officer and five others, was proceeding towards Khurnak Fort, it was apprehended, some miles from the border inside our territory by a stronger Chinese detachment. This happened on July 28. It appeared that the Chinese had established a camp at a place called Spanggur well within Indian territory.

On learning of this a protest was immediately lodged with the Chinese Government at the violation of our frontier and the release of our reconnaissance party was asked for. In their reply the Chinese claimed that that part of the territory was theirs, but added that they would release the persons who had been apprehended. We sent a further Note to them expressing surprise at this claim and giving them the exact delineation of the traditional international frontier in this sector. We urged once again that the Chinese party well within our territory should be withdrawn. No reply has yet been received to this Note. Our party was released on August 18.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SIKHON: May I know whether this place is about 15 miles within our territory and also whether this is the only place which is under occupation by the Chinese troops or they have occupied some other areas also?

THE PRIME MINISTER It is somewhat difficult to deal with this question as an adjunct to the main question. Of course, there have been some frontier troubles in two or three places widely separated and it would be hardly correct to say that our area is under occupation of the Chinese, that is, under any kind of a fixed occupation. But their patrols, so far as we know have come within our territory two or three miles or thereabouts.

MR. N. G. GORAY May we know whether the Chinese had built a road across this territory joining Gartok with Yarkand and whether this road has been there for the last year or so? It passes through the Ladakhi territory.

THE PRIME MINISTER Yes that is in northern Ladakh, not exactly near this place but anyhow in the Ladakhi territory.

About a year or two ago, the Chinese had built a road from Gartok towards Yarkand that is, Chinese Turkistan and the report was that this road passed through a corner of our north-eastern Ladakhi territory.

The House will appreciate that these areas are extraordinarily remote almost inaccessible, and even if they can be approached it takes weeks and weeks to march and get there.

In that connection, a reconnaissance party was sent there. I cannot exactly say when, but I think it was a little over a year ago, some time last year. In fact, two parties were sent one of them did not return and the other returned.

AN HON. MEMBER What happened to them?

THE PRIME MINISTER We waited for two or three weeks, and when it did not return, we suspected that it might have been apprehended or captured by Chinese authorities on the border.

So we addressed the Chinese authorities this was more than a year ago we addressed them about a month after the incident and they said some of our people had violated their border and come into their territory and they had been apprehended, but because of their relations with us etc., they were going to release them, and they did release them afterwards, that is after they had been with them about a month or so.

That is concerning this road about which the hon. Member was enquiring. In all this area there is no actual demarcation. So far as we are concerned, our maps are clear that this is within the territory of the Union of India. It may be that some of the parts are not clearly demarcated. But, obviously if there is any dispute over any particular area that is a matter to be discussed.

I may say that this area has nothing to do with the McMahon Line. The McMahon Line does not extend to the Ladakh area it is on the other side. This was the boundary of the old Ka-hmir State with Tibet and Chinese Turkistan. Nobody had marked it

But after some kind of broad surveys, the then Government had laid down that border which we have been accepting and acknowledging.

MR. N. G. GORAY Does it mean that in parts of our country which are inaccessible, any nation can come and build roads and camps. We just send our parties, they apprehend the parties and, because of our good relations, they release them. Is that all? The road remains there, the occupation remains there and we do not do anything about it.

THE PRIME MINISTER I do not know if the hon. Member expects me to reply to that. There are two or three type of cases here. These are border and frontier questions. In regard to some parts of the border there can be no doubt from any side that it is our border. If anybody violates it, then it is a challenge to us. There are other parts regarding which it is rather difficult to say where the immediate border is, although broadly it may be known. But it is very difficult even in a map to indicate it. If a big line is drawn, that line itself covers three or four miles, one might say in a major map. Then there are parts still where there has been no demarcation in the past. Nobody was interested in that area. Therefore it is a matter now for consideration of the data, etc. by the two parties concerned and a decision will be taken in a way that is normal when there is some kind of a frontier dispute.

In this particular matter we have been carrying on correspondence, and suggesting that it should be considered by the two Governments.

MR. A. B. VAJPAVEY The hon. Prime Minister just now said that if anyone occupies our territory it is a challenge. May I know what positive steps are being taken, or have been taken to enforce security measures on this border area?

THE PRIME MINISTER There are thousands of miles of border. The hon. Member should be a little more specific in his question. If he is referring to this particular corner the Achin area, that is an area about some parts of which if I may say so, it is not quite clear what the position is. The difficulty comes in regarding some places where there is no absolute certainty about it in other places, we are quite clear and certain. The border is 2,500 miles long.

DR. SUHILA NAYAR I would like to know if these troubles on the border are over the same areas of our territory which the Chinese had indicated as their territory in their maps.

THE PRIME MINISTER The question that I answered related to one area. There are other areas too where we have had, and are in fact having some trouble now. I do not want to mix it up with this. This is an area with a frontier of more than 2,000 miles.

MR. A. B. VAJPAYEE What is the use of repeating that it is a long frontier? Are we not in a position to defend it?

THE PRIME MINISTER I was only venturing to say that by putting two or three places together there would be confusion in the Members' minds. Let us take them separately. There is no question of defence or not. For instance take *The Assam Tribune's* statement. It has said I believe, that 1 000 Chinese came over the Nathula Pass in the Kameng Frontier Division. There is utter confusion in *The Assam Tribune's* mind about various territories which are thousands of miles apart which have nothing to do with each other. Whoever wrote this does not know his geography although he lives in Assam. The Nathula Pass is between Sikkim and Tibet and nothing has happened there. Nobody has come across there. It is said that a thousand men came there and put up the Chinese flag. This is completely baseless. So far as I know I have not heard of a Chinese flag being hoisted anywhere there.

As I was saying there have been cases, and cases are continuing to occur in one or two places of Chinese aggression. Therefore, I want to keep these separate so as not to produce confusion in the minds of hon. Members. If this question is over I shall proceed to the other questions.

THE SPEAKER I thought the hon. lady Member wanted to know if any portion of Ladakh was included in the map prepared by the Chinese Government and if this was beyond that line even with respect to Ladakh. That was what I thought when I allowed the supplementary.

THE PRIME MINISTER The Chinese Government's maps are on such a small scale and in such broad splashes that some parts of Ladakh appear to be included in them. But they are not accurate enough. What we are discussing and the question which I have answered, relates to about two or three miles. Two or three miles are not visible in these maps. But it is a fact that part of Ladakh is broadly covered by the wide sweep of their maps.

ACCORDING TO AN announcement made in China, the Yehcheng Gartok Road, which is also called the Sinkiang Tibet Highway was completed in September 1957. Our attention was drawn to a very small-scale map about 2½ x 1½ inches, published in a Chinese newspaper indicating the rough alignment of the road. It was not possible to find out from this small map whether this road crossed Indian territory although it looked as if it did so. It was

decided, therefore to send reconnaissance parties in the following summer to find out the alignment of this road. Two reconnaissance parties were accordingly sent last year. One of these parties was taken into custody by a superior Chinese detachment. The other returned and gave us some rough indication of this newly constructed road in the Aksai Chin area. According to their report, this road enters Indian territory in the south near Sangh Jilganang lake and runs north-west leaving Indian territory near Hajilangar in the north west corner of Ladakh.

Representations were made to the Chinese Government in a Note presented to the Chinese Ambassador in New Delhi on October 18, 1958, drawing their attention to the construction of the road through Indian territory and the arrest of fifteen members of the Indian reconnaissance party within the Indian border. The Chinese Government in their reply presented on November 1, 1958, notified the release of the party and claimed that the road ran through Chinese territory. A Note expressing our surprise at the Chinese contention was presented to the Chinese authorities on November 8, 1958. Reminders have been given subsequently. No further answers have been received.

The Aksai Chin area has a general elevation of over 17,000 feet. The entire Ladakh area including Aksai Chin became a part of the Jammu and Kashmir State as a result of a treaty signed in 1842 on behalf of Maharaja Gulab Singh on the one side, and the Lama Gurusahib of Lhasa—this is the name written in the agreement which I am quoting—and the representative of the Emperor of China on the other. Ever since then this area has been a part of the Jammu and Kashmir State. Various attempts at demarcating the boundary between the Jammu and Kashmir State and Tibet were made subsequently by British officers. The Chinese Government were asked to send their representatives to co-operate in this work. They did not take part. The Chinese Commissioner however stated on January 19, 1847, as follows:

I beg to observe that the borders of these territories have been sufficiently and distinctly fixed so that it would be best to adhere to this ancient arrangement, and it will prove far more convenient to abstain from any additional measure for fixing them."

The British officers were also of the same opinion. Although no actual demarcation was made on the ground, maps were prepared on the basis of old usage and convention. These maps have been used in India for the last hundred years or so. They include the Aksai Chin region as part of Ladakh. Since the boundary of the Aksai Chin region with China-Tibet has not been marked on the ground, once or twice questions have been raised about the exact

[illegible]

their occupation and control over larger areas than when we got information first about this road?

THE PRIME MINISTER There was a report, this month, about an area in eastern Ladakh's border with Tibet, a considerable distance away from this area, where a Chinese detachment was seen by a small Indian reconnaissance patrol. Ultimately I think, some eight or ten persons were apprehended by the Chinese and later released. The same claim arises here—they say it is their territory and we say it is ours. The matter arose this month, and we are carrying on correspondence about that territory. These places are not demarcated on the land. And we are told that they have established a small check post a little within our side of the international border there, just on the eastern Ladakh border of Tibet. This is near a place called Chusun near which we have one of our own check posts.

MR. JASWANT SINGH The Prime Minister stated a little while ago that this portion of Ladakh is absolutely desolate and unfertile and that not even a blade of grass grows there. Even then, China is attaching importance to the area and is building a road there. I would like to know when China is attaching so much of importance to this desolate bit of land why when the territory is ours or is under dispute even, do we not attach any importance to it?

THE PRIME MINISTER I talked only about the Yehcheng area, not about the whole of Ladakh although the whole of Ladakh, broadly speaking is 11 000 to 17 000 and 20 000 feet high. Presumably the Chinese attach importance to this area because of the fact that the route connects part of Chinese Turkestan with Gartok Yehcheng. This is an important connection.

MR. RAJENDRA PRATAP SINGHA May I know whether the Government has any check-posts on that Ladakh border?

THE PRIME MINISTER We have some check posts. For instance I have just mentioned a check post called Chusun. It is not only a check-post but is an improvised airfield where some four years ago I happened to go also.

INCURSIONS IN NEFA

I CAN UNDERSTAND the anxiety of the House to have as full information as possible about the situation on our border areas. It is rather difficult for me to deal with the various adjournment motions as they are often based on wrong names, wrong areas and wrong locations. Instead of my endeavouring to deal with each adjournment motion I shall give some specific information.

In the course of the last two or three years, there have been cases—not very frequent—of some kind of petty intrusion on our border areas by some platoon or other of the Chinese troops. This was nothing extraordinary because there is no demarcation at all and parties may sometimes cross over. We drew the attention of the Chinese Government in 1957-58 to this and they withdrew. There the matter ended.

Now in June this year the Chinese Government protested to us saying that Indian troops had shelled and intruded into Chinese territory by occupying a place on the border of Migyitun and some other place along the frontier—this is in Tibet NEFA. They alleged that our troops entered into some kind of collusion with the Tibetan rebel forces—bandits as they call them—carrying on illegal activities against the People's Government of China. We replied that there was no truth in the allegation, and we expressed surprise that the Chinese Government should give credence to these allegations. Ultimately nothing happened there. We stayed where we were.

There are two matters I should particularly like to mention. The first is that on August 7 an armed Chinese patrol, approximately 200 strong, violated our border at Khunzemane north of Chintangmu in the Kameng Frontier Division. When requested to withdraw they pushed back—actually physically pushed back—our greatly outnumbered patrol to a bridge at Drokung Samba. Our people consisted of ten or a dozen policemen and they were about 200. There was no firing. The Chinese detachment withdrew later and our forces again re-established themselves. All this was over a question of about two miles. According to us, there is an international border. The Chinese patrol arrived again and demanded the immediate withdrawal of our picket and the lowering of our flag. This request was refused. Then there was some attempt by the Chinese forces to outflank our people but, so far as we know, our people remained there and nothing further happened.

The present incident I am talking about is a very recent one and is, in fact, a continuing one. On August 23—that is three days ago—a strong Chinese detachment crossed into our territory in the

Subansiri Frontier Division at a place south of Migyitun and opened fire. Hon. Members will remember that I just mentioned Migyitun in connection with the Chinese allegation that we had violated their territory and were in collusion with some Tibetan rebels. That protest had been made in June last, and there the matter had ended. Now not far from that area, this Chinese detachment came and met, some distance away our forward picket of about a dozen persons. It is said that they fired at our picket. They were much larger in numbers, two hundred or three hundred or even more. They surrounded our forward picket which consisted of 12 men—one M.C.O. and eleven riflemen of the Assam Rifles. They apparently apprehended this lot. Eight of these eleven riflemen managed to escape. They came back to our outpost. The outpost is at a place called Longju. Longju is three or four miles from the frontier between Tibet and India as we conceive it. Longju is five days' march from another post of ours in the interior, a bigger post called Limeking. Limeking is about twelve days' march from the next place behind it. So in a way Longju is about three weeks' march from a road head. I merely mention this to give the House some idea of the communications involved and the distance and time taken. As I said eight persons from our forward picket who had been captured apparently escaped and came back the next day, August 26. The Chinese came again and opened fire and practically encircled the picket and the post. Although there was firing for a considerable time, we have no account of any casualties. Our people apparently fired back too. But, under the overwhelming pressure, they withdrew from Longju. This happened only the day before yesterday evening and we have not, therefore, been able to get any exact particulars of what happened.

The moment this information came we immediately protested to the Chinese Government about it and took certain other steps which we thought necessary and feasible to strengthen our various posts in that area, Limeking and others. We have, in fact, placed the entire border area of NEFA directly under our military authorities. That is to say it is dealt with by the Assam Rifles under the Assam Rifles Directorate which functions under the Governor and the Governor is the agent of the Government of India in the External Affairs Ministry. The Assam Rifles will, of course, remain there and such other forces as will be necessary will be sent, but they will function now under the Army authorities and their headquarters. All this has taken a little time. In this particular place, Longju, I imagine that our small picket—it was probably altogether some 38 strong—may have run short of ammunition because there was no supply coming in. We tried to send supplies by air. They were dropped but missed. It is a mountainous area. It is slightly risky

to send paratroopers there. We do not think it was desirable or worthwhile to do so at that place. Anyhow we have taken such steps as were feasible.

While sitting here, I have heard from our Ambassador in Peking. When he handed over our Note to the Chinese authorities, the reply was that their information was different. The Director said that the information that the Chinese Government had received was contained in the Note handed over to one of our men there. Regarding the incident at Migyitun, according to their report, it was the Indians who fired first—the Chinese frontier guards had opened fire only in self-defence. They had received no information yet of the clash at Longju on August 26. This is the Chinese answer. The Director said that the situation in this sector of the border was tense because Indian troops were continuously pushing forward. We see repeated here the same kind of language as between say India and Pakistan—we make a statement and an exactly opposite contrary statement is made by the other side.

I confess that in these matters I give credence to our own reports and I believe it is true because I would rather believe my own men who are there and who are trained men, not used to exaggeration and also because the circumstantial evidence supports their account. In fact, our Ambassador pointed this out to the Chinese people. I need not say that, while I do not wish to take an alarmist view of the situation—in themselves these are minor incidents—it is a little difficult to understand what lies behind these minor incidents. In any event we have to be vigilant and protect our borders as best we can.

MR. N. G. GORAY It is not a question of taking any alarmist view. The real issue is what is happening in Ladakh, Bhutan, Sikkim and in NEFA. It is not a question only of the effect it produces on us.

MR. R. K. KHADILKAR Are all these incidents an indication that they are a Chinese design to determine the border as is shown in their map by saying that the areas have come under their occupation?

MR. HEW BARUA May I know whether this incursion into NEFA which has been repeated in quick succession is due to the cartographic inaccuracy in the maps about which we have complained to the Chinese Government and the Chinese Government have told us that this is the handiwork of the Chiang Kai-shek regime?

THE PRIME MINISTER We have to face here a particular situation. There is no alternative for us but to defend our country's borders and integrity. Having said that, at the same time, we must not, as often happens in such cases, become alarmist and panicky and thereby take wrong action.

We have taken the line that minor border incidents and border differences should be settled by negotiations. We must distinguish between this and that broad approach of the Chinese maps which have brush-coloured hundreds of miles of Indian territory. That is totally and manifestly unacceptable and we have made it clear. We stick to the McMahon Line. But it is quite another thing that in this long line there may be minor arguments about a mile here or a mile there. These arguments have been there before the Chinese came into Tibet. We admit that these are differences which exist and which should be settled. We think we are right, but let us sit round a conference table and settle them. But when it comes to huge chunks of territory it is not a matter for discussion.

The one or two instances that I have stated are, again, according to us clearly intrusion into our territory. Suppose there is some question of a Tibetan or Chinese case about a mile here or there—well, we are prepared to discuss it. But from such information as we have received and I have placed before the House, it is not a normal peaceful way of approaching the question for their forces to come, envelop our check posts and capture them after firing. This matter becomes much more serious than some incidental or accidental border affray.

Mr Khadilkar asked about what lies behind all this. I cannot say it is not fair for me to guess. But so far as we are concerned, we shall naturally be prepared for any eventuality and we shall keep vigilant without fuss or shouting.

MR A. B. VAJPAYEE: May I suggest that the Government should issue a White Paper detailing all these developments, our border disputes with the Chinese and this cartographic aggression, so that world opinion may be well informed?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I am prepared to consider that. It will take a little time to issue such a paper.

DEFENCE OF SIKKIM AND BHUTAN

WE HAVE SEEN occasional reports in the Press to the effect mentioned by the hon. Member. It is not possible for us to check their authenticity. Such reports are naturally causing concern to the people of Sikkim and Bhutan and elsewhere in the border regions of India. Our position is quite clear. The Government of

India is responsible for the protection of the borders of Sikkim and Bhutan and of the territorial integrity of these two States and any aggression against Sikkim and Bhutan will be considered aggression against India.

MR. HEM BARUA May I know whether the Government of Sikkim and Bhutan have by now apprised our Government of the situation obtaining there? The Prime Minister said that he had seen only newspaper reports.

THE PRIME MINISTER We have been in touch with both the Governments, naturally I cannot say exactly whether this particular matter was referred to by them. But the fact remains that they are not happy about the situation. They are rather nervous about what is happening around them.

DR. RAM SUBHAO SENON As the reports indicate, the Chinese troops are all along the 500-mile border between Bhutan and Tibet and it has also come to our notice that the traditional route to Bhutan which passes through a portion of Tibet has been closed. In the circumstances, may I know what help the Government of India is going to render to save Bhutan's economy at present? May I also know whether the Defence Ministry has studied the entire situation from the new position which has been created at present?

THE PRIME MINISTER It is true that there have been some recent difficulties in people going to Bhutan from India by the normal route which crosses a little corner of Tibet below Yatung a route, in fact, by which I went this time last year. The Bhutanese people are now using other routes because of the difficulty. These other routes, although they are longer and sometimes more difficult, are being improved. In fact, quite apart from recent incidents there is a programme of road building in Bhutan, roads from India to Bhutan and within Bhutan, and we are helping them in building those roads.

As for the hon. Member's enquiry about the Defence Ministry, the Ministry, no doubt, kept all these things in view and it is difficult for me to discuss what exactly the Ministry may consider right or proper in a certain set of circumstances.

DR. RAM SUBHAO SENON Will the Prime Minister give us a clear guarantee that the Chinese will in no case be allowed to set up any post in Sikkim or Bhutan as they have done in Ladakh?

THE PRIME MINISTER That is a very odd question. I do not think any Prime Minister can give guarantees of that type. All we can say is that any kind of incursion into Sikkim or Bhutan will be considered incursion into India, and we shall abide by the assurances we have given to them. How and in what manner we shall abide by them is a matter for careful consideration. It is not

a matter of statement in this House or elsewhere, but of action very difficult action, the burden of which will have to be borne by this House. It is not a matter in which an easy assurance can be given

CHINA'S REPLY TO INDIA'S PROTEST

YESTERDAY EVENING we received, through our Embassy in Peking a reply from the Chinese Government to the protest we have made to them. It is a fairly long reply and we are examining it fully. But, broadly speaking the reply says that they have not committed any aggression. In fact they have accused us of aggression on the border and have asked us to withdraw from one or two areas which they claim to be Chinese territory.

SRI MATI YASHODA REDDY The Chinese have come into our border and have built airfields. In reply to our protest they say that we are more on the offensive than they are. The other day a Russian Minister speaking in the Inter Parliamentary Union, said that they believed that India was on the offensive and not the Chinese. Such statements by the Chinese and the Russians do cause us concern. Has the Prime Minister taken objection to the statement of the Russian Minister?

THE PRIME MINISTER No because we have no particular report of the statement or the context in which it was made. There is no question of our objecting to every statement that a person makes.

MR. V. K. DRAKE Has the Prime Minister apprised the three great powers of the situation in this regard?

THE PRIME MINISTER Not directly but, as is usual with us, whenever any important matter occurs, we inform our various missions abroad of the facts and the steps we are taking and we ask them, whenever necessary to inform the Government concerned. That is what we have done and I suppose some of our ambassadors abroad have brought these matters to the attention of the Governments concerned.

MR. GANDU SIVARAM SETHI Does the reply given by the Chinese authorities tally with our facts?

THE PRIME MINISTER It does not tally with our version of the facts. That is why we are arguing. In the next two or three days we shall probably get more information so as to be able to reply

to them. May I mention to this House that we are preparing a kind of White Paper which will contain the correspondence between the Government of India and the Government of China in the last four or five years, ever since the Tibetan Treaty? I hope it will be placed on the table of the House before Parliament adjourns.

MR. JAWAHIR SINGH: There are reports in the Press that along our Ladakh and Tibetan borders the Chinese are establishing some bases. Is there any truth in them?

THE PRIME MINISTER: Which side of the border? In their territory or our territory?

MR. JAWAHIR SINGH: In our territory.

THE PRIME MINISTER: Certainly not—there is no truth in them.

INDIA'S APPROACH TO THE TIBETAN ISSUE

EVERYONE IN THIS HOUSE has a feeling of the deepest sympathy with the sufferings of the Tibetan people. We have given refuge and asylum not only to the Dalai Lama but to nearly 13 000 others. I cannot remember a single instance of refuge being denied. That itself was evidence of our feelings in this matter.

There are two or three main considerations in regard to Tibet. Internationally Tibet has not been regarded as an independent country. It has been considered an autonomous country but under the suzerainty or sovereignty of China. That was the attitude before India became independent, of the United Kingdom and Russia (the Soviet Union as well as Czarist Russia). The rest of the world did not pay the slightest attention to Tibet.

When India became independent and we inherited more or less the position as it was in British days, both the advantages and disadvantages, for a moment we carried on. We were too busy for the first year or two to interfere with anything.

Then came this Chinese incursion into or invasion of Tibet. At no time had we denied Chinese overlordship of Tibet. Even in recent years we have not denied it. We had to face a difficult situation in law and constitutionally we could not say anything because of the position we had accepted and the world had accepted. Nevertheless we were rather pained and upset at the way things were happening—armies marching and what appeared to be a

forceful conquest and occupation of Tibet. We sent some politely worded Notes, expressing the hope that the question would be solved peacefully. I am afraid the replies we got from the Chinese Government were not equally politely worded.

Then, El Salvador a member of the United Nations, sponsored a motion on Tibet in the United Nations. It was a motion for the inclusion of the item on the agenda of the General Assembly and with it was a draft resolution condemning what they called the unprovoked aggression in Tibet and suggesting the appointment of a committee to study the appropriate measures to be taken. The representative of India pleaded that this matter might be settled peacefully and it would be better not to take it up in that way. He added I believe, that we had received some assurances from the Chinese Government that they wanted to settle it peacefully by negotiation, and therefore the inclusion of this item on the agenda be adjourned. This suggestion was supported by the United Kingdom the United States of America, Australia, the Soviet Union, and for its own reasons, no doubt, even by what might be called Kuomintang China in Formosa. The item was postponed.

On what basis did our representative, the Jamshahb of Nawanager say that we had received assurances from the Chinese Government? So far as I can remember we had received a message from the Chinese Government to the effect that they wanted to settle the question by negotiation and in a peaceful way. In fact, I think, they had stopped the march of their army somewhere near the eastern borders of Tibet. Also some representatives of the Tibetan Government sent by the Dalai Lama were to proceed to Peking to discuss the matter. The Tibetan representatives, on their way to Peking came to Delhi. Until quite recently the easiest way of going from Lhasa to Peking was via India. Also I suppose they wanted to consult us. This happened ten years ago and I have no very clear recollection of the sequence of events. I know they remained in Delhi for rather a long time why it was so is not clear to me. It was this sequence of events that led us to make that suggestion in the United Nations, and the matter was not discussed.

Afterwards, as a matter of fact, there was no proper negotiation with the team that the Tibetans sent. Long before they reached Peking, other developments took place in Tibet. I think the Chinese army started marching again and the Dalai Lama and his representatives came to an agreement with them. Maybe, it was an agreement under compulsion, but it was an agreement signed on behalf of the Dalai Lama.

There was this 17-point agreement in which some stress was laid on the autonomy of Tibet. It would be wrong to say that this stress on autonomy was included there because of our pressure and

our desire. It is not correct to say that they (the Chinese) had given us an assurance which they broke later.

What happened was that, several years afterwards, when Premier Chou En-lai came here we had talks about Tibet and the Dalai Lama too was here at that time. The talks I believe were really initiated by Premier Chou En-lai and he wanted to explain to me what their position was in regard to Tibet, not because he was answering some charge made by me or because he thought that it was incumbent on him to do so but because he felt—I take it—that we had friendly relations and he had to try to convince me of China's position in this case.

He began by telling me that Tibet had always been a part of the Chinese State although Tibet was not China proper. Tibet, he said, was an autonomous region of the Chinese State.

Even then, some trouble had started internally in Tibet, on the eastern border and the Tibetans there the Khampas, did not take kindly to certain Chinese measures. This led to the Khampa rebellion—a kind of guerrilla rebellion which had already lasted for a fair time when Premier Chou En-lai came here three years ago. We did not discuss that. But he referred to it and said: "We do not wish to interfere with the Tibetans, with their internal structure, social customs or religion but we will not tolerate rebellion and foreign interference." I do not know what he meant when he said foreign interference but I find that they had some kind of a link in their minds, not so much of India having anything to do with it, but of the United Kingdom or America somehow making incursions into Tibet. They have not quite realized that the United Kingdom has absolutely no interest in Tibet since it left India. The British just cannot reach Tibet. They have no means, no representative there—they have nobody there even to give them any news. And, to my knowledge, neither has the United States. The only representative in Tibet of any other country is the Consul-General of India. Probably the Soviet Union has a representative—possibly also Mongolia. What I mean to say is there are no Europeans or Americans. Anyhow, what Mr. Chou En-lai told me was more an explanation. It was not some kind of an assurance extracted by me from him.

The internal revolt in Tibet spread month after month, year after year and it spread slowly from the east westwards. I have little doubt that the great majority of Tibetans sympathized with it. Ultimately there was this upheaval and the Dalai Lama's flight from Lhasa.

I have said earlier that our approach to this problem is governed by two or three factors. Among these I mentioned two—our sympathy for the Tibetan people and our desire to maintain

friendly relations with China. In the present context, these two slightly contradict each other and that is the difficulty of the situation. The third factor of course, is and always will be the integrity of India and the freedom of India.

I want to repeat that any step that we may take now cannot be taken in a huff regardless of the consequences. I have always thought that it is important, even essential, that these two countries of Asia, India and China, should have friendly and, as far as possible, co-operative relations. It would be a tragedy not only for India, and possibly for China, but for Asia and the world if we develop some kind of permanent hostility. Natural friendship does not exist if you are weak and if you are looked down upon as a weak country. Friendship cannot exist between the weak and the strong, between a country that is trying to bully and the other which agrees to be bullied. It is only when people are more or less equal, and when they respect each other that they can be friends. That is true of nations also. We did work for the friendship of India and China and, despite all that has happened and is happening we shall continue to work for it. That does not mean that we should surrender anything that we consider right or that we should hand over bits of Indian territory to China to please them. That is not the way to be friends with anybody or to maintain our dignity or self respect.

If anyone asks me what these border incidents indicate, I shall say frankly that I do not know what might be in the minds of the other party—whether it is just local aggressiveness or a desire to show us our place. If I may use a colloquial phrase, so that we may not get uppish or something deeper I do not know.

Only last evening we received a fairly long reply from the Chinese Government to the protest I had sent a few days ago about the incidents on the North East Frontier border. It is a fairly long reply requiring very careful consideration. But, broadly speaking, the reply is a repudiation of our charge. It, in fact, charges us with having gone into their territory and having opened fire on them. That is, there is a complete reversal of the facts.

Naturally we have to protect our borders. And when I say that, I want to restrain my powerful reactions so as not to go too far—in let us say military measures and the like. We try to have a firm policy where we think we are in the right, but with always the door open to accommodation and settlement. In petty disputes it seems to me absurd for two great countries to rush at each other's throat and decide whether two miles of territory are on this side or on that side. But where national prestige is involved it is not the two miles of territory that matter but the nation's dignity and self respect.

DR. RAM SUBHAO SINGH What is the boundary which they have indicated according to the latest reply we have received from them?

THE PRIME MINISTER So far as I am concerned our frontier from the Burma border right up to the Bhutan border is the McMahon Line we hold by that. And we think it is highly improper and objectionable for the Chinese Government to go on issuing maps colouring half of the North East Frontier Agency one third of Assam and one-third of Bhutan as if they belonged to China. That is really an affront. I can understand something happening for a little while, and some mistakes but to be told year after year for ten years continuously Oh, well we shall look into it when we have leisure is not a good enough answer.

But having accepted broadly the McMahon Line I am prepared to discuss any interpretation of the McMahon Line—minor interpretation here and there on the evidence available such as facts and maps. That I am prepared to discuss with the Chinese Government. I am prepared to have any kind of conciliatory mediatory process to consider this. I am prepared to have arbitration by any authority agreed to by the two parties about these minor recifications, where they are challenged by them or by us. But the McMahon Line has to be broadly accepted.

The position about Ladakh is somewhat different. The McMahon Line does not go there. That border is governed by ancient treaties over 100 years old between the then ruler of Kashmir Maharaja Gulab Singh who was a feudatory of the Sikh ruler of the Punjab at the time. There was the treaty of 1842 between this ruler on the one side and the ruler of Lhasa and the representative of the Emperor of China on the other resulting in Ladakh being recognized as a part of Kashmir State.

Nobody has challenged that. Nobody challenges it now. But the actual boundary of Ladakh with Tibet was not very carefully defined. It was defined to some extent by British officers who went there. But I rather doubt if they did any careful survey. They marked the line. It has been marked all along in our maps. As people do not live there by and large it did not make any difference. But the question of this border has now arisen. We are prepared to sit down and discuss these minor things. But discuss it on what terms? First the treaties, existing maps, etc. Secondly geography. By geography I mean physical features like watersheds and ridges of a mountain. These are convenient features for international boundaries.

Coming back to this particular resolution, quite apart from the sympathy which the hon. Member who moved it and some other hon. Members feel for the Tibetans if we take any action it

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

should be constitutional and justifiable in law and we should hope for results which will help us to achieve the objective aimed at.

Looking at it from that point of view the United Nations may come into the picture for two reasons one violation of human rights and two aggression. Now violation of human rights applies to those who have accepted the Charter of the United Nations in other words, the members of the United Nations. You cannot apply the Charter to people who have not accepted the Charter who have not been allowed to come into the United Nations.

Secondly if you talk about aggression by one sovereign independent State on another as I told you in so far as world affairs are concerned Tibet had not been acknowledged as an independent State for a considerable time.

Suppose we get over the legal quibbler and legal difficulties. What good will it achieve? It may lead to a debate in the General Assembly or the Security Council which will be after the fashion of the cold war. Having had the debate, what will the promoters of the motion do? Nothing more. They will return home.

Obviously nobody is going to send an army to Tibet or China, for that was not done in the case of Hungary which is a part of Europe and which is more allied to European nations. It is fantastic to think they will move in that way in Tibet. All that will happen is an expression of strong opinion by some and denials by others. The matter will be raised to the level of the cold war and will probably produce reactions on the Chinese Government which will be more adverse to Tibet and the Tibetan people than even now.

INDIA'S BORDERS WITH CHINA

TWO DAYS AGO something has happened which has added to the gravity of the situation and highlighted certain aspects which were perhaps under a shadow then. As Foreign Minister it is my business to read carefully the new reply from Premier Chou En-lai and to understand what exactly it might mean. As we have now taken Parliament and indeed the public into our confidence by publishing this White Paper whenever our reply goes, that also will be published. As a matter of fact only yesterday morning we sent a message to the Chinese Government in continuation of this correspondence and a copy of it has been placed on

Reply to debate in Rajya Sabha, September 10, 1959

the table of the House today. It was soon after we had sent this message that we began getting bits of Premier Chou En lai's reply. I shall venture only to deal with certain aspects of it referred to by hon. Members. I often wonder if we, that is the Government of India and the Government of China, speak quite the same language and if, using the same words or similar words we mean the same thing. Secondly and I know this from experience it is a terrific problem to translate Chinese into any other language. I am quite sure that Marx must be different in Chinese from the original German or the translations in English and other languages.

My friend Mr. Sapru said something about the failure of the West to recognize the Chinese Revolution. I would venture to say that there appears to me to be a lack of understanding or recognition in China of the revolution in India. This perhaps is the reason for some of their misunderstandings and for the way they approach certain matters connected with India. They forget that India is not a country which can be ignored even though she may speak in a gentler language. In one of our Notes to the Chinese Government (reproduced on page 77 of the White Paper) we said

"The Government of India have learned of this statement with regret and surprise. It is not only not in consonance with certain facts, but is also wholly out of keeping with diplomatic usage and the courtesies due to friendly countries. It is a matter of particular surprise and disappointment to them that a Government and people noted for their high culture and politeness should have committed this serious lapse and should have addressed the Government of India in a language which is discourteous and unbecoming even if it were addressed to a hostile country. Since it is addressed to a country which is referred to as friendly that can only be considered as an act of forgetfulness.

Then the Note says

The Government of India realize that the system of government in China is different from that prevailing in India. It is the right of the Chinese people to have a government of their choice and no one else has a right to interfere. It is also the right of the Indian people to have a government of their choice and no one else has a right to interfere. In India unlike China, the law recognizes many parties and gives protection to the expression of differing opinions. That is a right guaranteed by our Constitution and contrary to the practice prevailing in China the Government of India is often criticized and opposed by some sections of the Indian people. It is evident that this freedom of expression free Press and civil liberties in India are not

8
fully appreciated by the Government of China, and hence misunderstandings arise."

Then, again, in another matter it says
From the statement made on behalf of the People's Government of China, it appears that, according to them, Panchasheel or the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence may or may not be applied according to convenience or circumstances. This is an approach with which the Government of India are not in agreement. They have proclaimed and adhered to these principles as matters of basic policy and not of opportunism. They will continue to hold to these principles and endeavour to apply them according to their own thinking

Dr Kunzru said that our foreign policy was in the melting pot. He referred to our non-alignment and to Panchasheel as a slogan and an opiate. I claim that these principles are right, and I should like any hon. Member here to tell me wherein they are not right. I do not understand what the situation as it has developed has got to do with putting our foreign policy in the melting pot. So far as I am concerned and so far as our Government is concerned our foreign policy is as firm as a rock and it will remain so. The present Government will hold to non-alignment because it is a matter of principle not of opportunism or the convenience of the day. That surely does not mean that we should not be vigilant or that we should not protect India's interests or India's border. Surely that would be a foolish inference to draw from it.

Dr Kunzru referred to various mistakes of the past. He particularly referred to our keeping things back from Parliament.

Well Sir let us go back to that time we had a debate on Tibet a few months ago. That was the time when the message from which I just now read out was sent. I do not quite know what more report we could make at that stage. So far as the border problems were concerned, the position then was as it had been for several years previously. Remember that the development of the last few weeks is a new development in the frontier problem.

Right from the first few months of independence, I repeatedly stated in Parliament that the McMahon Line by which I simply mean the defined frontier was our frontier. When I say something in Parliament, it is meant for the outside world and it was meant, if I may say so for the Government of China. We said this to the Chinese Government in communication too orally and otherwise. Their answer was vague. Seven or eight years ago I saw no reason to discuss the question of the frontier with the Chinese Government because foolishly if you like I thought that there was nothing to discuss.

All these frontier matters might be divided into three parts. One is what is called the McMahon Line from the Burmese border to the Bhutan border. Then comes Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Lahaul, Spiti and then you go on to Ladakh.

When we discovered in 1958 more than a year ago that a road had been built across Yehcheng in the north-east corner of Ladakh, we were worried. We did not know where it was. Hon. Members asked why we did not know before. It is a relevant question, but the fact is that we just are not within hundred miles of that area. It is an uninhabitable area, 17 000 feet high, and it had not been under any kind of administration. Nobody has been present there. It is a territory where not even a blade of grass grows. It adjoins Sinkiang. We sent a small party practically of explorers, numbering eight or ten, to find out the facts. One of the groups of this party was apprehended by the Chinese Government and there was correspondence on this. The men belonging to that group were released later. Now it was possibly an error or a mistake on my part not to have brought the facts before the House. Our difficulty then was that we were corresponding with the Chinese Government and we were waiting for that little party to come here and tell us as to what happened to them. It took two or three months for them to come. We thought at that time that it might be easier for us to deal with the Chinese Government without too much publicity for this incident. We might have been wrong but it was not a crisis.

Dr. Ahmad said that there are no objective reasons for war. Of course, there are no objective reasons, no practical reasons, no sensible reasons or no reason whatsoever of any kind. We may get excited about the sacredness of the Indian soil and the Chinese people may get excited about something they hold sacred, if they hold anything sacred. But nothing can be a more amazing folly than for two great countries like India and China to get into a major conflict and war for the possession of a few mountain peaks, however beautiful the mountain peaks might be, or some area which is more or less uninhabited. But it is not a question of a mile or two. It is something more precious than a hundred or a thousand miles. People's passions have been brought to a high level not because of a patch of territory but because they feel that we have not received a fair treatment in this matter and have been treated rather casually by the Chinese Government and an attempt is made if I may use the word, to bully us.

The only time firing has taken place was in Longju a few days ago. In his most recent letter Mr. Chou En-lai gives a list of places where India has committed aggression in the air and on land. There is no sea otherwise we would have been accused

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

of committing aggression on sea also. I might inform the House that we have received a protest about one of our ships having gone into the territorial waters of China. That ship I think, was going from Hong Kong to somewhere. So the sea is also not left out. Now what is aggression and what is not aggression depends, of course, on where you draw the line of demarcation. As long as you do not agree on a line you can go on saying that we have committed aggression. But Mr Chou En-lai says in his letter that although they totally deny and repudiate the Line, and will not Line they have, nevertheless, not crossed the Line, and will not cross it till this matter is settled by agreement. I will not go into a long argument but take this place where firing actually took place. There has been a post belonging to the Indian Government at Longju. It so happened that towards the second half of July we got news that the officer in charge of the check post at Longju was seriously ill. He was believed to have appendicitis and nobody was on hand to treat him. We sent a message to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on July 23 that is, a month before this fighting took place. This was the message

The officer in charge of the Indian check post at Longju near the international border in the Subansiri Frontier Division of NEFA is seriously ill. It is essential to send immediate medical relief to save his life. The location of the post is

Then the exact longitude latitude etc. were given.

The Government of India propose to paradrop a doctor at the post. Depending on weather the parachuting operation may take place on the 24th afternoon or on one of the subsequent days. The aircraft has been instructed to take all care not to cross into Chinese territory but the Chinese Government are being informed, should there be any error of judgement. The Government of India will appreciate if immediate warning is issued to the neighbouring Chinese posts of this operation.

This was a normal message sent to a friendly Government and the mere normality of it shows that we had no doubt about our post. We gave them the longitude and latitude and we said we were sending a doctor and when they say that this is aggression on our part at Longju, I submit that that argument does not convince.

I should like to go back to my talks with Premier Chou En-lai. It is no pleasure for me to contradict Premier Chou. My memory may be wrong his memory may be wrong. It so happens that I did not trust my memory but a record of the talks I made in an official Note within 24 hours of our talk. Premier Chou said although they did not recognize this McMahon Line—it was of

British imperialism and all that—nevertheless, since we were friendly countries they had agreed to recognize the McMahon Line in so far as the Burmese frontier was concerned and the China India frontier was concerned. That would take care of the whole of the McMahon Line. Premier Chou added that he did not think that it was a valid line, and that the British had gone on extending it nevertheless, they were recognizing it because of long usage and because we were friendly countries. When I heard it I wanted to be quite sure that I had not misunderstood him. Therefore, I went back to the subject three times and made him repeat it. And because the matter was of some importance to me, I put it down in writing when I came away. It is a matter of sorrow to me that this is now ignored if not practically denied and another line is adopted. It may be that things have happened in China compelling a change in policy. This change-over is not sudden. Those who read the White Paper will see that the answer about the McMahon Line was not quite so strong and positive as in Premier Chou's letter of yesterday. Gradually step by step the policy of China in regard to this matter has become more rigid. Why I cannot say.

This is a matter of concern to us not only because of its consequences but because such developments produce a lack of confidence in each other's words and assurances. That is a more important thing as some hon. Members said than a few yards of territory.

Take these maps where large areas of India are marked as if they were China. They say that the maps are not precise and accurate and can be changed if necessary except that they do not recognize the McMahon Line. Nobody knows exactly what they may have in mind as to where the Line is. This is an extraordinary position for a great State to take up. Even if we subscribed to that, it would mean leaving the matter vague with the possibility of trouble always there. So far as we are concerned administratively we have been there. We function and we have functioned for years there. To be told that this is aggression is an extraordinary thing. If there are two sets of opinions about this, the right thing to do for the two countries was and is to sit down and talk about them and come to a settlement. I have made our position clear on the border issue by statements in Parliament and later by letters for ten years now. There is no doubt that the Chinese Government knew about it. They remained silent. They did not accept my position except, as I said, that we had a talk when Premier Chou came here three years ago when he accepted the McMahon Line.

Take the Sino-Indian Treaty about Tibet five years ago. We were dealing with the various extra territorial rights we had

in Tibet—some soldiering we had, post office, telegraph office roads pilgrim routes, trade, commerce and everything. Normally if there was a problem of a bit of Tibet being in India or *vice versa* one would think that these matters should have come up for discussion. They did not. I saw no reason why I should raise them because I had nothing to say about them. I accepted the boundary as it was. The whole context of those discussions was that we were dealing with all the remaining problems as between Tibet and India in that treaty with China. And to have it at the back of your mind that you are going to change the whole frontier between Tibet and India and later bring it up does not seem to be quite straight or fair play.

Now a very favourite word with the Chinese authorities is "imperialism." It seems to me that sometimes this word is used to cover every sin and everything as if that was an explanation of every argument. The Chinese State today is a great, colossal State. Was this Chinese State born as such from the head of Brahma? How did it grow so big and great? Surely in past ages by the ability of its people and the conquests of its warriors in other words, by Chinese imperialism. I am not talking of the present, more enlightened days of China, but of the old days. The Chinese State grew in that way and came into Tibet.

In the final analysis, the Chinese have valued India's friendship only to a very small extent. But I repeat that we shall continue to work for their friendship. To imagine that India can push China about is silly. To imagine that China can push India about is equally silly. We must accept things as they are. In the message we sent to the Chinese Government yesterday you will find that we have suggested to them that we must accept the *status quo* and discuss these individual points. It is one thing to accept or to adhere to the McMahon Line but quite another to establish the exact alignment here and there. Of course it is fantastic to talk about war etc. Nevertheless, the matter is serious enough. It is serious because I just do not know how the Chinese mind works. I have been surprised at the recent developments. I have great admiration for the Chinese mind, logical and reasonable and relatively calm. But sometimes I wonder if all these old qualities have not perhaps been partly overwhelmed.

Very probably the Tibetan developments have angered and soured the mind of the Government of China. Perhaps they have reacted strongly to what we have done, for example to the asylum we have given to the Dalai Lama. We have tried to steer a middle way. We respect the Dalai Lama. That does not mean we agree with him in everything. In some ways he is acting wrongly today. We have strongly told him that he is acting wrongly and no good

can come of it if he goes to the United Nations on Tibet. We have contradicted some statements that he has recently made which were very unwise and incorrect. The other day in a speech, he talked of the McMahon Line and the status of Tibet being at the same level, which was quite incorrect. I must say that in a large measure he has accepted our advice in regard to not indulging in political controversy. We do not want to come in his way. We want to give him freedom of action within limitations. But, no doubt, all this has affected and is affecting the Chinese mind. Perhaps it is due to this that they are taking up this rigid attitude. But we have to hold to our position.

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PREMIER CHOU EN LAI's last letter although in some parts worded in relatively soft language raises some issues which are very serious and which have been raised in that form officially almost for the first time.

I have also been reading reports of Premier Chou En-lai's speech in a congress which is being held in Peking. This speech is more or less on the lines of the letter. As is to be expected, some others also made speeches in the congress everyone taking the line of Premier Chou En-lai namely

expressing their great surprise to find Mr. Nehru defending British imperialism... Prime Minister Nehru and the Indian Government treat the aggressive plot of British imperialism against China in the last century as an accomplished fact. Does this accord with the Five Principles advocated by Mr. Nehru?

Obviously a question like this cannot be solved by resolutions in Delhi and in Peking or by hurling strong language at each other. Other ways have to be found—either peaceful or warlike. Every sensible person here and elsewhere wants to avoid war. The most powerful nations in the world are trying their utmost today to find a way outside war and for us to think and talk of war seems ridiculous.

Now what is happening in China today? I do not wish to use strong words, but it is the pride and arrogance of might that is showing in their language in their behaviour to us and in many things that they have done.

A mile on this side of the McMahon Line or a mile on that side may be a small matter but it is not a small matter to show

in their maps a large tract of Indian territory and to call it Chinese territory

When I talked about mediation and conciliation—and I even used the word arbitration—I meant that minor alignments could always be talked about in a peaceful way. But the claim laid down in the Chinese maps, for the first time, is something bigger. This claim is taking definite shape in this last letter of Premier Chou En lai and the speeches delivered at their congress. At first, whenever the maps were referred to they said they were old maps and they would revise them. It was a totally inadequate answer but it was some kind of an answer—postponement of an answer if you like. But what is now held out is something definite. We do not know exactly where their line is, but they hold by it. Even a petty spot, even a yard of territory is important if coercively and aggressively taken from us. It is not the yard of territory that counts but the coercion. It makes no difference to China or India whether a few yards of territory in the mountain are on this side or on that side. But it makes a great deal of difference if that is done in an insulting, aggressive, offensive, violent manner by us or by them.

I have been accused with some justification of having kept matters from Parliament. It is only one thing that I have kept that is, the matter of the road in the Aksai Chin area with which we were dealing last November and December. Hon. Members ask me if our Air Force did not take pictures of the place. I do not think there is a full realization of what this area is and where it is. The mere act of taking pictures would have endangered the aeroplanes, endangered them not only because of the physical features of the area but because of the risk of the other party shooting them down. The Aksai Chin area is in our maps undoubtedly. But it is a matter for argument as to what part of it belongs to us and what part of it belongs to somebody else. I have frankly to tell the House that the matter has been challenged for a hundred years. There has never been any delimitation there.

The McMahon Line, however, is very different. By and large, apart from minor variations, it is a fixed line. Broadly it follows the watershed. That is the test. We stick to it, subject to minor variations. A mile here or a mile there does not matter provided it is peacefully arranged. But there can be no mediation, conciliation or arbitration about the demands of the Chinese for large chunks of territory. It is fantastic and absurd for them to base their demand on what happened in past centuries. If this argument is applied I wonder how much of the great Chinese State would survive this argument. This extraordinary argument takes us back to past ages of history upsetting everything. It really

is the argument of a strong and aggressive power. Nobody else would use it. I have a feeling that just as there is a certain paranoia in individuals, sometimes there is a paranoia in nations.

The basic facts are these. First that this Chinese claim which was vaguely set down in maps etc. is becoming more definitely stated now. That is a claim which it is quite impossible for India or almost any Indian ever to admit whatever the consequences. There is no question of mediation, conciliation or arbitration about it. As an hon. Member observed, it involves a fundamental change in the whole geography of our country, the Himalayas being handed over as a gift to them. This is a claim which, whether India exists or does not exist, cannot be agreed to. There the matter ends.

Then there is the border of U P, Himachal Pradesh and the Punjab. When we had the treaty about Tibet in 1954 a number of passes were mentioned which were meant for pilgrims, traders and others to go over. In a sense these passes themselves laid down the frontier and the claim now made to the Shipki La Pass etc. is undoubtedly a breach of that agreement of 1954.

Dr Ram Subhag Singh said that nobody knew what places and areas of India the Chinese might have occupied. I beg to inform him that everybody knows it, or ought to know it. So far as I know there are no Chinese troops on this side of the McMahon Line anywhere except a small detachment three or four miles from Longju. The impression seems to have grown that there are masses and masses of Chinese armies perched on the frontier or pouring into the frontier. That is not a correct impression. Such a thing is not easy to do and if it is done it will be met.

Let us realize that the real danger at the present moment is not of armies pouring in, the real danger is the words that are being said in Peking. May I add that, to complete the picture we should also remember the treatment given to our Missions in Tibet? The treatment by the local authorities has been consistently discourteous. We write, we complain, answers come, long explanations, but it is deliberately being made more inconvenient and difficult for our people to work there.

An hon. Member I think Dr Ram Subhag Singh referred to Sikkim and Bhutan. I am glad he did because I had wanted to refer to the matter. In Premier Chou En-lai's last letter he says:

In Your Excellency's letter you also referred to the boundary between China and Sikkim. Like the boundary between China and Bhutan, this question does not fall within the scope of our present discussion."

I beg to differ from Premier Chou En-lai. It does very much fall within the scope of our present or future discussion. If he thinks

that he can deal with it as something apart from India, we are not agreeable to that. We have publicly and rightly undertaken certain responsibilities for the defence of Sikkim and Bhutan, if they are attacked. It is very necessary for us to understand that if something happens on their borders, then it is the same thing as an interference with the border of India.

In Premier Chou's letter he has referred to a telegram which we received from Tibet—from Lhasa—in 1947. The point which Premier Chou has made is that even in 1947 that is, soon after we became independent, Tibet claimed territory from us. It is true that we received a telegram from the Tibetan Bureau in Lhasa, which was forwarded to us by our Mission in Lhasa, claiming the return of Tibetan territory on the boundary of India and Tibet. A reply was sent by us demanding the assurance that it was the intention of the Tibetan Government to continue relations on the existing basis until new agreements were reached on matters that either party might wish to take up.

The House should remember that even in British times certain small areas were points of dispute between the then Government of India and the Tibetan Government. There were some later disputes too. It may be that this telegram refers to those areas in dispute.

If I have erred in the past by delaying the placing of papers before the House, I shall not err again. This very reply from Premier Chou has come six months after my letter of March. But the situation is such that we have to keep the country and especially Parliament in full touch with the developments. This apparent change in the attitude of the Chinese Government has come out quite clearly with a demand which it is absolutely and wholly impossible for us to look at. But if you will put that aside the House will notice that they themselves say that they are prepared for the *status quo* to continue.

I would beg of you not to think of this matter in terms of communism and anti-communism. The House must have seen the statement issued more or less on behalf of the Soviet Government. The House knows the very close relations that the Soviet Government has with the Chinese Government. The issue of that statement itself shows that the Soviet Government is taking a calm and more or less objective dispassionate view of the situation, considering everything. We welcome it. It is not for us to divert this major issue between China and India into wrong channels. We must maintain our dignity and at the same time deal with the situation as firmly as we can. Our Defence Forces are fully seized of the matter and they are not people who get excited quickly. They are brave and experienced people and if they have to deal with a difficult job, they will deal with it in a calm, quiet but efficient way.

DISPUTE OVER BARA HOTI

THERE HAS BEEN for some time past an agreement with the Chinese Government in regard to Bara Hoti, to the effect that Bara Hoti being a disputed area, neither party should send any armed troops there. No armed troops have been sent there accordingly. Civil personnel go there, however. This year they went there on May 27 and they withdrew six weeks ago on September 13 owing to the conditions becoming very difficult. The Chinese sent a Tibetan official, but no Chinese went there at all this summer. We are thus functioning in terms of the agreement which laid down that no attempt should be made by either party to change the status of the Bara Hoti area unilaterally.

There are considerable difficulties about either the Chinese or the Indians remaining there. In view of these, we shall consider afresh whether we should erect any permanent structures there which are capable of withstanding climatic conditions.

MR. ASOKA MEHTA May I invite the Prime Minister's attention to his letter to the Chinese Premier dated March 22? There he has said "I learn that a material change in the situation has since been effected by the despatch of Chinese civil and military detachments, equipped with arms, to camp in the area after our own civil party had withdrawn at the beginning of last winter. If the reports that we have received about an armed Chinese party camping and erecting permanent structures in Hoti during winter are correct, it would seem that unilateral action not in accordance with custom was being taken in assertion of your claim to the disputed area. We would like to know what has happened to this."

THE PRIME MINISTER This relates, I take it, to the summer of 1958. In 1958 there were long talks between representatives of the Chinese Government and the Government of India in Delhi about this Bara Hoti area. They lasted for many weeks, but did not lead to any settlement. But it was agreed that there should be no unilateral change through army possession, and that only civil personnel and no armed forces should be sent by either party.

MR. ASOKA MEHTA Our difficulty is that the Chinese forces advance into some places, and then, in the name of *status quo* they want to continue there. Did they entrench themselves in Bara Hoti last year and have they moved out?

THE PRIME MINISTER Bara Hoti is a place which has been in dispute for a long time past, even before the Chinese came into the picture. It is a very small area, which is used for pasturage

purposes during a few months in the year otherwise it is almost unapproachable. In this place, the Chinese used to send a kind of a police party and the Uttar Pradesh Government also sent their police party. For two or three years running both these parties sat there simultaneously facing each other and it was then decided that armed forces should not be sent there.

MR. MAHAVIR TYARI After the protest, did they withdraw?

THE PRIME MINISTER In 1958 they withdrew and they did not send any party this year.

MR. N. G. GORAY What is the present position?

THE PRIME MINISTER The present position is that there is nobody, no armed personnel, Chinese or Indian, anywhere near that place. It has been a disputed area, and long before the other incursions of the Chinese took place this matter was being argued.

MR. N. G. RANGA The Prime Minister referred to "long before." Since when? After the People's Government came or before that?

THE PRIME MINISTER Before that, with the Tibetan Government. There were no conflicts, but there were complaints by us to them and by them to us. They used to send their tax-collector who collected grazing fees and other fees. This has happened in several parts of the border for the last half century—certainly before the change in the government in China. Even in the brief period 1947-49 we had to deal with these problems in two or three places.

MR. BRAJ RAJ SINGH We were given to understand that all the border extending to 2,500 miles, was being put under the control of the military. Now we learn that Bara Hoti is being excepted. May I know whether any other important place is also being excepted? Why has this unilateral action been taken in respect of Bara Hoti?

THE PRIME MINISTER The military are in charge of the entire border but the actual people there are still the police functioning under the military. For instance, on the Assam border or the NEFA border it is the Assam Rifles who are in charge, but they are under the direction of the military. On the Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab borders, again, we have the police under the direction of the military. In some places, in Ladakh, the military actually man the check posts.

INDIA CHINA RELATIONS

WE HAVE ACCEPTED certain basic policies in the past, and the Government, under the directions of this Parliament, has functioned in accordance with those basic policies. In the old days, these basic policies were taken for granted and not put to the test of experience and danger. They are being put to the test now.

We are faced with grave problems. Their gravity lies certainly in the present but even more so in the future. The issue has obviously much wider significance than what might be called party issues. It transcends all party issues—it comprises the whole country and, to some extent, the issues beyond our country—the issues of war and peace in the world.

No individual and no government is good enough by itself to shoulder this grave responsibility. I would, therefore, beg this House to shoulder the responsibility and tell us what we should do about it. Let the directions be clear.

Recently some people in this country have begun criticising and condemning our policy of non-alignment or Panchsheel. It has been said that this policy has collapsed because of what has happened *vis-à-vis* China.

Some years ago a few of the great countries of the world also spoke rather lightly and casually about our policy. They imagined it was a policy of weakness and they thought of it as sitting on the fence. But, as the years have gone by, wisdom has come to these countries, and that very policy has been appreciated and it is even colouring and conditioning the activities of the great nations. The greatest nations of the world are now trying to come together and I should like this House, even though we are entangled in our own problems and difficulties, to send its good wishes to the efforts of the great leaders of these nations who are working for peace.

It is a strange turn of circumstance that we in India who stood for peace and worked for it with all our might should suddenly be drawn into this dangerous situation and be faced with the possibility even of war. I do not think war will come. I do not think that any country is foolish enough to jump over the precipice into war. But I say that such possibilities come into our lives. People who may imagine that this is due to our policy of Panchsheel seem to me to think in an upside-down way. Any other policy would have brought infinitely greater dangers, and brought them sooner and brought them when we would not have had the aid of the wide friendship we undoubtedly possess in the world.

I should like to add a little to the information I gave previously as to how this border situation arose. The Government of India recognized the Central People's Government of China in December 1949. Eight months later the Chinese Government expressed their gratification over the Government of India's desire "to stabilize the Chinese-Indian border" and the Government of India replied that "the recognized boundary between India and Tibet should remain inviolate." Some time later on September 27, 1951, Premier Chou En lai, in an informal conversation with the Indian Ambassador expressed his anxiety to safeguard in every way Indian interests in Tibet, on which matter there was no territorial dispute or controversy between India and China. He added: "The question of stabilization of the Tibetan frontier was a matter of common interest to India, Nepal, and China, and could best be done by discussions between the three countries." On October 4, 1951, the Indian Ambassador in Peking, under instructions from the Government of India, informed the Chinese Premier that the Government of India would welcome negotiations on the subjects mentioned by Premier Chou En lai. In February 1952 the Indian Ambassador gave a statement of the existing Indian rights in Tibet and reiterated India's willingness to arrive at a mutually satisfactory settlement. Premier Chou En lai replied that there was "no difficulty in safeguarding the economic and cultural interests of India in Tibet." He did not refer to the frontier question in his reply nor did the Indian Ambassador raise this question specifically then. It was our belief that since our frontier was clear there was no question of our raising this issue.

When discussions took place for the Sino-Indian Agreement on Tibet, seven subjects were dealt with: our Mission at Lhasa, trade agencies at Gyantse and Yatung, a trade agency at Gartok, the right to carry on trade other than trade marts, postal and telegraphic installations, military escorts to Gyantse and the right of pilgrimage. These were indicated to the Chinese Government as subjects for negotiations and ultimately an agreement was arrived at in regard to these matters. Our clear impression was that we had settled all matters relating to Tibet and India and that no frontier issue remained except some minor ones. The question of the frontier did not arise at all at any other time except later in relation to some maps published in China to which we took exception. The reply of the Chinese Government to us was that these were old maps and their revision would be taken up later when they had leisure to do so. This objection was raised by us several times and the reply also was the same every time.

Then in March this year there was the Tibetan revolution. It resulted in large numbers of refugees coming to India and the

Chinese forces pursuing them, or trying to cut them off. They reached our eastern frontier—that is the McMahon Line. Later they spread out to some frontiers on the west. The story of subsequent events is clearly stated in the correspondence in the White Paper.

It was for the first time on September 8, 1959—that is, two and half months ago—that Premier Chou En-lai, in a letter addressed to me, claimed the areas in India which had been included in the Chinese maps. Till then there had only been this reference to maps and their telling us that they would be revised. For the first time, Premier Chou En-lai made the claim on the basis of those maps.

I shall now say something about the Aksai Chin developments. In September 1957 we learnt of an announcement by the Chinese Government that a road had been made from Yehcheng to Gartok in Tibet and that this would be open to traffic in October. As there were two alternative routes from Sinkiang to Western Tibet, we enquired from our Embassy as to where this road was. They could not send any precise information, but they sent us a copy of the announcement which had been published in the *People's Daily* of Peking which also contained a sketch on a very rough and small scale. In view of this uncertainty about the exact alignment, it was decided that before we sent a protest to the Chinese authorities, we should have more reliable information about the alignment of the road. Two reconnaissance parties were sent to the areas in the summer of 1958—an army party towards the north and a police party towards the southern extremity of this road. It took some time for the police party to return as the journey was a long and arduous one. The army party did not return, and it was suspected by us that they might have been arrested by the Chinese authorities. In fact, they had been arrested and they were released somewhat later. From the police party we learnt that a part of this road was in Indian territory. This was a year ago. On October 18, 1958 we sent a formal protest Note to the Chinese Government regarding this road passing through Indian territory and asked for an early reply. No reply was received then or later to this Note. On December 14, 1958, I wrote a long letter to Premier Chou En-lai about the incorrect delineation of the Sino-Indian boundary in Chinese maps and the circulation of those maps. In this letter there was no specific mention of Aksai Chin as the matter had been referred to in the earlier letter. Premier Chou En-lai replied to this letter on January 23, 1959. These letters are given in the White Paper. I then sent another letter on March 22, 1959 to Premier Chou En-lai. This letter dealt in detail with the boundary in all sectors including Ladakh. In March something else happened—the Tibetan rebellion. A large number of other issues arose.

A complaint has been made that we were not quick enough to

inform the country—the House was not sitting—about the recent incident in Ladakh * The incident took place on October 21 We gave the information to the Press on October 23 We heard of it on the evening or late afternoon of October 22 I was in Calcutta then so was our Foreign Secretary We were told that a brief message had been received to the effect that there had been this conflict and that some of our persons had died. We returned early next morning We received some more messages and we gave the matter to the Press in the afternoon. There was absolutely no delay in this regard

People have asked how the Chinese sent a protest Note to us a few hours before. The reason is fairly obvious our party had to return from the scene of the incident to its own base and then send the message while the Chinese got the message from their outpost. This involved a few hours delay

It is important that we should realize an inherent difficulty in dealings between India and China. In regard to China, I feel we have to deal with what might be called a one-track mind. I am not saying this as criticism but as some kind of appraisal. This is a national trait which has existed for a considerable time past. From fairly early in history they have had a sensation of greatness. They called themselves the Middle Kingdom, and it seemed natural to them that other countries should pay tribute to them. Their thinking was that the rest of the world occupied a lower grade. That has made it difficult for us to understand the working of their mind and what is more to the point, for them to understand the working of our mind. It has been very difficult for me to explain to them that our structure of government in this country is democratic, that we have civil liberties which include the right to misbehave and even to say highly objectionable things, that there are parties here which function in their own way and that the Government here cannot control them and cannot inhibit their activities unless they go beyond the pale of the law. The Chinese Government cannot understand it.

Now take an incident that happened some months ago when Chairman Mao Tse-tung's picture was pelted with tomatoes. This incident created a depth of anger in China which it is difficult for the people here to understand. Symbols are more to them than even to us. Chairman Mao is a symbol to them of everything and that anybody should insult Chairman Mao's picture made them livid with rage.

An Indian police patrol was fired on by Chinese forces near the Kungl Pass about 50 miles within Indian territory. Nine members of the patrol were killed by the Chinese and ten taken prisoner including Mr Karan Singh, a Deputy Superintendent of Police.

We now face a situation which is partly political but partly also military. Obviously the House will not expect me to tell it what military and defence arrangements we are making. That kind of thing is not publicized. But I can tell the House that at no time since our independence have our Defence Forces been in better condition, in fier fettle and backed by greater industrial production than today. I am not boasting about them, but I am quite confident that our Defence Forces are well capable of looking after our security.

Does the House realize that we have in all 9 000 miles of frontier of which the frontier with China is 2 600 miles? Some people seem to imagine that our forces should stand guard along all our frontiers. But our resources are not infinite. We have to use them to the best advantage. The strength of any army it is well known, is the industrial background of the country. If today the United States and the Soviet Union are very great powers, it is because of the industrial and scientific progress they have made.

Coming back to Premier Chou En lai's letter to me and my reply to him. I do feel that the approach that we have made in our letter is a fair and a reasonable one. It is an honourable one for our country and for China too. If war is thrust upon us we shall fight and fight with all our strength. But I shall avoid war, try to prevent it with every means in my power. There are however some things which no nation can tolerate. Any attack on its honour or the integrity of its territory no nation tolerates, and it takes risks, even grave risks, to protect them. You cannot barter your self respect and honour. You have to stand up for them. But in standing up for them if you take some action which puts the same dilemma before the other country and the other country thinks that its honour is being attacked and its self respect brought down, you shut all the doors to any kind of peaceful solution. I should like the House to appreciate this distinction. Firmness and building up of strength are obviously necessary but they do not mean shutting all possible doors to a peaceful settlement. So I have endeavoured in all the letters that I have sent to Premier Chou En lai to state our case with as much clarity as I could command, but always with politeness.

There are one or two other matters I should like to mention. The first is the treatment of people of Kashmiri or Ladakhi origin in Tibet by the Chinese authorities. This has been very harsh and unreasonable. Our trade representatives in Gyantse and Yatun also have had any amount of pin-pricks and difficulties. It is interesting to contrast this with the Chinese claim made to the Indonesian Government in regard to the treatment of people of Chinese origin in Indonesia.

Also we have been disturbed by the treatment received by the prisoners taken by the Chinese in the Ladakh incident. According

to the accounts that we have received, it is bad treatment. Some of these people have got frost bitten toes. Also it appears from these reports, and indeed from the whole account given to us even by the Chinese Government, that these people were subjected to repeated and constant interrogation. There are rules and conventions laying down certain ways of treating prisoners. They lay down specifically that prisoners should only be asked their names, parentage, association or the unit to which they belong and some specific details about themselves, but not asked any other question.

I was talking about the one-track mind of the Chinese. There is one aspect of the question which I wish the Chinese Government and indeed other countries would try to understand. The Himalayas are high mountains, of course, but they are something much more to us and more intimately tied up with India's history, tradition, faith, religion, beliefs, literature, and culture, than, to my knowledge, any other mountain anywhere. The Himalayas are something much more than mountains to us—they are part of ourselves. And I want the other people to realize how intimately this question affects our innermost being.

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THE MAJOR FACT that has stood out in the course of this debate is that on the big issues before us there is practical unanimity in this House. I was a little surprised when Acharya Kripalani accused us of treating this matter lightly and casually as a small issue. I can assure him that we have never considered this a small question. In fact, if I may say so there has come for me one of those peak events of history when a plunge has to be taken in some direction which may have powerful and far reaching effects not only on our country but on Asia and even the world.

Another thing that struck me and very agreeably was the almost unanimous affirmation of what is called the policy of non-alignment. Even those who expressed some doubt about it seemed to be labouring under some misapprehension. When they talked about Panchsheel they seemed to imagine that it involved our forgetting the recent developments or ignoring them. The policy of non-alignment and of having friendly relations is, I believe, basically a right policy under all circumstances. But if two countries fall out and in the extreme instance, go to war obviously that policy does not apply to them. If peace is broken we deal with the situation in so far as we can. The policy remains good all the same,

and it applies to the rest of the world and later to that part of the world too, because war is not a permanent phenomenon. People think that what has been happening on our borders and elsewhere has made no great difference. It has made a tremendous difference. There is widespread and deep-seated reaction in our country affecting almost everyone, from a little child to a grown-up man. I might tell you that I am proud of that reaction. I do not, however wish that reaction to go in the wrong direction, because I am afraid that we might fritter away our vitality and energy in unnecessary and even undesirable activities.

The issue to my mind is big. We are sitting on the edge of history. If this unfortunate conflict occurs, we shall become a nation of armies. Every single activity every single thing that we do the Plan and so on, would have to be conditioned by one major fact, because that will be a struggle for life and death. If the two biggest countries of Asia are involved in conflict, it will shake Asia and shake the world. It is not a small border issue that we are troubled about. The issues surrounding it are so huge, vague, deep-seated, far-reaching and intertwined, that one has to think about them with all the clarity and strength at one's command, and not be swept away by passion into action which may harm us instead of doing us good.

On an issue like this India is bound to be united and nobody can break that unity when the danger comes. If this House thinks that the way our Government has carried on this particular work is not satisfactory then it is open to this House to choose more competent men in whom it has faith. But if in the balance the House feels that this Prime Minister has got to face this challenge, then hold to him and help him, and do not come in his way. I do not mean at all that there should be no criticism. Criticism there should be. But in a moment of crisis one should not do anything to encourage the opponent or the enemy. The mere association with great events makes a person greater than he is, as many of us grew greater in the old days when we associated ourselves with the struggle for India's independence. There is a challenge of those great events now and if it is your will and pleasure that I should serve in the capacity in which I have been placed, I am not going to shirk it, and I am going to serve with all my strength and such competence as I have. But if you make me the instrument of your will for this purpose do not blunt that instrument keep it sharp for the work that it is intended to do.

If the worst comes to the worst and a conflict arises between two mighty countries, it does not much matter if one country has got a few more guns or a big army when two giant countries come into conflict in a life-and-death struggle neither gives in. Certainly

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

India will not give in. We should not, however lead ourselves to cultivate or to encourage what is being referred to here as a war psychosis. Let us realize in all conscience that such a conflict between India and China will be terribly bad a tragedy of the deepest kind—a tragedy for us, a tragedy for China and a tragedy for Asia and the world. Therefore, let us not think lightly of it. Let us not take steps which will automatically push us in that direction.

That is one side of the picture. The other side is that when this challenge comes, we cannot be complacent. We have to be wide awake and prepared and do all we can to face it if it comes.

Some hon. Members have talked about common defence with Pakistan. I would remind the House of the report that appeared the day before yesterday of the statement made by President Ayub Khan when he was asked about the letter I have sent to Premier Chou En lai. He said that Pakistan had a claim to Ladakh, that I had no business to make proposals to Premier Chou En-lai and that he did not recognize my letter. I am not discussing this. I am just pointing out the difficulties inherent in this question of common defence.

It has been said that we are creating a no-man's land in Ladakh and that we are thereby acknowledging China's claim to the frontier there. First of all we are not acknowledging it in the slightest degree. Secondly we are asking them to do what I believe is the desire of every member of this House, that is that they should walk out of the territory of India. It is true that we are doing it in a courteous way as otherwise there will only be a deadlock and war. In this matter as in some other matters, the Chinese Government has been in error. It has not behaved fairly to us and has committed a breach of faith. But do you expect a country to be ordered about? To say that they must surrender and then we would go graciously and talk to them is not a feasible proposition. Even small countries would not tolerate something that could be considered humiliating—much less would a great country. To suggest something that leaves no doors open except war is a bad step a dangerous step and an utterly wrong step.

That does not mean that we should weaken or go in for appeasement, a word that has been often used. Those hon. Members who used it seem to believe in no course other than war. They may not have used the word war but the steps they have suggested taken, will inevitably lead to that. We must realize what second and third steps will follow from the first. I submit that not only in this case but always we should be prepared to meet and negotiate—we have met, even when feelings were rather tense, representatives and leaders of Pakistan. I am not going to allow any sense of personal prestige to come in the way of meeting any person

any where if I think that the cause of my country is served thereby or the cause of peace is served thereby.

It is true that, much as one might desire a meeting that meeting itself unless it is held under proper circumstances or in a proper atmosphere, with some kind of background and preparation, may lead to nothing. Any meeting which has the faintest resemblance to carrying out the behests of another party is absolutely wrong. The House will remember that Mr. Chou En lai has suggested an early meeting. I have said that I should be glad to meet him. It seems to me that the meeting can only take place first of all when the proposals that we have sent have been accepted thereby providing some basis for a meeting and lessening of tension. I am not trying to escape from the idea of a meeting or to delay it. I want it. I welcome it as early as possible. But, as I have stated, there must be some preparation. Even the narrow issue of the borders is very complicated, since you have to consider so many aspects such as history traditions, maps etc.

The Chinese Government has recently published a collection of maps. Two or three are their own maps. The others are maps taken from elsewhere—British maps, American maps, French maps, travellers' maps, Encyclopaedia Britannica maps, whichever they thought helped their case to some extent. We have plenty of maps too, and very good maps. I have no objection to talks about Bara Hoi or one or two other places. But the question of the McMahon Line or Ladakh is different. Something has happened there which is not a minor border dispute or a minor transgression.

The Chinese, as I said, have a one-track mind. We all have one track minds to some extent when our national interests are concerned but I think the Chinese Government has that one track mind more than other nations. This has been encouraged by the semi-isolation in which revolutionary China has grown up in the last ten years with no contacts except with a limited circle of nations.

For the last ten years we have been talking to them, dealing with them, discussing the Tibetan Treaty with them, and, so far as we are concerned, openly and repeatedly declaring what our frontier was, so that there was no doubt as to where we were. They knew our stand perfectly while the way they put it to us was "Yes, the matter of these maps requires revision or reconsideration." That certainly did not close the argument, but broadly the impression created was that they had some minor rectifications to suggest and nothing more. In spite of this, as the House knows, they creep up and take possession of these various areas and territories. It seems to me a definite breach of faith with a country which has tried

to be friendly to them not only because of the past but more so because of the present and the future.

There has been no appeasement. Neither do we have what might be called anti policies. We do not believe in anti policies, because they are based on hatred and are typical of the cold war approach. If you have an enemy you have to fight, go and fight him. Down him if you can. But the cold war attitude is more pernicious than any straight-out war. It perverts a nation and the individual who indulges in it. As Gandhiji said, if you have a sword in your heart, it is far better to take it out and use it than nurse it in your heart.

There has been no misunderstanding on our part about what China was as some people imagine. Perhaps we had given more thought to it than most hon. Members here. Even before the Chinese Revolution we tried to develop friendly relations with the Chuang Kai-shek Government. Not that we approved of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, but it was for China to decide who should rule. But because we attached importance to China as a great country the biggest country in Asia, and our neighbour we tried to be friendly with them. When the revolution came within two or three years of our independence, we discussed this matter with our Ambassador there and others concerned. It was clear that this was no palace revolution but a basic revolution involving millions and millions of human beings. It was a stable revolution with strength behind it and popularity behind it at that time, whatever might have happened later. It produced a perfectly stable government, entrenched strongly enough, and popular. That has nothing to do with our liking it or disliking it. Naturally we came to the decision that this Government should be recognized and within two or three months we did recognize it.

Soon after the Chinese Revolution, a very eminent statesman belonging to the Western countries, who did not like the Chinese Revolution, said in the course of a talk with some people "We made a great mistake when the Russian Revolution took place for years we tried to crush them, tried to put an end to the revolution. We did not succeed in doing so but we did succeed in embittering every body and creating these terrible conflicts between us and Russia. He added "Let us not repeat that mistake in regard to the Chinese Revolution."

It is obvious that these revolutions do not cease to be for the reason that you dislike them and curse them bell book and candle. You have to deal with them. You may fight them if you like, but you cannot ignore them. That is why we have always been convinced that it is utterly wrong and harmful and dangerous for the world for China not to go into the United Nations. This is what we have been saying for the last ten years and now even those who have

opposed this are coming to admit that it would have been better to recognize China.

Take even the last meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations. When the question of China being seated there was brought up by some countries including India, people were surprised. They said "India goes on doing this in spite of what has happened in Tibet, in spite of what has happened on India's borders. How blind they are!" Well it is not for me to say who is blind and who is not, but normally we have found in the last ten years that what we have said and what action we have proposed has been repeatedly accepted by the other countries but after much damage had been done because of their not accepting that advice. You will find that even in the last voting in the United Nations over this Chinese question, more people voted for it—more people who had opposed it became neutral or abstained. Those who had abstained voted for it this time.

Ever since the Chinese Revolution, we naturally had to think of what the new China was likely to be. We realized that this revolution was going to be a very big factor in Asia in the world and in regard to us. We realized—we knew that amount of history—that a strong China is normally an expansionist China. Throughout history that has been the case. And we felt that the great push towards industrialization of that country, plus the amazing pace of its population increase would together create a most dangerous situation. Taken also with the fact of China's somewhat inherent tendency to be expansive when she is strong we realized the danger to India. We have discussed it here and it has been discussed in other countries. As the years have gone by this fact has become more and more apparent and obvious. If any person imagines that we have followed our China policy without realizing the consequences, he is mistaken. If he thinks that we followed it because of fear of China, he is doubly mistaken.

All revolutions whether the French Revolution or the Russian or any other tend to function abnormally. A revolution is a departure from normal behaviour and normal development. Being abnormal upheavals, they do not pretend to having drawing room manners in fact they go against drawing room manners and break things they are destructive although these big revolutions have also something constructive in them something which appeals to people something which rouses their enthusiasm. In these tremendous ferment and upsets, crude and cruel things happen. Gradually the revolution subsides, keeping many of the gains, but becoming more and more normal. If conditions like wars and tumult arise this takes a long time. But people cannot live up to the pitch of

excitement of a revolution. We see that normalizing process very much at work in the Soviet Union. I do not mean to say that they are going back on their economic theories, but as wise and pragmatic people they change them somewhat from time to time. Now China is very very far from normality and that is our and the world's misfortune. Considerable strength, coupled with an abnormal state of mind is a dangerous thing. That is why you find a marked difference between the broad approach of the Soviet Union to world problems and the Chinese approach. I do not think there is any country in the world which is more anxious for peace than the Soviet Union. I think even its opponents think so. But I doubt if there is any country in the world which cares less for peace than China today.

Mr M. R. Masani may talk of international communism and others may talk of international capitalism. There may be a grain of truth in what they say but basically and fundamentally these cries are completely out of date and have no relation to today's world when we have reached the moon. The world is changing, and I can conceive the two great colossuses today the Soviet Union and the United States, coming very near to each other as they slightly are already. The two countries are the most advanced technologically and scientifically. They both worship technology and the machine. They both think that they will get more and more out of them. Repeating the old slogan about international communism and international capitalism merely prevents us from thinking straight and understanding the changing world.

Repeating what has been said previously may I say that any aggression on Bhutan or Nepal would be considered by us aggression on India? I know very well what this involves. It is a very grave responsibility. But thinking it all out, we said this long ago and now I want to repeat it not only because of wider considerations but also because of considerations of India's security.

The other day referring to the ill treatment of some of our prisoners by the Chinese, I mentioned the Geneva Convention. I have looked up that matter. It is the Geneva Convention of August 12 1949 relating to the treatment of prisoners of war. The Convention applies to all cases of declared war or of any other armed conflict which may arise between two or more of the high contracting parties even if the state of war is not recognized by one of them. The Convention was also applicable to cases of partial or total occupation of the territory of a high contracting party even if the said occupation meets with no armed resistance. No physical or mental torture or any form of coercion is to be inflicted on prisoners of war to secure from them information of a kind whatever. Prisoners of war who refuse to answer may not be threatened, insulted or exposed to any other unpleasant

disadvantageous treatment of any kind. Not only has the present Chinese Government accepted it, but Premier Chou En lai actually made a statement recognizing the Geneva Conventions.

A LONG-TERM PROBLEM

THE CHINESE PREMIER, Mr Chou En lai made certain suggestions to our Government in a letter dated November 7. On November 16, I sent him a reply putting forward certain interim proposals. The object was that before any further step could be taken to find a way out, there should be some interim arrangements to prevent any conflicts on the border. We have received no answer yet to my reply. In effect, therefore there has been no major development since this exchange of correspondence. Our Government have received a letter from the Chinese authorities in answer to a previous letter relating to the treatment of prisoners after the Ladakh incident. We had complained of ill treatment of these prisoners. In their reply they broadly say that this was not true and that they were treated as well as could be expected in the circumstances.

If any hon. Member thinks that we had ignored the question of defence in our enthusiasm for Panchsheel then I would submit that he is mistaken. We did not know and I confess today that I did not expect that there would be aggression on the part of China. But it has taken place. The basic factor in defence is the industrial growth of the country and all the armies in the world without an industrial background cannot function adequately. Our Five Year Plans build up this industrial background. As the House well knows, in the last few years, more especially since the second Five Year Plan came into being, great stress has been laid on the foundations of basic industries and heavy industries in the country. It is on them that defence can ultimately rest. Of course communications, roads, etc. are also important but they all follow really from the development of heavy industries which not only provide the wherewithal for defence but which are supposed to raise the economy of a country to higher levels, thereby putting the people in a stronger position to meet any emergencies that they might have to face.

A country does not normally go about talking of the steps it takes for defence. Our stress, in particular, has been on peace and

will continue to be on peace but that does not mean any kind of forgetfulness of the country's basic requirements in regard to defence. Whether to have guns or butter always comes up before a country. Well, we have very little butter in this country. As it is, it is difficult enough to resist the temptation to give more butter—the necessary amenities of life. But when a country is industrially advanced its apparatus can either manufacture the good things of life, or guns and warlike equipment. Hitler decided in favour of guns and he got them and fought a great war. In our case, it happens that we have still to lay the foundation whether for guns or for butter. The choice really comes after the foundation is laid. Both for guns and butter we have to lay as rapidly and as firmly as we can the foundations of heavy industry. Of course, for war or for peace, one wants adequate food. It is obvious one cannot fight or work hard even for peaceful purposes on an empty stomach. What I venture to point out is that the problem of choosing whether we can give up all the progress that we are envisaging in favour of guns and guns alone even though we are threatened on our borders does not arise.

The kind of crisis that we have to face today is not a short term crisis. It is a long term affair. Whatever our feelings may be, India and China are neighbouring countries bordering on each other for thousands of miles. That border is going to continue and the two countries are going to be next to each other. Neither country can run away from that geographical position. Therefore, we have to think in long range terms also apart from the short term objectives that we have. The short term problem oppresses us, as we have to meet the questions of today and we have to find answers to these questions. But in approaching the present it is not a wise policy to weaken ourselves from the long-term point of view.

The strength of a nation comes from the technological development, in addition of course to discipline and unity. All the courage of a people does not ultimately take the place of technological progress in the modern world. That fact I should like the House to remember because we have to make vital choices, and cannot merely react to circumstances without thinking of the future results of our reactions. Our future policy includes not merely building up the nation technologically but in building up good relations with other countries and what we have done in this matter in the last few years has borne fruit in the practical domain. If it is said as it is said sometimes in criticism or disdain, that we proclaimed *Hindi Chai bhai bhai* and ignored the realities of the situation, well I shall reply that I do not know who exactly started this *Hindi Chai bhai bhai* but whoever did it, did a good thing because that should be our attitude to every country. If the

House will remember the same ~~Man has become a repeated~~ whoever comes here from any country. Of course it can be done. It may be done at the wrong time and the wrong place which is irritating. But my point is that the friendly approach is always the right approach.

Tomorrow we are going to welcome the great leader of a nation. Why do we welcome him? For many reasons. We know he is a great leader of a great nation, but fundamentally because he is a messenger of peace today in the world, and the heart of our country which is so devoted to peace, goes out to him. When he comes here with this message on his lips and in his heart, we have welcomed others too in that spirit. We believe firmly that peace is better than war. Nevertheless, if the country's freedom or its integrity or its honour is attacked, we have to defend it, and if necessary. As things are, we must be prepared for such a crisis in an adequate way. It is a military problem, not a political one, but to utilize every ounce of energy in the solution of it is a military problem. It means putting an end to indiscipline that weakens the nation. It means fashioning our Five Year Plans, not in a different way. It means austerity and hardship. I shall not quote the words of a famous man, "Blood and sweat and tears."

Apart from the obvious responsibilities in Indian territory our responsibilities towards neighbouring countries, Sikkim, Bhutan, stand by them whatever the consequences on a separate footing and let us not mix up. It is an independent country just as India is. It chooses to do in the exercise of that independence in the way. But, if I mentioned Nepal because over nine years ago, there was a treaty between the Governments of Nepal and India, no military alliance. It was a clear advantage for both. In order to inform Members' minds, I shall read out the text of this treaty between India and Nepal, which was signed on July 31, 1950. I shall read out the articles.

Article I states

"That the two Governments shall respect the complete sovereignty and independence of each other"

Article 2 states

"That the two Governments hereby undertake to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighbouring State likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations existing between the two Governments. Now apart from the treaty—but as an essential, operative part of that—there was an exchange of letters between the two Governments in identical language, as is the custom. In these letters there is this sentence

"Neither Government shall tolerate any threat to the security of the other by a foreign aggressor. To deal with any such threat, the two Governments shall consult with each other and devise effective counter measures."

This was the clear understanding arrived at and therefore, I thought it desirable to state it. In fact, I was a little surprised that people did not know this. The words may not have been known but the position itself is pretty well known. I want to make it perfectly clear that this understanding has nothing to do with any kind of unilateral action on our part. We cannot do it we will not do it. It is for the Government of Nepal to decide but it is in mutual interest—as stated in these letters and the treaty—for us to associate ourselves, first of all in knowledge as to what is happening and, secondly in the counter measures that might have to be taken. The Prime Minister of Nepal said something the other day on this subject and may I say that I entirely agree with his interpretation of this position?

For the last many years we have laboured through our Five Year Plans to build up the prosperity of this country as well as its strength. The two are allied. It is recognized in the greater part of the world that the progress we have made has been remarkable. We are not comparing ourselves with other countries like China. It may be—at probably is—that the progress China has made industrially I mean the rate, is faster and the results are greater. I do not exactly know and I am not prepared to accept that as a fact but we have also tied up with our industrial and economic progress, certain other conceptions of human dignity and individual freedom and I take it that we are not prepared to give up those conceptions which we value. It is not for me to say what China or some other country might do but it is for us to lay down our own basic conceptions. One has to pay a certain price for these conceptions of human dignity and freedom. In fact these conceptions can only flourish broadly speaking in peacetime. One of the first things that a war brings is the suppression of much that an individual stands for and the progressive degradation of the human spirit. So we have to try to hold to our anchorage and to our ideals, and

yet make good. That is the basic problem before us and that problem comes up before us at a time when there are new horizons all over the world. It is a peculiar misfortune that we should at such a time be confronted with a situation which threatens military conflict and war. It is not of our seeking as the world knows. But whether it is of our seeking or not, we have to face it and we have to prepare ourselves for it with all our strength all the time trying to find peaceful methods of solving these problems.

THE WHOLE PICTURE of the world is changing so far as India is concerned and India's borders are concerned. Here is a historical change of the greatest magnitude. For the first time two major powers of Asia face each other on an armed border. For the first time a world power or would be world power sits near our borders and frontiers. Even if we are a hundred per cent friendly with them, the fact remains that here is a mighty power sitting on our borders. And we are not a mean or weak country. So we face each other there. I am glad that Mr K. M. Panikkar with his great experience of both these countries, drew attention to this major historical fact.

Look also at the other picture—both China and India trying with more or less success to move out of a traditional form of society into something new. I am not going into the deeper question of whether technological advance is enough for a country. I should say not. Ethical, moral, spiritual changes are equally necessary to give a country any sound foundation. But I am not going to discuss them, but rather the advance of science and technology changing the ways of living and bringing more food, more clothing, more of everything that people need. You see in China one of the most fundamental revolutions in history taking place, something convulsing 600 million people. We see in India mighty changes in the 400 million people, not brought about by those abrupt and violent methods which we have seen in China, nevertheless big changes.

In this country in whatever line we move, whether it is the army or whether it is the civil service, we are restricted, limited, constrained, cabined by our old habits of government and the rest. There is delay in the implementation of policies because of procedures. This kind of thing does not apply, of course, to the Chinese Government. They have no parliament to discuss things. They decide and they order and it is done. I am not saying that Parliament should not discuss things. I am talking about how things

can be done fast in China whether rightly or wrongly. Our procedures have been inherited from the old British times. Theoretically they are good, with checks and counter-checks. But they result in great delay. In the same manner I submit, we are tied up in our mental processes. We have got here to face a situation which can only be faced by strength. We have to build up that strength as rapidly as possible.

All the world is talking about President Eisenhower's visit here. The visit of President Eisenhower would have been important at any time because he represents a great nation. He is a great man. But particular importance attaches to his visit today here, not because of our trouble on the border but because at great trouble and inconvenience, he is visiting a number of countries in Europe and Asia in pursuit of peace. That is why wherever he goes he finds a tremendous welcome, from Governments and from the people. Why is this turn taking place in the Western world? The Governments and the people there are moving in a new direction not because of humanitarian reasons, but because countries today even members of the so-called nuclear club cannot protect themselves if there is a war. They can destroy others but they cannot protect themselves. Therefore these statesmen are trying their hardest to get rid of fears and suspicions and find some way of living with the people across their borders, some way of co-existence. Let us hope that they will succeed.

I refer to this matter because we have to consider even our problems in the context of these larger developments. The question is not, as some people say "How can you put your trust in China?" Frankly no country puts its entire trust in any other country. They may be more favourably inclined or less but they have always to keep a loop-hole in their minds that the other party will not play. The safer thing is for the national interests to be more or less in line with international interests. It is not a question of my trusting China or not trusting it but it is a question nevertheless, of my realizing that China and India, two great countries, are going through enormous changes which are strengthening them, making them powerful, modern States and that they are next to each other and have to remain for millennia to come, next to each other. All these questions come up. In the context of today we have to take every possible step to protect our integrity, our freedom and our self-respect. But I want this House and the millions of people in the country to realize that beyond the problems of today stretches the vista of the future. Otherwise they will decide wrongly and lose all the enthusiasm and energy that they possess by taking shelter in jingoistic and chauvinistic cries. That would be a tragedy because we shall become a nation not of depth but of effervescence.

In the early years of the Chinese Republic, Mr Panikkar was our Ambassador there. I read through his notes on the subject and our notes to him and our decisions. From the very first day this problem about our frontier was before us. The question was whether we should raise it in an acute form at that stage. We decided not to—whether it was right or wrong you can judge now—and still we do not see how we could have decided otherwise. With all the material that was before us at the time, we decided that we must make clear in every possible way that our frontier was, in our opinion clear in our maps, clear in our statements, clear to the world and clear to China and clear to our own people. We declared it openly in Parliament. Why did we have to go about asking China to raise this question when we felt sure about it? Why invite discussion about a thing on which we had no doubt? But we might with hindsight, say that that was not a very wise policy. At no time during this entire period did they challenge our maps. They did not accept them in so many words but they never challenged them. And they never raised this question themselves and all that they said about their own maps was that they had to be revised. Now I wish to admit that a lingering doubt remained in my mind and in my Ministry's mind as to what might happen in the future. But we did not see how we were going to decide this question by hurling it in that form at the Chinese at the moment. We felt that we should hold by our position and that the lapse of time and events would confirm it, and by the time the challenge came we would be in a much stronger position to face it. It is not as if it was not thought about. After the longest and clearest thinking and consultations with those who were concerned between our ambassadors our Foreign Affairs Committee and others, we came to this decision. This was discussed again and again after every two or three years, and whenever a new contingency arose.

Then came the period of the Tibetan Agreement of 1954. Again we considered it at length. Should we bring this question of the recognition of the McMahon Line positively into the forefront? An hon. Member asked "Why did you not ask them to recognize it?" Well what exactly was the *quid pro quo*? They were sitting in Tibet. Our telling them that we did not recognize it would mean nothing. What were we supposed to say? Was it a question of non-recognition of the Chinese Government? "We do not recognize you. We break off relations with you because you do not recognize the McMahon Line" or as some people go on saying "We do not recognize the Chinese sovereignty or suzerainty over Tibet." Were we going that far? They were sitting there and our saying anything to them would make no difference. It is rather infantile to think that they would have been frightened by our saying it.

The result would have been that they would have achieved their dominance over Tibet completely and we would have quarrelled with them and come near breaking point. The trouble on the frontier would have come immediately not now but years ago. Thus business of saying that we should have insisted on this and that we should have asked them to guarantee this and that, we should have made them commit themselves to this or that does not fit in with the facts of life. Some argument based on high moral principles might be advanced but such an argument by itself does not influence Foreign Offices.

Mr Ganga Sharan and others seemed to have an idea that there has been negligence. Maybe we have been negligent in various places, but in our broad policy in regard to our frontiers I claim that we have not been negligent. We could have pushed ahead with more of road building or building lines of communication. But then it always becomes a question of balancing things. Here we are struggling with our Five Year Plans and the like. We have to see whether we should spend so much more on the development of a frontier area or in some other sector which would bring in quicker results, say a steel plant or a fertilizer plant.

Dr Kunnru referred to the Border Committee Report. There was another committee also. Last evening I got the report and looked through it again. The North and the North Eastern Border Committee was appointed in 1951. This committee made a large number of recommendations and these recommendations were examined by an *ad hoc* committee of Secretaries and finally by the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. An overwhelming number of the recommendations made were accepted and implemented. Among the major recommendations were the reorganization and expansion of the Ansam Rifles, the extension of administration in the NEFA area, development of intelligence network along the border, development of the border areas, development of civil armed police, development of communications and check-posts. Our position in regard to Nepal was considered separately. All these recommendations, barring a few, were accepted and they have been implemented some time ago. So far as the development of the border areas was concerned the Ministry of Home Affairs took up this question with the State Governments concerned and provision was made for this in the Five Year Plans, the Centre giving substantial help. This development included road communications, schools, hospitals, tribal welfare, animal husbandry etc. The construction of a number of roads was entrusted to Army engineers, especially in NEFA. The Ministry of Transport was also entrusted with laying a number of roads. Some of these roads have been completed, some are being constructed and a few were not accepted or not proceeded with,

either for tactical reasons or because expenditure on the construction of such roads was colossal and out of proportion to the good that they may do. So broadly speaking it may be said that nearly all the recommendations made by the committee were accepted and implemented.

I have referred to our industrial development from the defence point of view. I want to expedite it. We have to think of how we are to face the next few years. We have to deal with it in the military sense, and we propose to give opportunities to our young men to be trained in the N.C.C., the Territorial Army or the Special Force that we may raise.

There is one fact which might be remembered when people think sometimes of obtaining outside aid. They probably imagine that in my conceit I say that I will not take outside aid. I certainly have a little conceit about India's standing on its own legs. I cannot, however, say what we may do in an eventuality. But I do not want this idea to get into our people that others will help us and preserve our freedom. I do not want India to go on crutches. The type of warfare we are dealing with is warfare which requires stout men, not machines so much. The type of aid that one gets from abroad consists of machines, but such machines do not help in these mountain areas. We want stout and trained men, men of the mountains who are used to high altitudes who are used to terribly cold climates who are used to hardships. We want young men who physically are in A 1 condition.

METHOD OF NEGOTIATION

THREE DAYS AGO on December 18 I received through our Ambassador in Peking Premier Chou En-lai's reply to my letter of November 16.

I read this letter with regret. It does not accept the reasonable and practical proposals which I had made to Premier Chou En-lai in order to secure an immediate lessening of tension along the Sino-Indian border and thus to create the necessary atmosphere for a peaceful settlement of the border problem. It is merely a reiteration of claims to extensive areas in our territory which by his ory, by custom or by agreement have long been integral parts of India. It does not contain any reply to the detailed letter which I had sent to

him on September 26 and the Note of November 4 in which some salient facts bearing on the situation had been mentioned. Premier Chou En-lai has stated in his letter that he would send a reply to this previous letter and the Note of mine in the near future.

I have today sent a reply to Premier Chou En-lai referring to the above facts and stating that I am sorry to find that he had based his claim on recent intrusions by Chinese personnel into parts of Indian territory. It is, in fact, these intrusions which had brought about the present situation and created apprehensions. I have further stated that I cannot accept the allegation that Indian forces had occupied any part of Chinese territory or committed aggression at the Kongka Pass or at Longju, where our established check post was attacked by Chinese troops.

Premier Chou En-lai in his letter has spoken of the 'friendly manner' in which Indian personnel who were captured in the Chenmo Valley were treated. I have referred him again to the statement of Mr Karam Singh about the treatment that he and his colleagues received while they were prisoners in the custody of the Chinese border forces. This statement clearly indicates the deplorable treatment to which the Indian prisoners were subjected.

Premier Chou En-lai had suggested that he and I should meet on December 26 so as to reach an agreement on the principles which are presumably to guide the officials on both sides in the discussion of details. I have repeated what I have said previously that I am always ready to meet and discuss with him the outstanding differences between our countries and explore avenues of settlement. I have, however, pointed out that I do not see how we can reach an agreement on principles when there is such complete disagreement about the facts. I would prefer to wait for his promised reply to my letter of September 26 and our Note of November 4 before we discuss what should be the next step. I have added that it is quite impossible for me to proceed to Rangoon or any other place within the next few days.

In my reply I have expressed my agreement with him in regard to the sentiments which he had expressed in the last paragraph of his letter to the effect that the principal concern of our two countries should be 'with the programme of long term peaceful construction to lift ourselves from our present state of backwardness, and that we should not be parties to the increasing of tension between our two countries or in the world.' India has welcomed the fact that there is some lowering of world tensions and that the world situation is developing in a direction favourable to peace. It is for this reason, even apart from the imperative need to improve the relations between our two countries that in spite of recent events,

I have continually stressed the need for a peaceful settlement of our problems.

ACHARYA KRIPALANI Sir as you know I and some Opposition Parties have given notice under Rule 193 of the Rules of Procedure that we are desirous of having a discussion on the latest letter received from the Chinese Premier in reply to the Prime Minister's letter dated November 16, 1959. I am anxious to have this discussion because I find that they have rejected the Prime Minister's proposals further because we seem to have forgotten the importance of time. For many years, while aggression was going on in Ladakh we did nothing and the Chinese Premier calls that "eloquent proof" of our having accepted the Chinese contention. It becomes very necessary that we must in time decide what we propose to do because I feel that the tone of the letter and the contents of the letter are such that there seems to be no possibility of any negotiations.

THE PRIME MINISTER Sir the House knows that I am always willing to have discussions about any important matter arising in connection with foreign affairs. But I really do not understand the argument of the hon. Member that time is passing and somehow the passage of time will be arrested by discussion. As for negotiations, so far as I am concerned and so far as this Government is concerned we will negotiate and negotiate and negotiate to the bitter end. I absolutely reject the approach of stopping negotiations at any stage. A further discussion at this juncture when we are in the middle of the correspondence will not be helpful. But, Sir I am in your hands. It is up to you and the House to decide whether to have a discussion.

I HAVE LISTENED with considerable attention to the various speeches made. There were naturally exhibitions of resentment and anger at what the Chinese had done. The basic thing is clear. Where a nation's honour and self respect are concerned, one cannot proceed on the basis of barter, haggling and the tactics of the market place. But about the next step namely what we should do much has been argued. If we really stop negotiations, the alternative is war or just sitting tight and doing nothing. Mr Jaipal Singh referred to what he considered the intermediate or middle course such as we have adopted towards South Africa and Portugal. These examples are not very helpful. Acharya Kripalani mentioned economic sanctions. Another hon. Member talked about a punitive

police action. I do not see how economic sanctions have the slightest effect in the present situation. We have very little trade with China. We had some trade with Tibet which has dwindled chiefly because of Chinese activities on the other side. As for police action, I am rather surprised that the hon. Member who has been a gallant soldier should put forward the idea. You can have police action against some very weak adversary in a situation where the police can function and get results.

Here are two countries, both strong both huge and both incapable of being defeated by the other. It is absurd for anyone in China or elsewhere to imagine that China, however powerful she may be, is going ultimately to defeat India in case of war. I think China knows that too. It is equally absurd for anyone to imagine that India is going to defeat China in a great war. Whether we talk about negotiation or anything else, let me make it clear that any kind of further step that the Chinese may take will be resisted wherever it may be and to the best of our ability. As a matter of fact, that has been our policy. In NEFA, apart from that very tiny enclave of about three or four miles, Longu, it is because of our strength there and our determination to resist that we have prevented their entry into NEFA. In all these border areas whether it is Uttar Pradesh or Himachal Pradesh or the Punjab we have prevented their entry and will prevent it.

The difficulties that have arisen are in regard to the fairly large area in eastern Ladakh which, apart from the Aksai Chin area they entered during the last summer mostly. It may be said that we should have been in a position to prevent that. If we had directed all our attention to it earlier it might probably have been done. The present position can be resolved basically in two ways by an attempt at negotiation or by compulsion and coercion which may be less than war or war itself. While trying to settle it by negotiation at the same time, one strengthens oneself. No country in the world would refuse to negotiate, no matter how much it opposes another. We have had, in recent months, serious incidents between the Soviet Union and the United States of America—shooting down bombers, etc. They have still talked about them. They have not declared war.

Acharya Kripalani has referred to our publicity. The dispute has excited world-wide interest naturally because of the potentialities of big-scale trouble. Every country has watched it and studied it and we have helped them to study it. If those countries do not immediately accept, let us say Acharya Kripalani's viewpoint, it is not necessarily true that we are at fault. One seems to imagine that if we shout loudly enough about what we feel the other party or other country will agree to it. Publicity goes a very small way in

these matters. Real publicity consists in placing the material as far as possible. In judging matters outside India do we decide in somebody's favour because their publicity hits us on the head? We judge such things from our own sources and our own information. Other countries, too, have their ambassadors, ministers and agents of publicity to get information.

Much has been said about the McMahon Line. I have not the shadow of a doubt in my mind that the McMahon Line is right. I would go further and say that the McMahon Line itself was the laying down of something that existed before it. It was the justification of the traditional border there. It is not the McMahon Line that created the border. Take Ladakh. The present history of Ladakh goes back to the period when there was war between the ruler of Ladakh Maharaja Gulab Singh and the ruler of Tibet, both being feudatories of others. The war ended in the victory of Gulab Singh's forces and that resulted in a treaty acknowledging that Ladakh was part of the Kashmir State territory. The boundary was not demarcated on the ground but was later laid down in maps by some British surveyors. Questions may arise about minor points here and there but the basic thing is not about these border troubles, but this rather massive infiltration into Ladakh which has taken place to the best of my knowledge chiefly during the last summer apart from the Aksai Chin area.

The argument—if it is raised—that “we are here and we have taken possession of this territory therefore it is ours” would be an utterly wrong argument. The sovereignty of a country does not change because somebody comes and sits in a corner of it.

MUCH HAS TO BE UNDONE

WE ARE MEETING here today to do honour to the Prime Minister of China who is our respected guest not only in his individual capacity but also as the representative of a great nation. We have had the privilege and pleasure of welcoming him on several occasions previously in our country. It was a matter of deep satisfaction to us that the two great countries of Asia—India and China—were forging bonds of friendship in the present age even as they had lived in friendship through ages past. This friendship and

co-operation appeared to us to be a guarantee of peace in Asia. Thus this friendship with this great neighbour of ours became one of the corner-stones of India's policy.

We meet today however under different circumstances when serious disagreements have unfortunately arisen between us. That is a misfortune for all of us and I think, for the world. It is a double misfortune for us in India because we have been conditioned for long years past to believe in peace and in peaceful methods and to consider war a thing of horror unbecoming to civilized nations. We have opposed not only war but also what is called the cold war because this represented the approach of hatred and violence. We have endeavoured to follow in our limited and imperfect way the teaching of two great sons of India, the Buddha and Gandhi.

It is strange and a matter for great sorrow for us that events should have so shaped themselves as to challenge that very basis of our thinking and caused our people to apprehend danger on our peaceful frontiers along the great Himalayan mountains which we have loved for thousands of years and which have stood as sentinels guarding and inspiring our people.

You Sir have come here at this critical moment and we welcome your visit. Much has happened which has pained our people, much has been done which we think should be undone much has been said which had better been left unsaid. We have to try to the best of our ability to find a right and peaceful solution to the problems that have arisen. That solution must be in consonance with the dignity and self respect of each country as well as in keeping with the larger cause of peace in Asia and the world.

We have raised the banner of peace before other countries and we cannot afford and the world can ill afford to let this slip from our hands.

We meet here at a difficult and crucial moment in the world's history and in our own relations. Thousands of years of two great and ancient civilizations stand witness to our meeting and the hopes of hundreds of millions for a happier future are tied up in our endeavours. Let us pray for our success so that we may be true to this part of ours as well as the future that beckons to us. For our part, I can assure you, Mr Prime Minister that we shall endeavour to do our utmost so that our efforts may lead to success and to the maintenance of peace with dignity and self respect of both our great nations. As the Buddha said the real victory is the victory of all which involves no defeat.

I feel that you have the same urge for peace and co-operation and that, with our joint endeavours, we shall not only halt the unhappy process of deterioration in our countries relations but also take a step towards their betterment.

MEETING OF THE PRIME MINISTERS

LAST NIGHT soon after the issue of the joint communique Premier Chou En lai held a Press conference. It was a very prolonged Press conference which I believe lasted for about two hours and a half. There is some reference to it in this morning's papers, but they have been unable to give a full report, which possibly may appear tomorrow. I myself have not seen the full report of that, but such things as I have seen indicate that he had naturally stated and given expression to his point of view which is certainly not that of the Government of India.

MR. MAHANTY What are our reactions to these six points?

THE PRIME MINISTER We do not agree to them. The points were—I am reading from the script which he gave to the Press.

"1 There exists a dispute on the boundary between the two parces.

Of course there exist disputes.

"2 There exists between the two countries a line of actual control up to which each side exercises administrative jurisdiction.

MR. MAHANTY I may be pardoned for interrupting but does the Prime Minister draw a line of distinction between the area under administrative control and the geographical area?

THE PRIME MINISTER There is no question of administrative control. What it says is, not very happily, not correctly, that there is a line of actual control, broadly meaning military control.

MR. HEM BARUA That would mean that Longju and part of Ladakh would be in their hands, and that the *status quo* should be maintained.

THE PRIME MINISTER Longju is in their hands. It means military control.

"3 While determining the boundary between the two countries, certain geographical principles such as watershed, river valley and mountain passes could be applicable equally to all sectors of the boundary."

We naturally agree that watersheds are very important factors—the most important factors in mountainous regions, river valleys etc. It does not carry us anywhere.

"4 A settlement of the boundary question between the two countries should take into account the national feelings of the two peoples for the Himalayas and the Karakoram mountains."

I take it as a response to the fact that the Himalayas are an intimate

part of India and Indian culture. If the Chinese feel strongly about the Karakoram, they are welcome to do so. I have no objection to it.

MR. HEM BARUA: Do they mean a plebiscite there?

THE PRIME MINISTER: There is no reference to a plebiscite anywhere. We cannot have a plebiscite of the mountain peaks in the Himalayas.

- 5 Pending settlement of the boundary question through discussions, both sides should keep to the line of actual control and should not put forward territorial claims as preconditions, but individual adjustments may be made."

Whatever the explanation of that may be, it is rather an odd way of putting it. Presumably it means that they will not discuss anything unless the territorial claim is accepted. It may be that it is not quite clear.

- 6 In order to ensure tranquillity on the border so as to facilitate the discussions, both sides should continue to refrain from patrolling along all sectors of the boundary."

AN HON. MEMBER: Which boundary?

THE PRIME MINISTER: This is what he has said. This is not something that I agreed to. In fact he said before this, that

On the boundary question, it is not impossible for the two sides to find a common point or points of proximity which in my view may be summarized as follows

and then he has summarized them. He has given his view. It is not so clear but there it is. I am not agreeable to this particular approach but I should like to make one or two things clear.

I believe he was asked something like "Were you asked to vacate?" In what form, I do not remember. I think his answer was

MR. A. B. VAJPAVEY: He is reported to have said that the issue of Chinese aggression was not raised by India.

THE PRIME MINISTER: He said that he was not asked to vacate or something like that.

The Prime Minister of the Chinese People's Republic presumably came here because something important had happened, the important thing being that, according to us, they had entered a large area of our territory which we considered aggression. That was the whole basis of his coming here. And hon. Members may remember that in one or two public statements I made at the airport and at the banquet I had repeatedly referred to something having been done which should be undone. Our whole argument was based on the Chinese forces having come into our territory. Their argument was that they had always been there—not those particular

forces, but the Chinese authorities either of Sinkiang in the north or of Tibet had been in constructive or actual possession of these areas for two hundred years. That was such a variance in the factual state that there was no meeting ground. We repeat, again after all these talks, that their forces came into this area within quite recent times, in the course of the last year and a half or so. That is our case to which we hold.

In the course of our long talks, we listened to each other. Talking with interpreters who interpret Chinese into the English language is a very laborious process. It takes three times the length of time that a normal talk takes. An hour's talk will become a three-hour talk with interpretation into Chinese. In the prolonged talks that took place this basic disagreement about historical and actual facts came up again and again.

We are quite clear in our minds about our facts and we have stated them, and we are prepared to establish them with such material as we have. The Chinese position was basically different historically actually practically.

Also an attempt was made to equate the eastern sector with the western sector. That is, according to the Chinese we had no right to be there in the eastern sector but we had advanced gradually in the course of the last eight to ten years, to the present boundary line which we call the McMahon Line. They equated it to the western sector although the conditions are quite different and the facts are quite different.

Thus the actual discussion came up against a rock of entirely different sets of data. If data differ if inferences differ arguments differ. If the basic facts are different then there is no meeting ground at all.

Therefore it was suggested, and ultimately agreed to that these facts should be explored from the material available with us and with the Chinese Government. I had suggested that it might be done here and now. While we were prepared to do it, they said they did not have most of their material here. Thereafter it was suggested that this factual examination might be done on an official basis after our talks. This was agreed to.

It is obvious that the officials who might do it have no authority or competence to deal with the political aspect of the problem in the sense of suggesting a solution or recommending anything. That is not their function. All they can do is to examine facts and, as stated in the communique to list, more or less the facts that are agreed to the facts on which there is a difference of opinion and those on which perhaps some further enquiry may be necessary. I do not imagine that this process will clarify the situation and make it easy of solution. But it might make some basic facts somewhat

clearer. At any rate we would know exactly on what evidence their case stands. At the moment we do not know that only what they state. They know our evidence to some extent, not all of it. When they could not produce all their evidence, there was no reason why we should produce all of ours. Anyhow some of our officials are going to meet some of their officials with our set of facts, material, documents etc. and to examine their set of material maps, documents, revenue reports, revenue records, etc. They will give an objective report which, presumably will not be a report in which both agree. That report presumably will then be considered by the two Governments and they will decide what other steps might be taken. Meanwhile we have to avoid clashes on the border areas, because these clashes help nobody.

MR. BRAJ RAJ SINGH. I want to know whether the Prime Minister is convinced that these meetings at Peking and New Delhi between our officials and the Chinese officials will bring in any fruit.

THE PRIME MINISTER. How can I say? They may throw some light on the factual situation. But by themselves they cannot take us very far.

MR. MAHADEV TYAGI. I wonder if it would be possible at any stage during these negotiations to make the people of India aware of their facts and their claims.

THE PRIME MINISTER. Neither their facts nor our facts are secret. Our facts are well known so are theirs except in minor matters. In two or three sentences, I shall place them before the House now.

Their case is that from immemorial times at any rate for hundreds of years their border has been from the Karakoram range to the Hongka Pass. Unless you have maps, you will not be able to understand it. If you accept that border a large area of Ladakh is cut off. They say that the northern part of this area pertained to Sinkiang not to Tibet at all, and the lower part to Tibet. That is their case, broadly. They say that it is not the present Government but the previous Chinese Government that came there. They referred to something that I had said in Parliament here which some hon. Members perhaps did not like. They took advantage of that from their own point of view. They said, "How is possession possible there is an area which is an arid area where nobody lives?"

MR. HEM BARUA. We pointed that out.

THE PRIME MINISTER. They said that most of this area was like the Gobi desert. They did not have normal administrative apparatus there but constructive control with an administrative officer or tax-collector going there sometimes. They added, "But we have been in constructive and actual possession of this all along long before the present People's Government came."

But one thing which is worth noticing is that throughout our correspondence or talks, they have never precisely given their boundaries by defining the latitude longitude mountain peaks, etc. as we have done. Hon. Members will see how even in the White Paper we have given our boundary very precisely. But our efforts to get their boundary precisely did not succeed.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH The Prime Minister has said that we have agreed to avoid clashes. Does it mean that our patrol personnel will not go to patrol our territory?

THE PRIME MINISTER The communique says that every effort should be made by the parties to avoid friction and clashes in the border areas. That is a general direction which we take and which we give. It is difficult and partly undesirable to be precise about it. We cannot immobilize people. But it is right to tell them that they should not take any step which obviously brings them into conflict.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH That is not my point. There is a long distance separating the Chinese-occupied area of Ladakh and the area actually administered by us. I want to know what will be the situation if our patrol personnel are not allowed to patrol the territory?

THE PRIME MINISTER Our people will be completely free to move about these areas without coming into conflict.

MR. A. B. VAJPAYEE Has the Government committed itself that pending factual investigation no steps will be taken to eject the Chinese from Indian soil?

THE PRIME MINISTER I should think that it was absolutely clear. You either have war or you have some kind of talks. You cannot have something in between the two.

THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE issued on the conclusion of the talks is not a very long document. It is only about a page and a half and it is the outcome of about twenty or twenty two hours of talk and discussion. The significant sentence in the communique is that in spite of all these efforts no solution was found. The rest shows that the attempt to find solutions is not being given up and will be kept up as long as there is any hope.

I have no doubt that it was not only right but worthwhile for us to have invited Premier Chou En-lai here and to have had these talks. Although these talks have not helped in the least in the solution of the problems, they have certainly given a greater understanding to us of the mind of the Chinese Government and to the Chinese Premier of the mind of the Indian Government. And that was why

I was anxious that Premier Chou En-lai and his colleagues should meet as many members of our Government as possible to see that it was not just one spokesman who was putting across the mind of the Indian Government, and, I hope, of the Indian people.

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"The brief discussion we have had here has ranged over a wide field although not going deeply into any particular aspect.

Reference has been made to a new road. This new road, according to our information, had been built there some time early last year. Mr Ganga Sharan Sinha asked: How was it built there? How did we allow it to be built? The road was built in the area which had some time previously been occupied by the Chinese. There is a reference to this road, which is west of the Aksai Chin road, in some of the papers and in our White Paper. There is reference to it in Mr Karam Singh's evidence in the White Paper. I drew the attention of Premier Chou En-lai also to the building of this new road. He did not seem to be fully aware of what had been done. So he could not enlighten me about it.

So far as the original Aksai Chin road was concerned it was an old caravan route, hundreds and hundreds of years old. This has always been used as a caravan route by people going from Sinkiang to Tibet. This and the near by route were used by the Chinese forces, probably in 1951 or maybe 1952 that is to say soon after the Chinese Government came to Tibet. It was not a road proper but they used it for taking materials, supplies, forces, etc. Three or four years later probably in 1957 or 1958 they built some kind of a road there. In the last eighteen months (less, perhaps, according to our information and our belief) they occupied a number of other places in the Ladakh area, apart from the Aksai Chin area. And later about the middle of last year they built the other road in the area controlled by them. It was not obviously possible for us to stop the building of that road because they controlled that area. Either we control it by pushing them out or we cannot prevent their building that road. That is the position.

Then there is the question of what Premier Chou En-lai has said at Kathmandu. He has made a complaint that some things that I said were unfriendly. Also he said, I think at his press conference in Delhi that I had not used the word "aggression" or described the Chinese action as one of aggression. The whole discussion was about the Chinese forces having entered the Indian territory. We were discussing it in great detail. Our whole case was that they had entered our territory and therefore committed aggression. Whether I used the word "aggression" or not I have no

ection, but the whole purport of the argument was that aggression had been committed and that it should be vacated. It was no good my going on telling him to vacate the aggression, which I did in a different language, when he was telling "Vacate the aggression you are in our territory" You cannot go on an argument this way his telling me something and my telling him the exact reverse of it all the time. We had necessarily to discuss the facts.

Dr. Kunzru referred to the failure to find out what China wanted to be her boundary. That has been our attempt. Even in correspondence published in the White Paper we asked them repeatedly what was the precise boundary. They showed it in their maps. They showed it in some descriptions. But we wanted to know the precise boundary just as we gave them our precise boundary in terms of latitudes and longitudes and exact points. They have not done it. They did not do so when the officials met here either. In fact they said it had not been determined or demarcated precisely, therefore, we should sit down and demarcate it. Our reply has always been that while it is true that it is not demarcated on the ground it has been delineated precisely enough in maps, descriptions, etc., and it is not possible to demarcate it physically over the areas at all. Their present position is that we must demarcate it. They defined their boundary in the western sector as going down the Karakoram range down south to the Kongka Pass. But that is not the major watershed. There are two watersheds there, the major one which we claim to be the real boundary and the other one from the Karakoram range down south to the Kongka Pass. According to us, the one they indicated is wrong.

SINO-BURMESE BORDER TREATY

THIS QUESTION RELATES to the map which is attached to the recent treaty between Burma and China. It affects the northern corner of India which impinges on Burma and which in turn touches further up touches China. Three countries are involved in the question. What kind of treaty two independent countries like India and China may make between themselves about their boundaries is their concern. But where that touches our interests directly it becomes our concern also.

There has been no argument about our border there, in so far as Burma is concerned. First of all, that border has been defined, as we have often said, by natural boundaries which have been accepted by tradition custom and practice. Our boundary runs along the high Himalayan watershed which naturally separates the Tibetan plateau from the Indian sub-continent. In the eastern sector this traditional boundary of India was confirmed in 1914. That is what is known as the McMahon Line. When surveys were conducted in the implementation of the McMahon Line agreement, it was established as early as 1918 that the alignment met the Burma India boundaries at a point near the Talu Pass.

Successive Governments of India and Burma have accepted this location of the tri-junction. As early as 1957 it was noticed by the Government of India that in certain communications and published statements made by or on behalf of the Chinese Government references were made to suggest that the Chinese Government considered that the tri-junction lay not at the Talu Pass, but at the Diphu Pass, five miles further south. We drew the attention of the Burmese Government to the error and the Burmese Government confirmed that the northern boundaries of India and Burma meet near the Talu Pass, a few miles north of the Diphu Pass.

A joint committee of Burma and China met in pursuance of the agreement signed between the two countries and they conducted some surveys. As a precaution to ensure that this committee did not commit the earlier error and take any decision bilaterally in respect of the tri-junction with India, the Government of India in an informal Note presented to the Burmese Government in August 1960 recalled the previous correspondence and specified the exact co-ordinates of the tri-junction so that no decision was taken which might have an adverse effect on the boundaries and territories of India.

The Boundary Treaty was signed between Burma and China on October 1 1960. In this treaty no definite co-ordinates of the tri-junction had been mentioned.

We were informed by the Prime Minister of Burma that the Chinese Government did not agree that the tri-junction lay near the Talu Pass, but reaffirmed that it should lie near the Diphu Pass. It appears that ultimately the representatives of the Burmese and Chinese Governments agreed not to describe the precise location of the tri-junction in the treaty and left the point vague.

The House will recall that Premier U Nu in his speech before the Burmese Parliament delivered on December 5 1960 suggested that the actual tri-junction could not be determined until the boundary question between India and China was settled and, therefore had been purposely left undetermined. It was, however

explained by him that the Burmese and Chinese Governments had to indicate the tri-junction in the maps attached to the treaty and for the purpose of the maps the Diphu Pass was taken as the meeting point between the western extremity of the Burma China boundary and the eastern extremity of the India China boundary

Premier U Nu in his speech added that should the agreed boundary between China and India meet the Burmese boundary not at the Diphu Pass but at some other point, not only will the specific geographical location of that point have to be entered into the treaty but the map also will naturally have to be altered. The Burmese Government argued that because of the difference of views as regards the exact location of the tri-junction the agreement which had been reached on all other points could not remain unsigned and the Burmese Government were obliged to accept the Chinese contention as far as the cartographic delineation was concerned. We appreciate that the exact location has not been specified but this vague mention and the fact that the treaty maps showed the line as starting from the Diphu Pass, five miles south of the watershed are likely to have prejudicial effect on 75 square miles of Indian territory. The Government of India, therefore, in Notes presented to the Chinese and the Burmese Governments at the end of December 1960 made clear once again the exact co-ordinates of the tri junction stating that the traditional boundary running along the Himalayan watershed passed through the point near the Talu Pass and not the Diphu Pass which had been shown as the western extremity in the maps attached to the treaty. The Government of India could not recognize the erroneous depiction of the tri-junction since it has an adverse implication so far as the territorial integrity of India is concerned.

REPORT OF THE OFFICIAL DELEGATION

THE HOUSE KNOWS well enough how recent developments have created a wide gulf in the relations between India and China. We have felt strongly about it, and the House has also felt strongly about it. Nevertheless, we have tried to avoid, in so far as we can, taking any steps which may create unbridgeable chasms between the two countries. We have to look, at this moment of history not

only to the present but to the future, and the future of India and China who are neighbours to each other with vast populations, is of the highest importance to themselves and to the world. So we have tried to steer a middle course between our strong resentment and the steps we actually take in this context. We try not to allow ourselves merely in anger to do something which may create further problems and difficulties. Broadly our attitude has been to strengthen ourselves to prepare for any contingency and not in the slightest to give in on any matter which we consider important.

Some hon. Members have asked why we have not taken stronger action. The answer would be that one takes strong action when all other actions are precluded and also when one is prepared for strong action. A further answer would be that when the consequences are so vast and far-reaching one does not jump into that type of action unless there is absolutely no other way left.

The other actions which we have taken in regard to this matter—for instance, the delegation of officials who produced a report on the basis of a factual examination of materials—were in the nature of strengthening our position before the world, certainly before the Chinese Government and people, and preventing anything from happening which might weaken our position. The report which many hon. Members may have read is a product of patient hard work on the part of our officials. It is not something which is suddenly done. It is the result of years of research, before this Chinese trouble came. The fact that we hold on to a right position, without giving in is a sign of our strength and produces a certain continuing result. I do not rule it out—although it may seem unlikely today—that the strength and correctness of our position may dawn on the Chinese Government's mind. If so, I am going to try my best and see that it is appreciated by them and they realize that they have done a wrong thing from which they should withdraw.

INDO-CHINA STATES

A POLICY OF NON-INTERFERENCE

AMONG THE COUNTRIES of Asia, I should briefly like to mention Indo-China which has come to the fore recently because of her internal conflicts. The policy we have pursued in regard to Indo-

China has been one of absolute non-interference. Our interference could at best be a theoretical one. I do not think that either a theoretical or any other kind of interference in the affairs of a country struggling for freedom can do any good because the countries which have been under colonial domination invariably resent foreign interference. Their nationalism cannot tolerate it and even if interference comes with the best possible motives, it is often regarded as a kind of weapon in the hands of those who are opposed to nationalism. Besides, interference exposes them to the possible slur that their nationalism is not a free, independent nationalism but that it is controlled by others. That is why we have sought deliberately not to interfere with Indo-China and we intend to continue this policy.

APPEAL FOR CEASE-FIRE

WHATEVER DIFFICULTIES might remain in Korea, at least the war has stopped. It is a very big achievement. Unfortunately war has not stopped in Indo-China. It is being continued in a very terrible way. It has been six years now since this Indo-China war began. All of us here and many others, I have no doubt, would obviously welcome some kind of ending to this war more especially when this matter is to be discussed two months from now by the great powers concerned. It seems a tremendous pity that this war should continue when a serious attempt is going to be made to find a way out. Certainly we have no desire to intervene in any way or intrude or involve ourselves. But I venture to suggest to all the parties and the powers concerned that in view of the fact that this matter of Indo-China is going to be discussed at the Geneva Conference two months later it might be desirable to have some kind of cease fire. The parties need not give up their positions, whatever they might consider their rights. Once one starts arguing about rights there will be no end. I would, therefore, make this very earnest appeal in all humility—and I am sure this House will join me—to the powers to strive to have a cease-fire in Indo-China.

THE HOUSE IS AWARE that in February last, France, the United States of America, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom agreed to convene a conference of themselves and the People's Republic of China to which other interested States are also to be invited, to consider respectively the problem of Korea and of Indo-China. This conference is to begin its sessions in Geneva next week.

We are not participants either in the conference or in the hostilities that rage in Indo-China. We are, however, interested in and deeply concerned about the problem of Indo-China and more particularly the recent developments in respect of it. We are concerned that the conference should seek to resolve this question by negotiation and succeed, so that the shadow of war which has for so long darkened our proximate regions and threatens to spread and grow darker might be dispelled. An appreciation of the basic realities of the problem, of the national and political sentiments involved and of the present political and military situation there is essential if the approach is to prove constructive and fruitful.

The conflict in Indo-China is, in its origin and essential character, born of a movement of resistance to colonialism and to attempts to deal with it by the traditional methods of suppression and divide-and-rule.

Foreign interventions have made the issue more complex; nevertheless, it remains basically anti-colonial and nationalist in character. The recognition of this aspect as well as the reconciliation of national sentiments for freedom and independence and safeguarding them against external pressures can alone form the basis of a settlement and of peace. The conflict itself, in spite of the heavy weapons employed and the large-scale nature of the operations, remains a guerrilla war in character with no fixed or stable fronts. The country is divided between the rival forces, but no well held frontiers demarcate their respective zones. Millions of Indo-Chinese combatants and others irrespective of what side they are on are killed or wounded or otherwise suffer and their country is rendered desolate.

In Indo-China the challenge to imperialism as a large-scale movement began in 1940 against the Japanese occupation. During the war against Japan, the United States and the Allied troops were assisted by the Viet Minh (founded in 1911) and by the other nationalist groups at the head of which was Ho Chi Minh. The Viet Minh proclamation of the time referred to the defence of democratic principles by the United States, the U.S.S.R., Britain and China" and asked the great powers to proclaim that after

the Japanese forces had been overthrown, the Indo-Chinese people will receive full autonomy"

After the war a provisional Government, of which five out of the fifteen members were communists and which was supported by moderate nationalists Catholics and others, was established. Ho Chi Minh was elected President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam which was proclaimed in September 1945 and was recognized by the then Government of China. On March 6 1946 France which had returned to Indo-China after the war signed an agreement with Ho Chi Minh, recognizing the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam "as a free State with its own Government, Parliament, Army and Finance and forming part of the Indo-Chinese Federation and the French Union. This arrangement, however did not last long. Conflict between Ho Chi Minh's Republic and the French Empire began in 1947 and has continued ever since. In June 1948 the French signed an agreement with Bao Dai the former Emperor of Annam and made him the head of Viet Nam which they recognized as an Associate State within the French Union. Similar agreements were made by the French with the two other States of Indo-China, the Kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia.

At this stage, the conflict in Indo-China began to assume its present ominous aspect of being a reflection of the conflicts between the two power blocs. Material aid and equipment given to France by the United States became available to the French for the war in Indo-China. The Viet Minh, on the other hand, although still maintaining that the war was a war against French colonialism, it was reported received supplies from the People's Republic of China, whose Government continued the recognition accorded to the "Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (Viet Minh) by its predecessor. Intervention followed intervention, and the ferocity of the war increased. Negotiations became increasingly difficult and abortive. It is against this background that the developments of recent months have taken place.

The first of these developments is the decision of the Berlin powers to have the problem considered by the Geneva Conference. We welcomed the idea of the conference and expressed our hope that it would lead to peace in Indo-China. We saw in it the decision to pursue the path of negotiation for a settlement. I ventured to make an appeal at the time for a cease-fire in Indo-China in a statement made in this House which was unanimously welcomed by the House.

While the decision about the Geneva Conference was a welcome development, it was soon followed by others which caused us concern and foreboding. Among these were (i) the repeated references to instant and massive retaliation, to possible attacks on

the Chinese mainland and statements about extending the scope and intensity of the hostilities in Indo-China and (2) an invitation to the Western countries, to the Anzus powers, and to some Asian States to join in united and collective action in South-East Asia. This was preceded by statements, which came near to assuming protection or declaring unilaterally a kind of Monroe Doctrine over the countries of South-East Asia.

There were thus indications of impending direct intervention in Indo-China and the internationalization of the war and its extension and intensification.

The Government of India regret deeply and are much concerned that a conference of such momentous character which was called together obviously because negotiation was considered both feasible and necessary should be preceded by a proclamation of what amounts to lack of faith in it, and of alternatives involving threats of sanctions.

Another element, which must further increase our misgivings, is the stepping up of the tempo of the war and the accentuation of supplies to Indo-China. Accentuated supplies have obviously come to the aid of the Viet Minh and it is alleged, enable them to mount great offensives calculated to secure military victories in order to condition the forthcoming conference to their advantage. To the French Viet Nam side aid from the United States has been stepped up and assurances of further aid have been made.

To us in India, these developments are of grave concern and of grievous significance. Their implications impinge on the newly won and cherished independence of Asian countries. The maintenance of the independence and sovereignty of Asian countries as well as the end of colonial and foreign rule are essential for the prosperity of Asian peoples and for the peace of the world.

We do not, for our part, seek any special role in Asia nor do we champion any narrow and sectional Asian regionalism. We only seek to keep ourselves and others particularly our neighbours to a peace area and to a policy of non-alignment in world tensions and wars. We believe this is essential for our own sake and for enabling us to make our contribution to world peace. The present developments, however have cast a deep shadow on our hopes they impinge on our basic policies and seek to contain us in alignments. Peace to us is not just a fervent hope it is an emergent necessity.

Indo-China is an Asian country and a proximate area. Despite her heavy sacrifices, the conflict finds her enmeshed in intervention and the prospect of her freedom is jeopardized. The crisis in respect of Indo-China therefore moves us deeply and calls from us our best efforts to avert an extension and intensification

of the conflict, and to promote trends that might lead to a settlement.

The Government of India feel convinced that despite their differences of outlook deep-seated suspicions and antagonistic claims, the great statesmen assembling at Geneva and their peoples have a common objective namely the averting of the tide of war. In their earnest desire to assist to resolve some of the difficulties and the deadlocks and to bring about a peaceful settlement, the Government of India venture to make the following suggestions.

(1) A climate of peace and negotiation has to be promoted and the suspicion and the atmosphere of threats that prevail sought to be dissipated. To this end the Government of India appeal to all concerned to desist from threats, and to the combatants to refrain from stepping up the tempo of the war.

(2) A cease fire. To bring this about, the Government of India propose (a) that the item of a "cease fire" be given priority on the agenda of the Indo-China Conference and (b) a cease-fire group be constituted consisting of the actual belligerents, namely France and her three Associated States and Viet Minh.

(3) Independence. The conference should decide and proclaim that it is essential to the solution of the conflict that the complete Independence of Indo-China that is, the termination of French sovereignty should be placed beyond all doubt by an unequivocal commitment by the Government of France.

(4) Direct negotiations between the parties immediately and principally concerned should be initiated by the conference. Instead of seeking to hammer out settlements itself the conference should give the parties all assistance to this end. Such direct negotiations would help in keeping the Indo-China question limited to the issues which concern and involve Indo-China directly. These parties would be the same as would constitute the cease-fire group.

(5) Non-intervention. A solemn agreement on non-intervention denying aid, direct or indirect with troops or war material to the combatants or for the purposes of war to which the United States, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom and China shall be primary parties, should be brought about by the conference. The United Nations, to which the decision of the conference shall be reported shall be requested to formulate a convention of non-intervention in Indo-China embodying the aforesaid agreement and including the provisions for its enforcement under the United Nations auspices. Other States should be invited by the United Nations to adhere to this convention of non-intervention.

(6) The United Nations should be informed of the progress of the conference. Its good offices for purposes of conciliation under the

appropriate Articles of the Charter and not for invoking sanctions, should be sought.

The Government of India make these proposals in all humility and with the earnest desire and hope that they will engage the attention of the conference as a whole and of each of the parties concerned. They consider the steps they have proposed to be both practicable and capable of immediate implementation.

The alternative is grim. Is it not time for all of us, particularly those who today are at the helm of world affairs, in the words of His Holiness the Pope, to perceive that peace cannot consist in an exasperating and costly relationship of mutual terror"?

*

I HAVE come to Ceylon on many occasions previously on work or just for the pleasure of a visit. But no previous visit of mine had the importance of the present one. I came here, as did the Prime Ministers of other South Asian countries, at the invitation of the Prime Minister of Ceylon to confer on matters of common interest. Even during this short interval since the invitation was given and accepted and our coming here, vital developments took place in the world and more especially in Asia. An added significance was thus given to our conference.

The mere fact of these five Prime Ministers of South Asia meeting together was a unique event of historic significance. Our meeting at this particular juncture, when the conflict in Indo-China is being considered, cast a special burden on us.

For five days we discussed these grave problems. It was not enough for us merely to express an opinion or pass resolutions. The new turn in history is casting new responsibilities upon the countries of Asia and, therefore whatever we may say or do must take into consideration this responsibility from which we cannot escape. Freedom has come to us, but the other counterpart of freedom is responsibility and obligation.

By and large, we had a common outlook on these grave problems, even though that common outlook might be tempered by the peculiar problems that each country has to face. Thus we made a beginning and I think it was a good beginning full of promise for the future. Even in the present, we have given, in language of moderation, clear expression to the way we look at world problems as well as our national problems. Our dominant passion and urgent necessity is for the maintenance of peace.

The question of Indo-China inevitably was dominant in our thoughts. Some time ago I ventured to put forward some

suggestions on behalf of the Government of India in regard to the conflict in Indo-China. The Prime Ministers Conference here has accepted that general approach and recommended certain steps in line with it & such if acted upon, I am sure will take us towards a solution in Indo-China. The problem is difficult. It has grown progressively more difficult as time has passed without solving it and if we fail again to take advantage of this present opportunity then I feel it is likely to grow much worse. Therefore we must not fail. The consequences of failure will be widespread and terrible.

The first thing is to limit this conflict and to have a cease-fire. Indeed a solution is not likely unless there is this limiting and unless the main burden of a solution is cast on the belligerent countries. In such cases outside interference adds to the complexity of the problem and to the dangers inherent in it. The Prime Ministers have suggested therefore that the principal countries concerned apart from the belligerents should come to an understanding to prevent a resumption of conflict after the cease-fire. An essential condition for this would be that other countries should not supply aid to the belligerents. The main difficulty we have had to face thus far has been the pouring in of military aid on either side by other countries.

Whether in Indo-China or elsewhere peace can only come if we endeavour to establish a climate of peace. It is not by condemnation or mutual recrimination that we shall achieve this goal. We must forget past conflicts and past grievances and decide to make a new approach to each other in a spirit of tolerance and forbearance with charity towards all and malice to none.

THE GENEVA AGREEMENT

I REFER TO THE two conferences held in Geneva from April to July of this year. Both these conferences were concerned with the countries and peoples of Asia. Yet the principal participants in the conferences with the significant exception of China were non-Asian States. This corresponds in some measure to the reality which reflects the territorial, racial and political imbalance in the modern world. At the same time it enables us to appreciate that we cannot consider much less resolve the important problems of the world today by regarding them as Asian or European, Eastern or Western.

problems exclusively. However the solution of Asian problems requires the recognition of the place of Asia in the modern world.

This aspect was evident at Geneva in several ways. First, there was the presence of China at both the conferences, proclaiming not only the inevitability of a recognition of facts but of the purposefulness of such a recognition. Secondly there was the fact that the deliberations of the South-East Asia Prime Ministers at Colombo had an essential and inescapable role in the Geneva deliberations on Indo-China, though none of these countries participated in the conference. The Colombo proposals on Indo-China were themselves, in large part, based on similar proposals which were submitted to this House on an earlier occasion and which, with certain modifications in formulation, found favour with my fellow Prime Ministers.

At Geneva the Indo-China Conference assumed the greater importance. The historic role of this conference was that it was the alternative or the deterrent to what threatened to lead to the third world war. This gives the conference on Indo-China a memorable place in history.

The mediatory role of the two Presidents of the conference, Mr Eden and Mr Molotov, and the dominant desire that pervaded Geneva despite the conflicts and deadlocks, were based on the conviction that there should be a settlement and that the grim alternative must be averted.

Apart from the two conference Presidents, the Prime Minister of China, whom we had the pleasure of welcoming in this country distinguished himself as a constructive statesman. He also brought to the conference a first hand sense of the reality of the new Asia. His visit to India appears to have assisted him to understand the Asia outside of China and also to appreciate the evolving pattern of collective peace in South-East Asia.

Great as the role of others was, the main task and therefore the determining role rested with the principal belligerents, France and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Direct negotiations between them, which were first proposed in this House and were later affirmed at Colombo, became an important feature in regard to some aspects of the conference. To the Prime Minister of France M. Mendes-France and the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam our gratitude is due for the courage and vision with which they tackled this difficult problem. The three other Governments in Indo-China represented at the conference, namely those of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, all intimately involved in the horrors of the war, also made their contribution to the settlement. Indo-China has been a truly negotiated settlement where not any one of the belligerents but peace has been the victor.

The armistice settlement rests on the agreement reached between the combatants, represented by the two High Commands. On them rests the responsibility of maintaining it. But, from the beginning of the conference, the role, functions, composition and the procedure of the neutral or impartial Supervisory Commissions bedevilled the deliberations, which stood deadlocked for a long time. The agreement reached on the functions as now set out and the composition of the Commissions with Canada, Poland and India as members proved the turning point. A place for India on the Commissions was proposed by every participant and on every occasion. Finally, India's chairmanship of the Commissions became one of the necessities for a settlement.

India had not been a participant in the conference. She had not sought a place on the Commissions. Indeed we did not even disclose whether we would or would not accept the responsibility. But when this responsibility was offered to us we could not refuse for our refusal would have meant imperilling the whole agreement. We have thus to shoulder this heavy and onerous responsibility.

We have been fortunate in our colleagues and in our relations with the parties in Indo-China. Hitherto, all decisions in the Commissions have been unanimous. This itself represents goodwill and an earnest desire to work as a team. On August 1 I inaugurated a conference of the representatives of the three Governments to establish the Commissions on the date fixed by the agreements. This conference came to unanimous decisions and sent out in record time an advance party under Mr S. Dutt, Commonwealth Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs. Mr Dutt returned two days back after all the three Commissions had been established. I feel sure that the House would wish to assure them of its goodwill and its earnest hope of their success.

It is a notable feature of the Indo-China settlement that it provides for the establishment of the independence of the three States—Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia—and seeks to safeguard their sovereignty on the pledges of mutual respect of each other's territorial integrity, freedom from interference in each other's internal affairs, and the undertaking not to enter into military alliances with other States. Thus the Indo-China States bid fair to find a place in collective peace rather than in war blocs.

To the people of Indo-China, in all their grim travail, irrespective of their former antagonisms to one another we send our sincere and warm wishes and hopes for peace, unity and prosperity. Asia has greater hopes of peace and stability as a result of the Indo-China settlement.

Early next month a meeting is going to be held at Baguio in the Philippines to consider proposals to form a South-East Asia

collective organization. We have expressed our inability to participate in the meeting because it seems to us that it is likely to reverse the trend of conciliation released by the Indo-China settlement. Collective security according to our view can only come by resolving world tensions and developing a pattern of collective peace. Anything that adds to those tensions takes us away from peace.

It is the view and the hope of the Government of India that the present lowering of world tensions, following the Indo-China settlement and the expressed desire of nations for peace should be followed up and utilized to further the means and prospects of world peace and of resolving present world tensions.

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THE GENEVA AGREEMENT was essentially based on the fact that the great power groups should not push in aggressively in the Indo-China States but leave them to function for themselves. In effect it meant that the Indo-China States should follow an independent and unaligned policy. They may have their sympathizers, but they should be free from any intervention like entanglement in pacts etc. of a military kind because the moment one State entered a pact the other State would want to have its own pact somewhere in that area and that would disrupt the whole situation. In Indo-China they had a war for six or seven years before this agreement was arrived at, and a cease-fire was reached on the basis of acknowledging some kind of a mutual agreement among the great powers that they should not interfere in Indo-China in a military way or do anything that might lead up to it. I do not say that everything in Indo-China has turned out to one's entire satisfaction since then, but the agreement not only stopped the terrible war but has step by step, helped in keeping peace and in improving the situation. There are great difficulties still. We have to shoulder our burden there because we have been and continue to be the Chairman of the International Commissions. It is a difficult and complicated task, a thankless one occasionally but we could not possibly run away from it. We have been there and we have helped. As soon as we succeed in solving some small problem, others arise. Nevertheless I hope that the situation there will improve gradually.

CONFLICT IN LAOS

IN LAOS strange things have been happening recently. The Government under Prince Souvanna Phouma has been pushed out.

The trouble with Laos has been the attempt of parties outside Laos to influence and to help with arms, the contesting parties. Considerable quantities of arms have gone in. But the very basis of the Geneva agreement concerning Indo-China was that these countries should not be drawn into the cold war and should be left to fashion themselves in some measure of neutrality. Unfortunately however this policy was not fully followed. Supplies of arms have been made to one group or to the other and lately to both groups by different countries. So the very thing which the Geneva Conference was meant to prevent has now come into being. So long as the International Commission was there of which India was Chairman there was some check and the situation though bad, was being controlled. But the Laos Commission was withdrawn and the check was removed. Ever since then there has been a progressive deterioration of the situation which has landed us in the present position.

Two days ago I communicated with the two co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference namely the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, drawing their attention to the situation in Laos, and suggesting that the functioning of the Laos Commission might be of help. We had strongly resisted the suspension of this Commission originally. But the Government of Laos then insisted and the great powers supported them, and we had to come away. In regard to our present suggestion, both the Governments concerned the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union have accepted it as a principle. The U. K. Government have stated last night that they are agreeable to this but the authorities in Vietnam now have to agree before this can be done. In Laos, it becomes a little difficult to know who is the government and who is the rebel. For our part we have for the last one month or so expressed ourselves fairly strongly in favour of Prince Souvanna Phouma who represents an attempt to keep Laos out of the cold war and in a more or less neutral position, and to bring the warring parties together.

A PART FROM THE inner complexities of the conflict, the real danger in Laos arises from the fact of the clash there between the great powers. The local leaders, however important have become the symbols of the struggle between the great powers.

Prince Souvanna Phouma, who was till a little while ago Prime Minister tried to follow a policy of having a Government with representatives from each political group in Laos. The attempt was to resolve the conflicts by following a middle-of the road policy without the Government inclining to any military group. On the one hand, there was the Pathet Lao backed up to a large extent by the North Viet Nam Government, which is a communist Government. The Pathet Lao is not communist, but has communists in it and is an extreme nationalist force with a considerable affiliation with the communists of the north. On the other hand, there are other groups which are called, not precisely rightists. In this context of things, the communist powers of the north would like the Pathet Lao to be represented, while the United States especially and maybe other powers, are anxious that the rightist group should prevail. That is the essential conflict and it is to avoid this type of conflict that the Geneva Conference passed a resolution that Laos and Cambodia should not attach themselves to any military grouping and should broadly follow a neutral policy. The pulls were there all the time. What has happened is that ever since the Supervisory Commission was made to adjourn indefinitely the one check on these pulls was removed. Of course, the Commission could not do very much by itself but its mere presence was a check and sometimes it was disliked by even outside powers. Ultimately the then Laotian Government asked the Commission to disband itself. We did not agree to this proposition because the Commission was there under the authority of the Geneva Conference. Nevertheless, when the local Government said "no" it was difficult for the Commission to function, and we agreed not to its ending but to its indefinite adjournment, to be called back at any time when needed. Also one of the members of the Commission, the Canadian member was withdrawn by the Canadian Government.

As soon as the Commission stopped functioning these different pulls became stronger and stronger, and, gradually arms began to flow in from outside. It is difficult to say who started giving arms. It is easier for the Pathet Lao to get arms without any fuss, because the territory adjoins the north. Arms coming for the other side from the United States have had to come much more publicly and there is no doubt they did come and that they went on coming. But because of the public outcry against it it was announced that

the United States Government would stop sending arms. Stop when? On November 30 which was after a great deal had come in. In today's newspapers it is announced that the United States Government have decided to renew the supply of military and other aid to the Laotian Government. All these are disturbing factors. I cannot tell the House what arms are coming on the other side, the so-called leftists, but I have no doubt they have come in. The result is the present situation arising from the great powers helping the local contestants for power.

A situation to avoid which the Geneva Conference came to decisions is now being built up in Laos. We have suggested that the Supervisory Commission should meet again. Dr Kunzru rightly asked what it could do. It may not be able to do very much but its mere presence is some check, because it becomes a symbol of the world community of the eyes of the world looking on. Some days ago, maybe a month or so I expressed my earnest desire that Souvanna Phouma's Government should not be attacked but be encouraged to function and I think that the future safety of Laos lies in not adopting extreme courses. Prince Souvanna Phouma has represented that policy.

INDONESIA

CRISIS IN INDONESIA

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, ladies and gentlemen I bid you a warm welcome on behalf of the Government of India and on my own behalf, and I should like to express my deep gratitude to your Governments for having responded at short notice to the urgent invitation that we extended to them. That response itself is witness to the deep feelings that have been aroused all over Asia and in other parts of the world at recent happenings in Indonesia. We meet today because the freedom of a sister country of ours has been imperilled and a dying colonialism of the past has raised his head again and challenged all the forces that are struggling to build up a new structure of the world. That challenge has a deeper significance

Presidential speech inaugurating the eighteen-nation Conference on Indonesia, New Delhi, January 20 1949. The Government of Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, the Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen were represented at the Conference by delegates at ministerial level, while China, Nepal, New Zealand and Siam sent observers.

than might appear on the surface for it is a challenge to a newly awakened Asia which has so long suffered under various forms of colonialism. It is also a challenge to the spirit of man and to all the progressive forces of a divided and distracted world. The United Nations—symbol of One World that has become the ideal of men of thought and goodwill—has been flouted and its expressed will set at naught. I feel sure that if this challenge is not met effectively then indeed the consequences will be such as would affect not merely Indonesia but also Asia and the entire world. That would represent the triumph of the forces of destruction and disintegration and the certain sequel would be ceaseless conflict and world disorder.

Although we meet to consider a vital problem of immediate importance my mind is filled with the historic significance of this unique gathering. Here we are representatives of the free nations of Asia and our friends from Australia and New Zealand as well as Egypt and Ethiopia meeting together for the first time to consider a matter of common concern to us. We represent, from Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines on the one side to Egypt and Ethiopia on the other, the vast area embracing half of the circumference of the globe and by far the greater part of its population. We represent the ancient civilisations of the East as well as the dynamic civilisation of the West. Politically we symbolise in particular the spirit of freedom and democracy which is so significant a feature of the new Asia. This long sweep of history passes before my eyes with all its vicissitudes for the countries of Asia, and standing

on the edge of the present I look to the future that is gradually unfolding. We are the heirs of these long yesterdays of our history but we are also the builders of the tomorrow that is shaping itself. The burden of that tomorrow has to be borne by us and we have to prove ourselves worthy of that great responsibility. If this gathering is significant today it is still more significant in the perspective of tomorrow. Asia, too long submissive and dependent and a plaything of other countries, will no longer brook any interference with her freedom.

We meet in this Conference to consider the present situation in Indonesia and I would suggest to you that we should concentrate on that issue and not divert our attention to the many other issues which undoubtedly demand our attention. The story of Indonesia during the last three years has been a strange and revealing one. It should be remembered that Indonesia was reconquered from the Japanese by the Allied forces and then handed over to the Dutch. Therefore a special responsibility attaches to the Allied nations. Many remarkable things have happened in Indonesia during these past three years and these are detailed in the papers supplied to

the Conference. It is a long story of broken pledges and continuous attempts to undermine and break the Republic of Indonesia.

On December 18 of last year the Dutch forces launched an offensive practically without warning against the Republic while negotiations for a peaceful settlement were still going on. Even the dulled and jaded conscience of the world reacted to this with shock and amazement. The leaders of the Republic were imprisoned and separated from one another and treated with inhumanity. The Security Council of the United Nations passed a series of resolutions asking for the release of the Republican leaders and a cessation of hostilities as an essential preliminary to the resumption of negotiations for a peaceful and honourable settlement. The directions of the Security Council have not yet been carried out and the Dutch authorities seem to be concentrating all their efforts on the formation of a so-called interim government which they hope will be subservient to their will. Any person who is acquainted with the spirit of the Indonesian people or of Asia today knows that this attempt to suppress Indonesian nationalism and the deep urge for freedom of the Indonesian people must fail. But if open and unabashed aggression is not checked and is condoned by other powers, then hope will vanish and people will resort to other ways and other means even though these might involve the utmost catastrophe. One thing is certain: there can be and will be no surrender to aggression and no acceptance or reimposition of colonial control.

It was not without deep thought and earnest consideration that we decided to hold this Conference. Believing as we do that the United Nations must be strengthened as a symbol of the New Order, we were reluctant to take any steps which might appear to weaken its authority. But when the will of the Security Council was itself flouted, then it became clear to us that we must confer together to strengthen the United Nations and to prevent further deterioration of a dangerous situation. We meet therefore within the framework of the United Nations and with the noble words of the Charter before us. That Charter itself recognizes regional arrangements as a means of furthering international peace and security. Ours is therefore a regional conference to which we invited both Australia and New Zealand whose interest in the tranquillity and contentment of Indonesia is as great as that of any of us. Our primary purpose is to consider how best we can help the Security Council to bring about a rapid and peaceful solution of the Indonesian problem. We meet to supplement the efforts of the Security Council, not to supplant that body. We meet in no spirit of hostility to any nation or group of nations, but in an endeavour to promote peace through the extension of freedom. It must be realized that both freedom and peace are indivisible. I should like to make it

clear that we do not wish to consider this, or any other problem, in a spirit of racialism. Racialism has been and is even today the policy of some other countries. We in Asia who have suffered so much from it are not going to encourage it but will combat it, believing as we do that it is not only a negation of democracy but is also the seed of conflict. Our task will be threefold

To frame and submit to the Security Council proposals which would if accepted by both parties concerned restore peace immediately to Indonesia and promote the early realization of freedom by the Indonesian people

Also to suggest to the Security Council what action it should take if either party to the dispute fails to act according to its recommendations

To devise machinery and procedure by which the Governments represented here today can keep in touch with one another for purposes of mutual consultation and concerted action for the achievement of the purposes for which this Conference has met

I do not think it would be proper for me at this stage to offer any detailed proposals. That will be for the Conference to consider. But it seems to me clear that our immediate objective should be to restore as far as possible the conditions which existed before this recent Dutch aggression so that the Republic may be able to function freely and to negotiate as a free Government without military or economic pressure. The next step should be to aim at the elimination of colonialism. It must be appreciated that so long as any form of colonialism exists in Asia or elsewhere there will be conflict and a threat to peace. The situation in Indonesia is full of dangerous possibilities and requires urgent action. We have to aim therefore at completing our work as quickly as possible so that the Security Council which is still considering this difficult problem should be in possession of our views within the next few days. All of us who meet here have I believe this community of outlook and our deliberations should bear fruit soon.

We are living in a revolutionary age of transition. On the one hand we see a divided and disintegrating world a multitude of conflicts and an ever present fear of world war. On the other hand we see creative and co-operative impulses seeking a new integration and a new unity. New problems arise from day to day which, in their implications, concern all of us or many of us. The Americans have already recognized a certain community of interest and have created machinery for the protection and promotion of common interests. A similar movement is in progress in Europe. Is it not natural that the free countries of Asia should begin to think of some more permanent arrangement than this Conference for effective

mutual consultation and concerted effort in the pursuit of common aims—not in a spirit of selfishness or hostility to any other nation or group of nations, but in order to strengthen and bring nearer fulfilment the aims and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations? In this world of hatred, conflict and violence let us endeavour to work jointly and in co-operation with others of goodwill to further the cause of peace and tolerance and freedom. We shall not succeed in our mission if we follow the path of violence or seek to divide the world further but we may well make a difference to the world if we fashion ourselves in accordance with the old spirit of Asia and hold up the torch of truth and peace to a war-distracted world. May I in all humility but also with pride remind this Conference of the message of the Father of our Nation who led us through the long night of our subjection to the dawn of freedom? It was not through hatred or violence or intolerance of each other he told us, that nations grow in stature or attain their freedom. It was by following his lead in some measure that we attained our independence through peaceful methods. The world has got caught in a vicious circle of fear, hatred and violence. It will never get out of that vicious circle unless it seeks other ways and practises other means. Therefore let us adhere to the right means with the conviction that right means will inevitably lead to right ends. Thus we shall help in the process of integration and synthesis which is so urgently needed in the world of today.

MUTUAL AFFECTION

THE HOUSE KNOWS how much active and friendly interest we took in the Indonesian Republic, which is now the United States of Indonesia. The House will also remember that we had the honour and privilege a short while ago, of welcoming here the President of the United States of Indonesia Dr Sukarno. He came here not only as the head of that great new independent State but as a gallant fighter for freedom and a fighter who had achieved his objective in spite of very great difficulties. It was a pleasure to meet him here to confer with him and to find how much in common we had in our national and individual outlooks. So we become more and more intimately connected not by formal treaties and alliances and pacts but by bonds which are much more secure much

more binding—the bonds of mutual understanding and interest and if I may say so even of mutual affection

FUTURE OF WEST IRIAN

WE HAVE BEEN of the opinion and we have expressed it clearly in the United Nations and elsewhere that the claim of Indonesia to West Irian is a right and a legitimate one. The claim flows from the circumstances of the case and even from the various treaties between Indonesia and the Government of the Netherlands. The Netherlands Government have however a different interpretation of those treaties. I am not going into the legalities of the issue. But apart from strict law, the fact remains that all over Asia and elsewhere too, there is no approval left of foreign colonial possession. The time is long past when colonial conditions could be tolerated and we therefore hope that the issue of West Irian would be settled peacefully between the Government of the Netherlands and the Government of Indonesia. Many efforts have been made but unfortunately they have not met with any great success. Only a fortnight ago a resolution was moved in the United Nations which said

The General Assembly, having considered the question of West Irian and West New Guinea, viewing with deep concern that prolongation of this political dispute is likely to endanger the peaceful development of that area, realising that peaceful solution of this problem should be obtained without further delay

Invites those parties to pursue their endeavour to find a solution of the dispute in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter

Requests the Secretary General to assist the parties concerned as he deems proper in the implementation of this resolution and submit a report of the progress to the 15th Session of the General Assembly

The House will notice that this resolution was very carefully and purposefully worded avoiding any offence to anybody. Yet it was opposed by the Netherlands Government and by some other Governments. Voting on the resolution was ultimately 41 in favour, 29 against with 11 abstentions—that is to say many more voted in

favour of it than against it. But because it did not get a two-thirds majority it failed.

It was a great blow to the Indonesian Government and their people that even this very moderate approach, which had been supported by so many countries—so far as I remember the U.S.A. did not oppose it in spite of their friendship for the Netherlands but abstained from voting—did not succeed. Now this has led to certain happenings in Indonesia which have caused us great concern. Our sympathy is with the Government of Indonesia and the people of Indonesia in this matter but we do hope earnestly that the problem will not be allowed to drift in such a way that a peaceful settlement is ruled out. The approach to this problem has been one of conciliation, but unfortunately it has failed so far.

IRAN

REBUILDING OLD CONTACTS

YOU HAVE REFERRED to the old historical associations of Iran and India. I doubt if there are any two countries in the wide world which have had such close and long historical contact as Iran and India. It goes back to the remote past. Languages are often the symbols of contacts of peoples, and it is well known that the ancient form of the Persian language Pahlavi and the ancient form of Sanskrit which is our classical language are very nearly the same. In fact, classical Sanskrit is more different from the earlier Sanskrit than that Sanskrit is from Pahlavi. That indicates the common stock from which the two languages arose as well as the common stock from which the two peoples arose. There could have been no closer affinity than that common origin. This was maintained in later ages in spite of troubles, wars and invasions. Apart from the other contacts between Iran and India for a few hundred years, the Persian language was the court language in India.

During later years fate put us apart from each other as from many other countries of Asia. When our country was under foreign rule and foreign domination in some form or other came over most other countries of Asia, the old contact that we had with each other broke or fell into disuse. But ever since India attained independence,

fear that pervades humanity because of the possibility of what might happen and because of what is actually happening.

You know Sir that in this matter as in many others, we are at one in our strong feelings against this danger and against the possibilities of war in the future. In India not only in the present age but for generations, we have stood for peace. Even in the struggle for freedom, we adopted peaceful methods under our great leader Mahatma Gandhi. Since we became an independent nation we have tried in all humility in so far as possible to follow that path. I am quite sure that the people of Japan are also passionately desirous of peace and so are I believe the peoples of most countries. You will have our wholehearted co-operation not only in preserving peace but in the arts of peace and human progress more especially in the development of the countries of Asia. We hope that we shall be able to co-operate in a large measure in this task.

KOREA

UNITED NATIONS ACTION

THE WORLD HAS BEEN faced with a grave situation in the Far East. The invasion from North Korea into South Korea was brought to the notice of the United Nations and was described by the Security Council as an act of aggression. We supported that decision and gave our vote accordingly. Subsequently other developments took place. There were the six power resolution and the seven power resolution but for a variety of reasons we could not support every step that was taken. Confused and distressed at the situation which was growing more and more difficult I had the temerity to address an appeal to Marshal Stalin on the one hand and to Mr Acheson on the other. I made the appeal in the vague hope that perhaps it might result in something positive.

It contained the suggestion that China might be admitted to the United Nations and that the U.S.S.R. might also return to the Security Council. The fact that we had recognized the People's Government of China naturally implied that so far as we were concerned China should be a part of the United Nations. In the context in which I suggested it to Marshal Stalin and Mr Acheson however the emphasis was on its urgency rather than on the rights

and wrongs of the matter. We further believed that the situation in the Far East could only be dealt with satisfactorily if the principal parties concerned agreed to sit round a conference table. We thought it was necessary that the representatives of the great countries most concerned with the crisis in Korea should be able to meet at the United Nations. Without such a step there was every danger that the position would worsen, as, indeed it has done. It was with this point of view that I made the appeal. It was unfortunate that it did not have any fruitful results.

Subsequently the aggression by North Korea was checked and the North Korean armies pushed back till they seemed to be completely broken. This victory inevitably gave rise to certain fundamental questions. Should the forces of the United Nations continue to advance? If so how far should they go? We consulted our Ambassador in Peking and our representatives in other countries about how the various Governments were viewing the scene. We had, perhaps, a rather special responsibility in regard to China, because we were one of the very few countries represented there. Furthermore we were the only country besides the countries of the Soviet group which was in a position to find out through its Ambassador what the reactions of the Chinese Government to the developing events were.

The Chinese Government clearly indicated that if the 38th Parallel was crossed, they would consider it a grave danger to their own security and that they would not tolerate it. We did, as a matter of fact, convey our views to the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America as well as to some Governments in Asia. However it was decided that the forces of the United Nations should advance beyond the 38th Parallel. They did so and came into conflict with reorganized North Korean troops and at a later stage, with the Chinese forces. The Chinese Government described the latter as volunteers but, according to information received, they were regular Chinese troops. A large number of these volunteers or Chinese soldiers did come across the Manchurian border into North Korea and threaten the U.N. troops to such an extent that the latter are in grave danger at the moment and are withdrawing.

The situation we have to face is changing so rapidly that it is very difficult to suggest any measures for its improvement.

We realize that it will be very harmful if this matter is considered in the United Nations at a purely formal level and if resolutions of condemnation are passed. The House will remember that one of the first things suggested by the Chinese delegation was that a resolution of condemnation be passed against the United Nations or the U.S.A. On the other hand, resolutions condemning China and calling her an aggressor have been repeatedly suggested.

We are on the very verge of a world war and, obviously it does not help in the slightest to call each other names. If we seek to avoid war then we must avoid the kind of approach that creates bitterness. The only possible way is that of peaceful negotiation. It was clear to us that no negotiation would have any value unless China was associated with it. China, apart from being a great power is most intimately concerned with the events happening next door to her. We suggested that there should be a cease fire and if possible, a demilitarized zone where negotiations among the parties concerned including China could take place—negotiations not merely about what should follow the cease-fire but about the entire Korean problem as well. Further it had seemed essential to us that, at a later stage in the negotiations, the question of Formosa should also be considered.

We welcomed the decision of the Prime Minister of England to go to the United States to meet President Truman and wished him good-speed in his endeavours to prevent war and to find a peaceful way out of this tangle. We found that there was a good deal in common between the British Prime Minister's view of the present situation and ours. We let him have our own viewpoint in detail in case he needed it during the discussions with President Truman. We also informed other Governments in Asia who were friendly to us as to what we felt about the Korean situation.

During the last few months, a great deal has happened in Korea. Everybody talks of freedom, the unity and independence of Korea. The forces that are fighting the United Nations say more or less the same thing but the result of this unanimity of approach if I may say so is this. Korea is a dying and desolate country. Only this morning I have had a letter from a Korean lady in Seoul who has lived through the horror that has prevailed these many months. In her letter there is a phrase "my country is sick and dying of cold, disease and starvation." It is extraordinary that we should seek to help our friends in ways which kill or destroy them. It is about time we changed our attitude to the problems of the world!

In the fighting in Korea, the main burden of the United Nations has fallen on the forces of the United States. They have suffered greatly and I think our sympathy should go out to them. We have as I have pointed out, adopted a definite attitude to North Korea and although we did not support all the resolutions of the United Nations or the Security Council our attitude to the aggression has remained basically the same. We did not support the six-power and the seven-power resolutions because we felt that they would not help in solving the problem. On the contrary we believed that they would only increase the tension and further

inflame the passions of both the States. For the same reason, we did not join the seven power commission set up in accordance with one of those resolutions.

We have always been of the opinion that the problem of Korea can only be solved with China's co-operation. Whatever the result of the Korean conflict might be in the military sense, the problem cannot be finally solved without the acquiescence, if not the active co-operation, of China. We laid stress on this fact right at the beginning. I cannot conceive of a peaceful solution in the Far East unless the great country of China is taken into account.

I mentioned Formosa earlier. Formosa is not what might be called an immediate issue but it is tied up with the other problems of the Far East and has to be considered urgently on that score. You will remember that some of the great powers made declarations concerning Formosa in Cairo and Potsdam. President Truman made a very forthright declaration earlier this year. I feel that we must proceed on the basis of these declarations.

I would like to say one more thing. There has been a good deal of talk about the atomic bomb. I need hardly say much about it. I am sure no one in this House approves of the idea of using the atomic bomb anywhere at any time and much less in the particular context of the war in the Far East. In the newspapers today there was a statement by Mr. Pearson, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Canada, in which he spoke of the atomic bomb. I cannot say anything more forceful than what Mr. Pearson has said in the matter. He has pointed out the grave dangers of using it, particularly in Asia. Apart from the horrors that are inherent in it, it has become a symbol of evil. If the stress of circumstances compels the world to use it, it means that the world has yielded completely to evil. Therefore I earnestly hope that there will be no question now or hereafter of the use of the atomic bomb.

A PRACTICAL APPROACH

YOU MIGHT HAVE read in the newspapers about the initiative that our representatives at Lake Success took in common with a large number of other Asian representatives and put up a proposal that the Chinese Government be asked to agree to a

cease fire and to give an assurance that they would not go beyond the 38th Parallel. We talked about the 38th Parallel in another connection some time ago. The roles are reversed for the moment and they may be reversed again. Our representative, Mr B N Rau, made this proposal and the representatives of almost every Asian country agreed to support it. I do not know what the reaction of the Chinese Government will be, but I welcome the initiative of our representatives and I am quite sure that every peace-loving individual will welcome it and that the Governments of the U.S.A. and the U.K. will welcome it too. The problems involved are of course too big to be solved in this way but when you are driving hard towards disaster every move of this kind gives you time to consider and negotiate and this is valuable.

Dr Kunzru criticized very much the attitude that we have taken up in the United Nations. That attitude has been governed by two factors. One is our judging the situation and deciding what would help at the time. The other was our feeling throughout that it was not much good passing resolutions which generally speaking were condemnatory and associating ourselves with such condemnation even though that condemnation might be justified. We want to help. Having condemned, we would not have been able to perform such useful function or service as we do now. Apart from this, our general approach in this matter aims at peace and a settlement. If one is aiming at peace and a settlement, one should adopt ways that lead to peace and not those that lead to war.

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THE MOST URGENT problem today is that of the Far East. A brutal war has raged in Korea for many months and innumerable innocent lives have been sacrificed.

For the past year or more we persistently urged that China should be given a place in the councils of the world at Lake Success. Yet this was not done. There has been reluctance to accept the great changes that have come over Asia. There is still an attempt sometimes to treat the great nations of Asia in the old way. But the major fact of the age is the emergence of a new Asia. This has naturally upset the old equilibrium and balance of power but the change must be recognized, if we are to deal realistically with the world of today. Because the United Nations did not recognize it difficulties arose that still continue to trouble us.

A proposal has been made in the United Nations to name China an aggressor and quite possibly it is being discussed today

This proposal cannot lead to peace. It can only lead to an intensification of the conflict and might, perhaps close the door to further negotiations.

I have been intimately concerned with recent developments and I have closely followed them. I am convinced that there is an overwhelming desire for peace all over the world both in the East and the West. My visit to Western countries has convinced me of this. The information I have received from our Ambassador in Peking has also convinced me that the People's Government of China is eager to have negotiations for a settlement of the Korean dispute and of the other problems in the Far East. The occasion demands the highest statesmanship and an approach to these vital problems in a temper of peace and friendliness. It is obvious to me that enough has been said on both sides to make it clear that negotiations in conference will be the next fruitful step. The time has come, therefore, when the representatives of the powers concerned should meet and discuss these problems instead of talking at each other across thousands of miles.

I would appeal to the great nations of the West, who are the repositories of a magnificent culture that we admire and whose astonishing scientific and technical achievements have opened a new era for mankind, not to lose this opportunity in their search for peace. To the nations of Asia I can speak, perhaps, in even more intimate language and express the fervent hope that they will stand by the methods of peace whatever happens.

SEARCH FOR SETTLEMENT

ABOUT FIVE WEEKS AGO I attended the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. Inevitably much of our time was taken up by a discussion of the international situation, especially of the Far Eastern crisis. There was, during the discussion, a very large measure of community of approach and objective in regard to this issue. All of us realized that a widespread war would be the most terrible of disasters and that we should strain every nerve to prevent it. War would be a disaster to any part of the world but, perhaps, if a world war came the greatest sufferers would be the people of Europe who have in living memory suffered so much from the horrors of two wars. If some kind of a settlement could be

arrived at in the Far East, this would have a beneficent influence on the European situation as well as on many other international problems. It seemed clear that no early decision could possibly be secured by a continuation of warfare. The only hope, therefore lay in a negotiated settlement.

There was general agreement that Korea should be unified and should by a free election, decide its future and elect its own government. But an argument arose as to whether a cease-fire should precede or should follow certain agreements on principles on which negotiations for settling the existing issues in the Far East should be based. One of the principal points in dispute was the future of Taiwan or Formosa. China claimed that in accordance with the Cairo declaration which was confirmed at Potsdam and which was, early in January 1950 reaffirmed in vigorous language by the U.S. Government Taiwan should revert to China. China also claimed admission to the United Nations.

While we were meeting in London the Three-Man Committee of the U.N. and subsequently the First Committee passed a resolution "on the principles which should govern a negotiated settlement in the Far East. These principles were carefully drafted and tried to meet as far as possible the legitimate demands of the various parties concerned. They provided for a cease-fire, for foreign armies to withdraw from Korea and for four or five powers, including the People's Government of China, to meet to discuss the terms of a settlement in the Far East in accordance with the international agreements and the U.N. Charter. Formosa was specially mentioned in this context. It was clear that the international agreements referred to would include the Cairo agreement regarding Formosa and Korea.

This resolution on principles was agreed to almost unanimously by the U.N. The U.S.A. which has been so intimately connected with the Far Eastern developments and where there is strong feeling on the subject also agreed to this resolution. The acceptance of these principles by so many powers was a great advance and the hope of reaching a negotiated settlement became strong.

The Chinese reply appeared at first sight to be unfavourable and was indeed described by some rather in a hurry as a rejection. On closer examination it became clear that it was not a rejection in part it was acceptance and in part it consisted of fresh suggestions. Subsequent clarification brought out still further that there was a very wide area of agreement and the gap of disagreement had been very much narrowed.

Unfortunately subsequent developments took a different turn and ultimately the U.N. passed a resolution condemning China as an aggressor. It seemed to us unwise to pass it at a time when

attempts were being made for a negotiated settlement. It was clear that it would not help at all to call a country aggressor when we intended to have dealings with it in order to reach a settlement by negotiation. The two approaches were directly opposed to each other. Hence India opposed the resolution.

As we expected the passing of the resolution has for the time being at least, put an end to any attempts at negotiations or a settlement.

I WANT TO REFER briefly to the Korean resolution which we sponsored in the United Nations. Ever since the Korean war started we have been very much concerned with it not because we wanted to interfere or bully others but because we were perhaps in a position to help more than any other country. We realized our peculiar responsibility to the poor people of Korea and strongly felt that the utter ruin and destruction in Korea should be stopped at any cost.

We had been in continuous touch with the Governments of China, the U.K. and the U.S.A. as well as those of other countries a few months before we sponsored the Korean resolution. We were very anxious not to take any step which would embarrass us or some other party because that would only have made it more difficult for us to help. Occasionally we informed one party about the general outlook and point of view of another. We were in a position to do this because the heads of our missions abroad had kept in touch with thought in the countries they were accredited to. That is why we were able to frame our resolution largely in accordance with the Chinese view point as we thought it to be. I do not say it was a hundred per cent representative of the Chinese view point but it was certainly an attempt to represent it.

The burden of the resolution was that in the matter of the exchange of prisoners, the Geneva Convention should be followed. It dealt only with the problem of exchange of prisoners. Those who want to know why it did not deal with the question of a cease fire forget the facts of the case. All of us know that truce negotiations were being carried on at Panmunjon for a year and a half before this. After great difficulty an agreement was arrived at in every matter except that of the exchange of prisoners. Obviously the primary aim of the truce negotiations was a cease fire and that was the first consequence of an agreement. Therefore we took up only the still unsettled question of exchange of prisoners. The

principles which governed the resolution had been drawn up in great detail before it was actually framed. Those principles were communicated to the People's Government of China for their opinion early last November. There was no great difference between the principles we had drawn up and the final resolution. Anyhow we sent the latter to the parties concerned, and a few days elapsed before we proposed the resolution. As the House will remember the first reaction to it was one of disapproval and an immediate rejection on the part of the United States Government. Till then we had no idea what the reaction of the Chinese and Soviet Governments would be. They at length informed us that they did not approve of it.

Some people are of the opinion that we should have withdrawn the resolution at that stage. It is true that the mere passing of a resolution has little meaning when the aim is an agreed settlement. We realized that but, on the other hand, there were not many alternatives. Before we put our resolution to the U.N. there were a number of others, all of which were, if I may say so, aggressive and would certainly have made the situation much worse. We did not approve of them and would have voted against them had the occasion presented itself. A resolution proposed by the Soviet Union or by some other country of Eastern Europe laid stress on the importance of an immediate cease-fire. We should have welcomed a cease-fire but it was absolutely clear that the resolution would not be passed. Many countries felt that if the issue of prisoners could not be resolved after a whole year's argument in spite of the pressure of a war it would never be resolved even if a cease-fire took place. Therefore they preferred to continue negotiations till all the issues could be decided once and for all to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. This was the difficulty so far as our resolution was concerned. It has been very largely supported but some of the principal parties concerned unfortunately did not agree to it. We had to adopt a realistic course but we did not know whether or not we should withdraw the resolution and let matters drift.

May I say one other thing in this connection? I understand some hon. Members have disapproved of our action in sending a medical unit to Korea. We sent this unit to Korea purely for medical relief work and, I must say, it has done remarkably well, gaining for itself in addition some very valuable experience. Of its kind it is one of the best units in the world today. We did not take part in the fighting because though we are prepared to give medical succour we have nothing to do with the war as such.

INDIA'S RESOLUTION ON Korea, which was passed by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority was an earnest approach to find a basis for a settlement. Unfortunately the principal parties rejected that resolution. Recently however proposals were made by the Chinese Government which opened the door again to a new approach to the problem which was, to some extent, in line with the resolution passed by the U.N. Shortly afterwards, the Chinese Government put forward fresh proposals referred to as the 8-point proposals, which were a very close approximation to the Indian resolution passed by the General Assembly. We welcomed these proposals because they seemed to afford a promising and solid basis for a solution of the immediate problem in accordance with the accepted policy of the U.N. Many other powers also welcomed these proposals.

Two or three days ago the United Nations Command in Korea put forward certain counter proposals. On a close examination of these proposals, it appears that they diverge considerably from the General Assembly's resolution to which the U.N. stands committed. The Chinese and North Korean Governments have expressed their disapproval of some of these proposals and have stated that they cannot accept them as they are.

So far as India is concerned, we would welcome any solution which is accepted by the parties concerned. We feel, however, that such a solution is much more likely to be found on the basis of the U.N. resolution, and the Chinese 8-point proposals approximate so nearly to that resolution that they should form the basis for discussion and we hope, for a solution. It should be possible to amplify them or to vary them by agreement, where necessary. We earnestly hope therefore that this avenue of approach will not be given up but will be pursued. In any event, we trust that the negotiations at Panmunjon will be carried on, even though there might be occasional setbacks.

The House is aware that India has often been mentioned in some of these proposals, and it has been suggested that this country should undertake various responsibilities. We are reluctant to assume distant responsibilities. But if an agreement is arrived at between the parties concerned and the task suggested for us is within our competence and not opposed to any policy which we pursue we do not wish to escape that responsibility. That responsibility is all the greater because it is India's good fortune to have friendly relations with the great powers who are parties to the dispute. If India can serve the cause of peace in any way we shall gladly offer our services.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

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The House is aware that India has often been mentioned in some of these proposals, and it has been suggested that this country should undertake various responsibilities. We are reluctant to assume distant responsibilities. But if an agreement is arrived at between the parties concerned and the task suggested for us is within our competence and not opposed to any policy which we pursue we do not wish to escape that responsibility. That responsibility is all the greater because it is India's good fortune to have friendly relations with the great powers who are parties to the dispute. If India can serve the cause of peace in any way we shall gladly offer our services.

principles which governed the resolution had been drawn up in great detail before it was actually framed. Those principles were communicated to the People's Government of China for their opinion early last November. There was no great difference between the principles we had drawn up and the final resolution. Anyhow we sent the latter to the parties concerned and a few days elapsed before we proposed the resolution. As the House will remember the first reaction to it was one of disapproval and an immediate rejection on the part of the United States Government. Till then we had no idea what the reaction of the Chinese and Soviet Governments would be. They at length informed us that they did not approve of it.

Some people are of the opinion that we should have withdrawn the resolution at that stage. It is true that the mere passing of a resolution has little meaning when the aim is an agreed settlement. We realized that but on the other hand there were not many alternatives. Before we put our resolution to the U.N. there were a number of others, all of which were if I may say so aggressive and would certainly have made the situation much worse. We did not approve of them and would have voted against them had the occasion presented itself. A resolution proposed by the Soviet Union or by some other country of Eastern Europe laid stress on the importance of an immediate cease-fire. We should have welcomed a cease-fire but it was absolutely clear that the resolution would not be passed. Many countries felt that if the issue of prisoners could not be resolved after a whole year's argument in spite of the pressure of a war it would never be resolved even if a cease-fire took place. Therefore, they preferred to continue negotiations till all the issues could be decided once and for all to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. This was the difficulty so far as our resolution was concerned. It has been very largely supported but some of the principal parties concerned unfortunately did not agree to it. We had to adopt a realistic course but we did not know whether or not we should withdraw the resolution and let matters drift.

May I say one other thing in this connection? I understand some hon. Members have disapproved of our action in sending a medical unit to Korea. We sent this unit to Korea purely for medical relief work and I must say it has done remarkably well, gaining for itself in addition some very valuable experience. Of its kind, it is one of the best units in the world today. We did not take part in the fighting because though we are prepared to give medical succour we have nothing to do with the war as such.

INDIA'S RESOLUTION ON Korea, which was passed by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority was an earnest approach to find a basis for a settlement. Unfortunately the principal parties rejected that resolution. Recently however proposals were made by the Chinese Government which opened the door again to a new approach to the problem which was, to some extent in line with the resolution passed by the U.N. Shortly afterwards, the Chinese Government put forward fresh proposals, referred to as the 8-point proposals, which were a very close approximation to the Indian resolution passed by the General Assembly. We welcomed these proposals because they seemed to afford a promising and solid basis for a solution of the immediate problem in accordance with the accepted policy of the U.N. Many other powers also welcomed these proposals.

Two or three days ago, the United Nations Command in Korea put forward certain counter proposals. On a close examination of these proposals, it appears that they diverge considerably from the General Assembly's resolution to which the U.N. stands committed. The Chinese and North Korean Governments have expressed their disapproval of some of these proposals and have stated that they cannot accept them as they are.

So far as India is concerned, we would welcome any solution which is accepted by the parties concerned. We feel, however that such a solution is much more likely to be found on the basis of the U.N. resolution and the Chinese 8-point proposals approximate so nearly to that resolution that they should form the basis for discussion and we hope, for a solution. It should be possible to amplify them or to vary them by agreement, where necessary. We earnestly hope, therefore, that this avenue of approach will not be given up but will be pursued. In any event, we trust that the negotiations at Panmunjon will be carried on, even though there might be occasional setbacks.

The House is aware that India has often been mentioned in some of these proposals, and it has been suggested that this country should undertake various responsibilities. We are reluctant to assume distant responsibilities. But if an agreement is arrived at between the parties concerned and the task suggested for us is within our competence and not opposed to any policy which we pursue we do not wish to escape that responsibility. That responsibility is all the greater because it is India's good fortune to have friendly relations with the great powers who are parties to the dispute. If India can serve the cause of peace in any way we shall gladly offer our services.

A MISSION OF PEACE

THREE MONTHS AGO on May 15 in a statement on foreign affairs made in this House I referred to the desire shown on all sides for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. The long-drawn-out negotiations at Panmunjon with all their ups and downs, appeared gradually to be moving towards some settlement. There were setbacks again but ultimately the major burden in the way namely that relating to the prisoners of war was crossed. On June 8 an agreement was signed between the parties in regard to the prisoners of war. This agreement in its main features, bore a close resemblance to the Indian resolution which was adopted by the General Assembly a few months earlier.

In this agreement a heavy responsibility was cast upon India. For any country and more especially for us, this was a novel experience. The circumstances were such that it would have been improper for us to evade this responsibility. The cause of peace to which we are devoted as well as the faith placed in us by other countries, demanded this service from us. We accepted these duties therefore in a spirit of humility and in the faith that we would continue to receive the generous co-operation of other countries in the tasks that were being entrusted to us.

Almost everyone thought that the final armistice agreement would be signed soon after. But unexpectedly a series of deplorable events delayed this realization and brought a period of grave uncertainty. Doubts arose whether the conditions in which we had expected to function in Korea would in fact be established. After several weeks of suspense, the long awaited armistice agreement was signed at Panmunjon on the morning of July 27 and fighting came to an end a few hours later.

This armistice agreement introduced no modification of the terms of the prisoners of war agreement, although the release of a large number of prisoners of war by the South Korean Government had vitally affected that agreement. The responsibilities which devolved on India were threefold. The Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission consisted of representatives of Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, Czechoslovakia and India. To the Indian member was assigned the responsible position of Chairman and supplying forces and operating personnel for the custody of the prisoners of war who had not been repatriated directly by the detaining sides. Thirdly our Red Cross was asked to undertake all Red Cross work in connection with such prisoners of war.

The armistice had been arrived at between the two Commands—the U.N. Command on the one side and the Chinese and North Korean Commands on the other. We had thus to deal with these Commands directly. As a first step we decided to send an advance party to Korea to confer with the two Commands and to report to us what detailed arrangements we had to make. This advance party was led by the Foreign Secretary and had representatives of our armed forces and Red Cross. They were to assure themselves that India's representatives and armed forces would be able to function in an honourable capacity and under conditions in keeping with India's self respect and dignity. This had become a vital matter because of certain improper and undignified statements which had been made on behalf of the South Korean Government in regard to India's representatives and forces. The advance party left Delhi on August 5. They have completed their labours and are returning tomorrow. I should like to express my gratitude to the two Commands for the courtesy and help they have given to our representatives.

In view of the novel and heavy responsibilities cast upon India we have taken special care to choose suitable representatives for the various duties entrusted to us. Our Representative on the Repatriation Commission and its Chairman will be Lieutenant-General K. S. Thimayya and the Alternate Representative will be Mr. B. N. Chakravarty, our Ambassador at The Hague. These officers with some members of their staff are expected to leave for Korea in the first week of September so as to be there in time to complete the preliminary arrangements before the Commission begins to function by the end of the month.

The Indian Custodian Force will be under the command of Major-General Thorat. It is estimated that a total of about 5,000 persons including Red Cross staff will be required for service in Korea. Of these nearly 4,000 men will embark at Madras on three ships within the next few days; the first ship *S.S. JALADUROA* leaves tomorrow. The remaining number of men are expected to sail a few days later as soon as a fourth ship becomes available.

I am placing before the House these details because hon. Members will no doubt be interested in the work which our people are going to do in Korea. They have gone there on a mission of peace and I am sure that they carry with them the goodwill of every section of the House and of the country.

The conclusion of the armistice has been a great event but the future is full of difficulty. The armistice agreement has laid down that, in order to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, a Political Conference of a higher level of both sides should be held within three months after the armistice agreement.

was signed and became effective to settle through negotiations the questions of withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc. These are difficult questions which require calm and dispassionate consideration and a will to peace if they are to be solved satisfactorily. Unfortunately there have been indications recently that this will to peace is not always in evidence, and even threats have been held out. We do not know how far they might come in the way of a full discussion of this problem in the Political Conference.

A special session of the U.N. General Assembly is meeting in New York today to consider this problem. It must be remembered however that the armistice agreement is between two parties and that the U.N. Assembly represents one such party that is, the U.N. Command, the other being the Chinese and North Korean Commands. Any decisions, in order to be effective must have the concurrence of both the parties. Neither the composition nor the functions of the Political Conference have yet been determined and there appears to be a considerable difference of opinion even among members of the United Nations.

THE HOUSE KNOWS that the name of India came up repeatedly before the Political Committee of the United Nations some time ago and a proposal was made that India might be made a member of the Political Conference that is the child of the armistice in Korea. We did not put our name forward and we did not want any additional burden. At the same time we were strongly of the opinion that this Political Conference should succeed that there should be a settlement in the Far East of Asia, and that if we could help in that, we should not run away from it even if it meant a burden on us. Placed in this position we did not push ourselves forward at all. But other countries, thinking that the presence of India there would be helpful, proposed our name. To the last we made it clear that we could only function if the two major parties to this dispute wanted us to function.

This matter as the House knows, was put to the vote and in the voting there was a considerable majority in favour of India and a big minority against it with a number of abstentions. But there was not the two-thirds majority that would have been necessary if it was to go to the plenary session. At that later stage we begged those who had put our names forward not to press it and so India was out of it.

From speech in Lok Sabha, September 17 1953

But certain interesting consequences flow from this vote. If the voting is analysed you will see that of the twenty-one countries who voted against India, eighteen were from the Americas, seventeen from what is called Latin America. Now I have the greatest respect for the countries of Latin America. But the facts stand out that nearly the whole of Europe and nearly the whole of Asia wanted one thing in this Political Conference while a number of countries, all from the Americas, did not want it. They have as much right not to want it as the others have to want it. But the question that we have been considering is an Asian question. And is the will of Asia and of Europe to be flouted because some people who really are not intimately concerned with this question feel that way? That is an extraordinary position.

It is interesting because in spite of the major developments that have taken place in the world during the last few years, somehow it is not realized by many of the great powers of the world that the countries of Asia, however weak they might be, do not propose to be ignored, bypassed and sat upon.

In regard to the Political Conference I understand that the People's Government of China in their reply to the United Nations proposals have made some counter proposals. First of all, it should be remembered that all the parties agreed to a Political Conference being held to carry on the work of armistice in Korea and to try to settle the problems there. They were agreed on the functions of that conference. The only question that is being considered or is in controversy is the composition of the conference. It should be remembered also that a conference like that does not proceed by majority vote. It has more or less to decide issues—if not by unanimity—by consensus of opinion and agreement of the major parties concerned. It does not much matter therefore whether there are a few more on this side or that side except that a larger crowd may create difficulty in getting down to business otherwise there is no particular difficulty.

The real question that arises is whether there should be neutral countries represented in this conference. It has been our view that it would be helpful if such countries are represented, simply because they can sometimes help in toning down differences and easing a tense situation. The real agreement will naturally have to come between the others. The neutral is not going to bring about an agreement; he will only help in providing a certain atmosphere which might lead the others to agree. However that is a matter for the United Nations and the other party to decide and we have absolutely no desire to be present at this conference. We have undertaken a very heavy burden in Korea as it is and are having to face considerable difficulties there in respect of the prisoners.

of war. Hon. Members must have seen from reports in the Press that the way our officers and men have handled this question has elicited praise from everybody there. I should like our representatives there in the Commission as well as the officers and men in the Armed Forces to feel that they have the goodwill and active sympathy of this House and the country.

A DELICATE TASK

Why did we go in Korea? Was it to gain honour, glory and prestige? We went to Korea because if we had not gone there would have been no truce and no cease-fire and the war would have gone on with a danger of its expansion. I cannot speak with a prophet's certainty of what would have happened if we had not gone there. But as we saw the problem at the time—and subsequent events have justified it—the only way first of all to get the United Nations to adopt that resolution and subsequently to see that there was agreement between the two Commands was for India to fill a gap which no other country could fill. I am not claiming any virtue for India. But it is a factual statement that no other country was willing to fill that particular gap. Without that gap being filled there would have been no agreement. If there had been no agreement, then the cease-fire would not have taken place and the terrible war would have gone on. We had to face the problem with the utmost reluctance. We accepted the job. And I would accept it not once but a hundred times again because I owe a duty not only to my country but to others. I have been amazed for the last month or two to see people not only in this House saying and writing in the newspapers, that we should call back our troops immediately from Korea. When they say these things they do not seem to consider the question with the least degree of responsibility. We are not a great military nation, nor a rich nation but we have certain standards by which we act as a nation. Because somebody says something because President Rhee says something that we do not like can we call back our troops and upset the whole apple-cart war or no war, massacre or no massacre? We are not going to do that as long as we are in charge of affairs. We are going to discharge the work to the best of our ability. Our

ability may be limited, but in so far as we can do it, we shall discharge it with fairness and impartiality

THE HOUSE KNOWS that yesterday some of our troops which had been sent to Korea have come back. Others are following within a few days.

The object aimed at by the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission has not been fully attained and unfortunately most of the problems remain unsolved. But I think most people agree that our representatives on the Commission who had a very delicate task to face, as well as our Custodian Force did as well as they could possibly have been expected to do. All the parties concerned have paid a tribute to their impartiality in this work. Although all or nearly all the problems remain, the situation in Korea has one bright feature about it, namely that the fighting and slaughter there which were terrible for two or three years have now come to an end.

In regard to the work of the Commission the House probably knows that there was a difference of opinion about many matters but more specially as to how the Commission should end its labours about those prisoners of war who were with it. The opinion of the Chairman that is, the representative of India, was that the various processes laid down in the agreement between the two parties had not been gone through however there was no alternative left to the Commission but to restore those prisoners of war to their own detaining sides.

One particular difficulty faced us in the past few days. That was in regard to those persons—I am not sure about the figure but I think it is seventeen—under trial for very serious crimes including murder. They were being tried under courts-martial set up by our forces there. Unfortunately those trials could not be completed partly because of lack of co-operation of some parties. It was patent that the Indian Custodian Force could not continue with the courts-martial because it was not going to remain in Korea. It was patent also that it could not bring them with it to India. On the other hand it seemed obviously right that the trial of those persons who had been charged should be completed and they should be punished or acquitted after trial. So in this dilemma the Indian Custodian Force decided to hand over those persons to their own detaining sides with a strong request that the trials should be proceeded with and completed.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The House knows that recently the four great powers met in Berlin, and for many days there was argument about Germany about Austria, and about other matters. Unfortunately that argument did not yield any substantial results except for one thing which was a bright spot towards the conclusion that is, the four great powers agreed to hold a conference in Geneva on April 26 to consider the Korean problem and also Indo-China. I presume that the Chinese Government has agreed to this procedure, because it is intimately involved and it is quite obvious that its presence is essential.

THE CHAPTER IN REGARD to Korea is practically closed so far as the work of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission is concerned.

The only point remaining over for us is the fact that we have got 88 of those old prisoners of war here in Delhi with us, and we are holding them on behalf of the United Nations—not the United Nations Command but the United Nations Secretariat in New York. We have referred the matter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

These 88 persons are those who refused to be repatriated and at the same time refused to be handed over to their old detaining sides. These are the persons who first elected to go to various neutral countries and among the neutral countries named was India. They could not be sent to neutral countries unless the neutral countries accepted them and there existed arrangements for them to be sent. Some of them said that they wanted to go to the United States of America, but the U.S.A. was not a neutral country so they could not be sent there. These difficulties could not be got over and we drew attention to these before our Custodian Force came back. We stated again that either we could send those prisoners back to their own homes or hand them over to the U.N. Command. A number of them said that they were prepared to be handed over to the U.N. Command provided there was an assurance and a guarantee that they would not be handed over to the South Korean Government or the Government of Formosa. The U.N. Command was not prepared to give this guarantee to them but said "As soon as you come to us, we will release you and then you can go anywhere you like."

The result was that we had the choice of leaving them in the camp and coming away or bringing them with us. When these

people learnt that we were on the point of leaving they—some of them at any rate—were much agitated that they might be left behind, and some of them even threatened action in the nature of suicide. They said, 'We will not be safe here if you go away therefore, we might as well commit suicide. Maybe it was an idle threat. Anyhow we could not leave them in the lurch and so we brought them over and they are here with us at the present moment.

We are in communication with the U.N. Headquarters in New York as to what to do with them. That, more or less, closes the chapter of our work in Korea in connection with the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and the Custodian Force. I am sure that, as previously the House would like me to express on its behalf our high appreciation of the work of our representatives who functioned in Korea.

MALAYA

INDEPENDENCE OF MALAYA

I AM sure the House will join me in welcoming the advent of the new independent State of Malaya which came into being day before yesterday. We welcome it for a variety of reasons. We welcome it because this is one more step, slowly and laboriously taken, in freeing Asia from foreign control. We welcome it because Malaya is a country which has thousands of years of association with India. Even now in Malaya, as in other places in South East Asia, you will find evidence of India or Indian culture all over. And in the past few years our friendship and co-operation in some matters have grown. It is a good thing that Malaya joins the ranks of independent nations, as Ghana did a few months earlier.

THE NEW CONTEXT

MR. PRIME MINISTER, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen When you arrived here this morning, we gave you a warm welcome, and memories of old times came to us and echoes of long ago rang in our ears. We remembered the distant past when messengers from India went to your far country taking with them many unsubstantial nevertheless very important gifts. They took their culture, their art and their religion and your forbears were pleased to welcome them and make friends with them, and thus began between our two countries a close bond of the spirit which is more enduring than history than perhaps the more material bonds. So we thought of those old days, and we were happy to welcome you as the distinguished representative of Mongolia.

Of course we thought also of the present in which we live and the future for which your country and ours work. We thought how good it was that in this present and for the future we were reviving those old bonds in the new context in which we work for the peace and the well being of our peoples. I hope, in spite of all the troubles we see and the preparations for war that we are marching to an era of peace. I am sure that your country aims and works for peace as ours does, and we want to be comrades and to co-operate in this work of peace for our own good and for the world's good.

I did a little research work today and I discovered that the area of your country is nearly half the area of India. Our area, I believe is about 1,270 000 square miles. The area of Mongolia is nearly 600 000 square miles, which is a little under half Your country's population you were good enough to tell me is one million. Our country's, I believe, is round about 400 millions now. So roughly speaking we are two hundred times more intensely populated than your country. That itself creates a problem for us as do other things, like climate which affect human beings.

So, in some ways our problems are in a different context. Nevertheless, they are essentially similar as are the problems of all countries which are trying to develop and to secure the good things of life for their people. In that we can learn from each other and from other countries, but in doing so I believe it is important that each country continues to water its own roots and derives sustenance from them to retain its individuality which connects it with its dis-

From speech at banquet held in honour of Mr Yumjagin Tserdenbal, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic
new Delhi, September 10, 1959

tant part and which should project itself into the future. I hope that we will do that in our country and that your country too will maintain that link in the future which you are building. Therefore, I hope that these old bonds, cultural, artistic and others, which joined us in the past will join us in the future also in addition to the new bonds that we may build in the present that is being created by the efforts of people all over the world.

I hope that some time or other I should come to Mongolia, carrying the good wishes of our people to your people and help a little in strengthening those bonds which have united us in the past. About two years ago we sent you our most distinguished ambassador our Vice President. We could not have sent you a more suitable person not only because of his great position in India but because he represents in himself that great past of ours the present and the future. Now you have come here and the people of our country will think of Mongolia and the people of Mongolia, and I hope we shall thus strengthen in every way our old contacts and the new ones.

NEPAL

STEP TOWARDS DEMOCRACY

THE KINGDOM OF NEPAL has been the scene of strange developments during the last fortnight. Ever since I have been associated with this Government, I have taken a great deal of interest in Nepal. We have desired not only to continue our old friendship with that country but to put it on a still firmer footing.

Nepal was an independent country when India was under British rule but her foreign relations were largely limited to her relations with the Government functioning in India. When we came into the picture we assured Nepal that we would not only respect her independence but see, as far as we could, that she developed into a strong and progressive country. We went further in this respect. Nepal began to develop other foreign relations and we welcomed this and did not hinder the process. Frankly we do not like and shall not brook any foreign interference in Nepal. We recognize Nepal as an independent country and wish her well.

But even a child knows that one cannot go to Nepal without passing through India. Therefore, no other country can have as intimate a relationship with Nepal as ours is. We would like every other country to appreciate the intimate geographical and cultural relationship that exists between India and Nepal.

In the nature of things, following India's freedom, we have stood for progressive democracy not only in our own country but in other countries also. This is specially so when one of our neighbouring countries is concerned. We pointed out to Nepal in as friendly a way as possible that the world was changing rapidly and if she did not make an effort to keep pace with it, circumstances were bound to force her to do so. We did not wish to interfere with Nepal in any way but at the same time realized that, unless some steps were taken in her internal sphere, difficulties might arise. Our friendly advice did not, however, produce any result.

During the last fortnight these developments have taken place in Nepal. Our interest in the internal conditions of Nepal has become still more acute and personal, in view of the developments across our borders, in China and Tibet. Apart from our sympathetic interest in Nepal, we were also interested in the security of our own country. From time immemorial, the Himalayas have provided us with a magnificent frontier. Of course they are no longer as impenetrable as they used to be but they are still fairly effective. We cannot allow that barrier to be penetrated, for it is also the principal barrier to India. Much as we stand for the independence of Nepal, we cannot allow anything to go wrong in Nepal or permit that barrier to be crossed or weakened because that would be a risk to our own security. Therefore, the recent developments have made us ponder more deeply over the Nepal situation.

As the House knows the King of Nepal is, at the present moment, in Delhi along with two other members of the Nepalese Government. Needless to say we pointed out to the Ministers who have come here that we desire above all a strong progressive and independent Nepal. In fact, our chief need—not only our need but also that of the whole world—is peace and stability. Having said that, I should like to add that we are convinced that a return to the old order will not bring peace and stability to Nepal.

We have tried to advise Nepal to act in a manner so as to prevent any major upheaval. We have tried to find a way a middle way if you like which will ensure the progress of Nepal and the introduction of or some advance towards democracy in Nepal. We have searched for a way which would at the same time avoid the total uprooting of the ancient order.

THE SETTLEMENT IN NEPAL is a statesmanlike act on the part of all concerned. It marks the beginning of a new era in the history of our sister country. There will be many difficulties ahead and a multitude of problems, but if the people of Nepal and their representatives seek the good of their country with a singleness of purpose and co-operate with one another in this great task, I am sure that success will come to them. The immediate task for the proposed interim government is to take charge of the administration of the country and to establish peace and order. Nepal is independent and we value her independence. But she is also in close touch with India and, therefore, we have especially welcomed the big step towards democracy that is about to be taken.

BONDS OF CULTURE

WE HAVE MET HERE to welcome the Prime Minister of Nepal. Although he is a distinguished guest of ours, we do not feel that he is different from us. He is very near to us, as is Nepal, our neighbour. Our two countries are tied by the silken bonds of geography, history and culture. Despite the historical and political changes that have come about, the close relationship of culture between us is permanent.

A few years ago we saw a revolution in Nepal and the government which had existed for a hundred years was changed. This was attended by a little trouble but, in spite of that, everything was settled in a peaceful way. Though a first step, it was a big step to have changed the government which had been in existence for a hundred years. After that the country has progressed on peaceful lines. We in India have followed with interest what has been happening in Nepal and the progress which it has made. Yesterday I was speaking to the Prime Minister when I told him that India was interested in two things, one, the independence of Nepal and, two, its progress. To the extent that these exist in Nepal, they are of advantage to India also.

I am confident that we will be able to help Nepal in its progress, and we will consult each other to our mutual benefit. The path that we follow is to learn from other nations, but at the same time we do not forget the lessons which Mahatmaji taught us. Our

From speech at banquet held in honour of M. Tanka Prasad Acharya, Prime Minister of Nepal, New Delhi, December 4, 1956.

relationship with other countries is epitomized in the word Panch sheel. That path leads us to friendship with other countries. But it is not necessary to emphasize this aspect of our policy in our relationship with Nepal, because history geography and culture which bind our two nations, are stronger than any temporary mistake which might be made

CLOSE CO-OPERATION

ON THIS AUSPICIOUS OCCASION I am reminded of my last visit to this city and this country eight or nine years ago, when I came here for the first time at the invitation of your revered father

Yours is a beautiful country and so is your city. But, whether I am in this country or in my country or anywhere else my eyes are on the people. To look at their faces and into their eyes beaming with affection does not simply give me a sense of satisfaction and joy—it creates a kind of relationship or bond between them and me. Coming to your country I had yet another proof of such affection on the part of the people

In spite of the danger of recurring wars the world has always cherished the ideal of peace and progress. But two new factors have appeared in the world of today. One of them is that war has become so dangerous that once it is started it will destroy or nearly destroy the whole of the world and all civilization and culture and the achievement of thousands of years of patient effort will come to an end. The other factor is that, for the first time in history man has the power and means due to science and technology to eradicate almost all the wants and troubles of the world. It can now be said that nobody need live in poverty

If we escape from this dangerous war the problem before us is how to harness our strength for eradicating all wants, troubles and diseases of the people. This problem is before us in India before you in Nepal and before several other countries. For the countries of Asia and Africa the problem of eradicating poverty and providing for a better life for the people is the problem of primary importance

In this sense the problems which are before your country and mine are basically the same. India and Nepal are closely related

by history and tradition. Obviously it is expected of us that we help each other and co-operate with each other to the extent we can and the important thing is the feeling behind such co-operation. This does not mean that one accepts all that the other says. This is not the meaning of friendship between two countries. But it is necessary that our hearts should be clear that we should look at each other with the eyes of love and trust each other.

In the present-day world we try to make friends with other countries if possible with all countries. But, naturally, our relations should be closer and our ties stronger with those countries which are our old friends, companions and neighbours. It is expected of us that in this difficult time your country and my country have to work hard, and be busy to achieve the objectives we have in view. But howsoever we may forget other aspects, we should remember that the activities of our two countries, like our borders are joined together and they act and react on each other. We cannot forget this aspect, as well as our old relations which flowed from this. This affinity has benefited both of us in the past and shall benefit us in future also. Without doubt, we should have friendly relations with other countries as well but we should not forget that forming the basis of all our present relations is an older relationship which we cannot renounce.

COMMON PROBLEMS

WHEN A REPRESENTATIVE, particularly the Prime Minister of Nepal comes here, the formalities of welcome become a little superfluous. The relationship between Nepal and India is a e-old, based on geography, religion, culture, customs and so many other things, and is not something which needs to be specified. It is there like the relationship between brothers. The bond of love between them is inviolable. Apart from this, what has happened in recent years has brought India and Nepal closer. About ten years ago a change took place in Nepal, which affected India a great deal, just as when India became free over twelve years ago the change affected Nepal whose people were happy that India became free. We were happy over the change because it did not concern any foreign country and the freedom that came to Nepal was internal.

From speech at banquet held in honour of Mr. B. P. Koirala, Prime Minister of Nepal, New Delhi, January 4, 1960

and was a step taken towards democracy. After that other things happened. Last year Nepal took another big step and democracy was even more firmly established there.

The relations between us, based on love and bonds of culture, are deep-rooted and when the roots go so deep, any happy event in our country has its effect on you, and similarly if you progress we feel elated. If we are faced with a danger it affects you also. If you are confronted with a threat, it affects us, and in a way becomes our danger in the same way as our danger would become yours.

These aspects apart there are some fundamental problems confronting both our countries. They are in a way similar—the advancement of our peoples. Thus, another relationship is established between us—that of solving our problems in co-operation with each other and by helping each other. From whatever point of view we may look at it, it appears that as in the past, the future of Nepal and India lies in co-operation with each other and in moving ahead together.

The most fundamental question is whether or not there should be peace in the world, and there is no doubt that the policy of Nepal as well as that of India is one of peace. In other matters also we follow similar policies. Our relations, which go far back into the past, are already very close. Even so, I would wish that they were further strengthened in the present so that we may help each other and, as far as possible, co-operate with each other in matters affecting the whole world.

OUR OLD RELATIONS with Nepal were further strengthened when we fought for the freedom of India. Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Indian Nation, did not influence India alone; he influenced Nepal considerably. He influenced other countries as well, but Nepal in a special sense. Therefore, if one questions the relationship between Nepal and India, one only proves one's ignorance. Again, there are many things in our political life which have joined us together. There is a unity of outlook between us regarding the independence and progress of our countries in a democratic way. We see eye to eye with each other on many of the external problems also. Therefore, it is apparent that Nepal should be interested in what we do in India and India should be interested in what is done in Nepal. And more than that, they should influence

From speech in reply at banquet held in his honour by Mr. B. P. Koirala, Nepal, New Delhi, January 27, 1960.

each other. We are confident that our old and intimate relations will not only be maintained but will grow stronger with time and that it is impossible for any agency to separate us.

The Prime Minister said that both our countries were faced with similar problems. The main problem before us is how to raise the standard of living of our peoples, to give them relief from wants and to make them happy and prosperous. This is an internal problem for both India and Nepal and we look at it almost in the same way. In international affairs also, we have more or less a similar outlook. As a consequence whenever difficulties come or dangers arise we will look to each other to give help or to get help and thus both will be benefited.

THE KING'S PROCLAMATION

I WOULD LIKE TO SAY a few words about the recent event in Nepal which has exercised our minds. If such an event happened in any part of the world, it would be a matter of regret to us, but happening in a country on our threshold, with which we have such intimate relations, it has been a matter of great concern to us. We have not at any time sought to interfere in Nepal in the last ten years or so since it gained its freedom from the old regime. We have helped Nepal to the best of our ability. Even in the old days we had treaties with Nepal which were renewed. We had close bonds between us and were consulting each other when there was any danger from abroad. That represents the actual position in regard to the relationship between India and Nepal.

Apart from all these political and other aspects, our sympathies go out to any country which is trying to gain freedom, as Nepal was ten years ago, or which wants to advance in the democratic way. In regard to economic improvement, we have been trying to help Nepal to the best of our ability. We have got an Aid Mission there now. We helped Nepal also in training its Army. We sent there a Military Mission which, I believe, did a lot of very good work. We have built the big road connecting India with Kathmandu. So our interest in Nepal is inevitable.

When the news of the Proclamation of the King reached us, it was not in a sense a surprise. Nevertheless, it did come as a bit of a shock just at that time. It was not a surprise in the sense that

we had been conscious of the different pulls there and the possibility of something happening. The King and the Government were not working very harmoniously for months past, and yet, curiously enough the latest reports as they came to us before this action of the King were that the Ministry and the King were working more harmoniously than before. I am not referring to our Ambassador's report, but to what the King himself had in the course of conversations and by his behaviour led people to believe.

The Proclamation made by the King refers to the failure of the Nepal Government and the Ministry to improve the administration and accuses them of corruption, crude economic theories and the rest. These are vague charges and it is difficult to say anything about vague charges. Nobody can call any government an ideal government, more especially a government in Nepal which has been fighting very difficult conditions in the last ten years when various governments came in.

May I say that right from the first day ten years ago when there was an upheaval against the old Rana regime, the previous King made it clear that he was working for and he wanted to establish a democratic system of government. Difficulties came in. Governments were formed and dismissed, and there were fairly long periods of King's rule without any other government. Even then it was made clear that that was a preparation or an interval before going back to democracy and we were happy when the present King announced a constitution and later followed it up with elections. In the elections, the Nepal Congress Party got a very big majority and they have functioned since then. It is not for me to judge of their functioning but it is fairly easy to find faults. They had a tremendous task and I believe the impression we had generally was that for the first time Nepal had some orderly government which was trying to do its best to improve things. Whether they succeeded much or not is another matter.

I do not know what reasons lay behind what the King has said in his Proclamation because the charges are vague. There is reference as I said, to crude economic theories. The only economic step that they were trying to take, so far as I know was in regard to land. Land in Nepal in the past had been held by a very few people and I believe that they have hardly paid any taxes on it. It was free there *virtually* land. The new step was an attempt to have somewhat better and what I consider very moderate land laws or a taxation system on land. I do not know if this was the case. They proposed a Bill or they passed it in Parliament, but it has been for a long time past with the King awaiting his approval. I do not know whether this kind of economic advance was considered by the King as a crude method of dealing with these problems. Anyhow

the basic fact remains that this is not a question of pushing out a Government which has a big majority. This is a complete reversal of the democratic process, and it is not clear to me that there can be a going back to the democratic process in the foreseeable future. Naturally one views such a development with considerable regret.

PAKISTAN

INVASION OF KASHMIR

THE HOUSE is aware that on the lapse of Crown Paramountcy on August 15 this year Kashmir did not accede to either Dominion. We were of course, vitally interested in the decision that the State would take. Kashmir because of its geographical position, with its frontiers with three countries, namely the Soviet Union, China and Afghanistan is intimately connected with the security and international contacts of India. Economically also Kashmir is intimately related to India. The caravan trade routes from Central Asia to India pass through the Kashmir State.

Nevertheless, we did not put the slightest pressure on the State to accede to the Indian Dominion because we realized that Kashmir was in a very difficult position. We did not want a mere accession from the top but an association in accordance with the will of its people. Indeed we did not encourage any rapid decision. Even in regard to a standstill agreement, no speedy steps were taken by us, although Kashmir had entered into a standstill agreement with Pakistan soon after August 15.

We learnt later that serious external pressure was being applied on Kashmir by the Pakistan authorities by refusing to send to Kashmir supplies vital to the needs of the people, such as foodgrains, salt, sugar and petrol. Thus an attempt was being made to strangle Kashmir economically and force it to accede to Pakistan. This pressure was serious, because it was not easy for Kashmir to obtain these essential supplies from India on account of the difficulty of communications.

In September news reached us that tribesmen of the North West Frontier Province were being collected and sent to the Kashmir border. In the beginning of October events took a grave turn. Armed bands moved into the Jammu province from the

neighbouring districts of West Punjab committed serious acts of depredation on the local inhabitants, burnt villages and towns and put a large number of people to death. Refugees from these areas poured into Jammu.

On the Jammu side of the border the local inhabitants who are chiefly Hindu and Rajput, took retaliatory measures and drove out the Muslims living in those border villages. In these border conflicts a very large number of villages were destroyed or burnt by both parties on either side of the frontier.

The raiders from West Punjab into the Jammu province increased in number and spread out over that province. The Kashmir State Army which had to meet these raids at numerous points soon found itself broken into small fragments and gradually ceased to be a fighting force. The raiders were highly organized, had competent officers and modern arms. They succeeded in occupying a considerable part of the Jammu province, more especially in the Poonch area. The towns of Poonch, Mirpur, Kotli and some other places held out.

About this time the State authorities asked us to supply them with arms and ammunition. We agreed to do so in the normal course. But in fact no supply was made till events took a more serious turn. Even at this stage no mention was made of accession to India.

The leader of the popular organization in Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, President of the Kashmir National Conference, was released from prison during this period and we discussed the situation in Kashmir with him as well as with the representatives of the Maharaja of Kashmir. We made it clear to them that while we welcomed the accession of Kashmir we did not want any hurried or forced accession and we would rather wait for the people to decide.

On October 24 we heard that large armed bands consisting both of tribesmen from the Frontier and ex-servicemen had broken through Muzaffarabad and were marching on Srinagar. These raiders had crossed Pakistan territory and they were equipped with Bren guns, machine-guns, mortars and flame throwers and had at their disposal a large number of transport vehicles. They moved rapidly down the valley, sacking and burning and looting all along the way. We gave earnest consideration to this situation in our Defence Committee on October 25 and 26. The position on the morning of the 26th was that the raiders were marching towards Srinagar and there was no military detachment capable of stopping them. They had been stopped for two days near Uri by the State forces under a gallant commander who resisted this advance to the point of death. These two days thus gained were very valuable.

We were asked at this stage on behalf of both the Maharaja and Sheikh Abdullah to accept the accession of the State to the

Indian Union and to intervene with the armed forces of the Union. An immediate decision was necessary and in fact it is now clear that if we had delayed the decision even by 24 hours, Srinagar would have fallen and would have suffered the tragic fate that befell Muzaffarabad Baramulla and other places. It was clear to us that we could not possibly accept under any circumstances the ruin of Kashmir by brutal and irresponsible raiders. This would have been a surrender to frightfulness and fanaticism of the worst type and it would have had the most serious consequences all over India. To intervene at this stage was no easy matter and was full of risks and danger. Yet we decided to face this risk and intervene because any other course would have meant ruin to Kashmir and greater danger to India.

In accepting the accession, however we made it perfectly clear to the Maharaja that his Government must be carried on in future according to the popular will. We also made it clear that as soon as law and order had been restored in Kashmir and its soil cleared of the invaders the question of the State's accession should be settled by reference to the people.

One feature of the situation was the maintenance under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah of the civil administration and the morale of the civilian population. The civilian population, completely unarmed, with the enemy within a few miles of the city behaved in a manner which showed extraordinary courage and coolness.

The present position is that our troops have relieved Poonch and are within eight miles of Kotli. The terrain in which they are fighting is difficult and mountainous and the roads and approaches have been destroyed by the raiders. Progress is, therefore slow. In the Poonch area occupied by the raiders several massacres of the non Muslim inhabitants have taken place involving a large number of persons.

The House is aware that the Pakistan Government have protested emphatically against our action in Kashmir. In doing so they have used language which is not becoming to any government and have alleged fraud and conspiracy on our part. I need only say that I am completely convinced that every action that the Government of India have taken in regard to Kashmir has been straight and above board and I can defend it at any time before the world. We have indeed been over-scrupulous in this matter so that nothing may be done in the passion of the moment which might be wrong. I cannot say this of the Pakistan Government. Their case is that the genesis of the trouble was the extensive killing of Muslims in Eastern Punjab and Kashmir and that the raid on Kashmir was a spontaneous reaction to this on the part of the

tribesmen. This is completely untrue. We have sufficient evidence in our possession to demonstrate that the whole business of the Kashmir raids both in the Jammu province and in Kashmir proper was deliberately organized by high officials of the Pakistan Government. They helped the tribesmen and ex-servicemen to collect and supplied them with the implements of war with lorries, with petrol and with officers. They are continuing to do so. Indeed their high officials openly declare so. It is obvious that no large body of men could cross Pakistan territory in armed groups without the goodwill connivance and active help of the authorities there. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that the raids on Kashmir were carefully planned and well organized by the Pakistan authorities with the deliberate object of seizing the State by force and then declaring its accession to Pakistan. This was an act of hostility not only to Kashmir but to the Indian Union.

The Pakistan Government have proposed a simultaneous withdrawal of our forces and the raiders from Kashmir. This was a strange proposal and could only mean that the raiders were there at the instance of the Pakistan Government. We cannot treat with freebooters who have murdered large numbers of people and tried to ruin Kashmir. They are not a State although a State may be behind them. We have gone to Kashmir to protect the people and as soon as this duty is discharged our forces need not remain there and we shall withdraw our forces. If the Pakistan Government are sincere, they can stop the entry of these raiders and thus accelerate the return of peace and order. After that the people of Kashmir can decide their future and we shall accept their decision.

In order to establish our *bona fides* we have suggested that when the people are given the chance to decide their future this should be done under the supervision of an impartial tribunal such as the United Nations Organization.

Kashmir has gone through fire and I am sure that the House would like me to communicate its sympathy to the people of Kashmir for the tribulations they have been going through in recent weeks. This fair land which Nature has made so lovely has been desecrated by people who have indulged in murder, arson, loot and soul attacks on women and children. The people have suffered greatly from shortage of the most vital necessities of life and yet, under the inspiring lead of Sheikh Abdullah, they have stood together in the hour of calamity. Whatever the future may hold this chapter in the history of Kashmir will be worth reading and we shall never regret that in their hour of distress we have been able to be of assistance to this gallant people. Kashmir and India have been bound together in many ways from ages past.

REFERENCE TO UNITED NATIONS

AS IS WELL KNOWN NOW the Government of India has made a reference to the Security Council of the United Nations in regard to the invasion of Kashmir by persons coming from or through Pakistan.

I have previously, on several occasions, placed before the country the facts relating to Kashmir ever since we sent our troops there on October 27 1947 Our troops succeeded in saving the valley of Kashmir and the city of Srinagar and drove back the enemy to Uri along the Jhelum valley road

Since then, fighting has taken place on a large front along almost the entire border of the Kashmir State and Pakistan. Very large numbers of armed men in battle formation and fully equipped with modern arms, have entered Kashmir State territory at many places, and still larger concentrations of these men have been made along the border on the Pakistan side.

These border areas of Pakistan have become the base of operations for these invaders and, from the security of these bases, large numbers come across and raid burn and loot Kashmir State territory which is Indian Dominion territory. The Government of India would have been justified in self-defence to strike at these bases, and thus put an end to the sources of supply of these invaders. It has however scrupulously avoided doing so so as to limit the field of operations and in the hope that the Pakistan Government will cease aiding and abetting these invaders.

During the last two months, repeated requests have been made to the Pakistan Government to prevent the use of its territory for aggression on India. It has not only not done so but it is an established fact that these invaders, among whom are a large number of Pakistan nationals, have been helped in every way by the Pakistan Government.

On December 22 1947 a formal request was made in writing to the Prime Minister of Pakistan. In this letter the acts of aggression of Pakistan and the forms of aid given by Pakistan to the invaders were briefly stated and the Government of Pakistan was asked to call upon Pakistan nationals to cease participating in the attack on the Jammu and Kashmir State and to deny to the invaders (1) all access to and use of Pakistan territory for operations against the Kashmir State (2) all military and other supplies and (3) all other kinds of aid that might tend to prolong the present struggle.

The Government of India expressed its earnest desire again to live on terms of friendship with Pakistan and hoped that its

request would be acceded to promptly and without reserve. It pointed out, however that, failing such response, it would be compelled to take such action, with due regard to its rights and obligations as a member of the United Nations, as it might consider necessary to protect its own interests and those of the Government and people of the Jammu and Kashmir State

As no reply was received to this formal request two reminders were sent. Ultimately on December 30 a formal reference was made to the Security Council through the representative of the Government of India with the United Nations. On December 31 a copy of this reference was sent by telegram to the Pakistan Government.

This reference stated the facts of the case and pointed out that they indisputably pointed to the following conclusions

- (a) that the invaders are allowed transit across Pakistan territory
- (b) that they are allowed to use Pakistan territory as a base of operations
- (c) that they include Pakistan nationals
- (d) that they draw much of their military equipment, transport and supplies (including petrol) from Pakistan and
- (e) that Pakistan officers are training, guiding and otherwise helping them.

The Government of India requested the Security Council therefore to ask the Government of Pakistan

- (1) to prevent Pakistan Government personnel military and civil, participating in or assisting the invasion of the Jammu and Kashmir State
- (2) to call upon other Pakistan nationals to desist from taking any part in the fighting in the Jammu and Kashmir State
- (3) to deny to the invaders (a) access to and use of its territory for operations against Kashmir (b) military and other supplies the (c) all other kinds of aid that might tend to prolong the present struggle.

The reference to the Security Council is thus limited to the matters mentioned above. There is an urgency about these matters, for the first step that must be taken is to put a stop to the fighting and this can only be done if the invaders withdraw. It must be remembered that all the fighting has taken place on Indian Union territory and it is the inherent right of the Government of India to drive back any invaders on its territory. Till the Kashmir State is free of the invaders, no other matter can be considered.

The Foreign Minister of Pakistan, in a recent press interview has brought a large number of charges against the Government of India. I repudiate them utterly. What has happened during the

past year is well known and we are prepared to stand the test of the closest scrutiny. Apparently all this variety of charges has been brought to cover up the Kashmir issue in a forest of other matters which have nothing to do with it.

It is completely untrue to say that the Government of India has tried to undo the partition or to strangle Pakistan. The mere fact of our agreeing to what everybody recognizes to be very generous financial terms can hardly be construed as a hostile gesture. On the contrary it is evidence of our desire to help Pakistan and to have friendly relations with it.

It is completely untrue that we have repudiated these financial agreements. We stand by them and shall honour them. But it is true that we have pointed out to Pakistan that we cannot make these payments at present when that money might be utilized for warlike operations against India.

A GENEROUS GESTURE

THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION in regard to the payment of the cash balances to Pakistan has been taken after the most careful thought and after consultation with Gandhiji. I should like to make it clear that this does not mean any change in our unanimous view about the strength and validity of the Government's position as set out in various statements made by distinguished colleagues of mine. Nor do we accept the facts or arguments advanced in the latest statement of the Finance Minister of Pakistan.

Statement from New Delhi, January 13 1948

India very generously agreed to allocate Rs. 750 million to Pakistan out of the cash balances to help the latter to make a start. It was felt that the Arbitral Tribunal should not have allocated so big an amount to Pakistan, and it was hoped that this generosity on the part of the Indian Union would have reciprocal response. The Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Patel, read it clear that this financial deal was linked with the overall settlement of outstanding issues. But in the meantime, Pakistan waged an undeclared war against India in Kashmir; and lest the Rs. 550 million (Rs. 700 million having already been paid out of the 750 million) should be spent against India in Kashmir payment was withheld, swarting a settlement on Kashmir. It became another cause of bitterness between India and Pakistan. When Mahatma began his fast on January 13 and appealed to the nation to remove ill will, prejudice and passion which poisoned the relations between India and Pakistan, the Government of India decided to pay the amount due—namely Rs. 550 million, to Pakistan immediately as a gesture of goodwill and that State did as their contribution to the non-violent and noble efforts made by Gandhi. On January 18 Mahatma Gandhi terminated his fast in response to the pledge by the leaders of Delhi through the press overtures that they would banish communalism from their hearts and from the country.

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We have come to this decision in the hope that this generous gesture, in accord with India's high ideals and Gandhiji's noble standards will convince the world of our earnest desire for peace and goodwill.

We have sought to remove one major cause of dispute and argument between India and Pakistan and we hope that other problems will also be resolved. But let it be remembered that the people of Kashmir are suffering from a brutal and unprovoked invasion, and we have pledged ourselves to help them to gain their freedom. To that pledge we shall hold and we shall do our utmost to redeem it. We seek their freedom not for any gain to us, but to prevent the ravishing of a fair country and a peaceful people.

AN ACT OF FAITH

I SHALL NOT TAKE the time of the House with a detailed account of the proceedings of the Security Council in regard to the Kashmir issue these have been fairly fully reported in the Press. I must confess that I have been surprised and distressed at the fact that the reference we made has not even been properly considered thus far and other matters have been given precedence. If the facts we stated in our reference were correct, as we claim they were then certain consequences naturally flowed from them, both in law and from the point of view of establishing peace and order.

On behalf of Pakistan there was a repetition of the fantastic charges against India which had been made previously in the letter of the Prime Minister of Pakistan received on January 1 in reply to my letter dated December 22. These charges against India spoke of a determination to crush Pakistan, organized genocide of Muslims in India, and the procurement of the accession of Kashmir by force and fraud.

I regret greatly that the representative of Pakistan should have made many statements and charges in the Security Council against India which have no foundation in fact. A great deal has happened in India and Pakistan during the last six months or more which has brought shame on all of us and I am prepared to admit at any stage and at any time the errors of our own people for I do not think that it is good for the individual or the nation to lapse from

truth. That is the lesson our Master taught us and we shall hold on to it to the best of our ability. Many horrible things have happened in India and Pakistan during these past months and while we hold strong views as to the initial responsibility for all the frightfulness that has occurred all of us, in a greater or lesser degree, have a certain responsibility for it. But so far as the events in Kashmir are concerned I am convinced in my mind that every action that the Government of India has taken has been straight and above board and inevitable in the circumstances.

Our making a reference on this issue to the Security Council of the United Nations was an act of faith, because we believe in the progressive realization of a world order and a world government. In spite of many shocks, we have adhered to the ideals represented by the United Nations and its Charter. But those very ideals teach us also certain duties and responsibilities to our own people and to those who put their trust in us. To betray these people would be to betray the basic ideals for which the United Nations stand or should stand. Even at the moment of accession we went out of our way to make a unilateral declaration that we would abide by the will of the people of Kashmir as declared in a plebiscite or referendum. We insisted further that the Government of Kashmir must immediately become a popular government. We have adhered to that position throughout and we are prepared to have a plebiscite, with every protection for fair voting, and to abide by the decision of the people of Kashmir.

ADMISSION BY PAKISTAN

SIR, I CRAVE YOUR LEAVE to place certain papers on the table of the House and to make a statement thereon. These papers relate to the United Nations Commission on Kashmir which has been in India and in Pakistan for about two months now. Honourable Members of the House must have read in this morning's papers some correspondence which has passed between this Commission and the Government of India, a resolution passed by the Commission some three weeks ago, the Government of India's reply thereto and some indication of Pakistan's reply.

The House will have seen from this published correspondence what the Commission's resolution was and our response to it. We

accepted certain conditions for a truce and cease fire. Pakistan however has rejected them.

Although I do not wish to say much on this subject, there are certain facts to which I should like to draw the attention of the House. The facts themselves are very well known not only in this House but all over the country. Nevertheless sometimes, known and established facts are denied and it does make a difference when those facts are admitted.

The present story and tragedy of Kashmir began over ten months ago. We went to the Security Council with the very simple plea that the peace of Kashmir had been disturbed by the raiders coming across the Pakistan territory and we stated our case as moderately as possible. We said that it was inevitable that people coming from Pakistan could only come with the assistance and goodwill of Pakistan and therefore, we requested the Security Council to ask Pakistan not to assist them and not to permit them to come in this way. Pakistan denied that fact and during the long discussions before the Security Council they not only went on denying it, but expressed a great deal of irritation and anger that anyone should have made such a charge against them. Well, I do not want to go into this long history of denial by them, but the point is that today on their own admission their denial was false. That is an important matter.

This is not only important from the point of view of practical politics and the situation we have to face today but is important also from the point of view of the standards of morality, good behaviour and decency that should subsist between nations. The story of these ten months and more and the way the Pakistan Government have reacted to all that has been said about them in the course of these ten months is so extraordinary as to be hardly creditable for a nation. Even till yesterday as far as the world was concerned even till 4 p.m. yesterday there was no admission by Pakistan that they were participating in any way in these Kashmir operations. Of course, we knew. We had the most definite and positive evidence to that effect and ultimately you cannot hide large armies. Nevertheless, till 4 p.m. yesterday when those papers were issued to the public, there was no public admission. In fact, there was a continual denial in the course of the last few weeks, while this large Pakistan Army was active in Kashmir battling with the Indian forces in Indian Union territory.

All the fighting that has taken place in the last ten months has been in Kashmir has been in Indian territory there has been no fighting there has been no incursion, there has been no Indian Army anywhere on Pakistan territory. That is a fundamental and basic fact, which apart from any other enquiry and any other facts

would lead one to the conclusion that if any outsiders are fighting in Indian Union territory those outsiders are the aggressors. Why are they there? During the last six weeks or so, we pointed out again in the most explicit language to the Pakistan Government and to the Prime Minister of Pakistan the presence of Pakistan troops in the Kashmir State.

Again there was either a denial or an evasion of the issue. It was extraordinary. It has been a shock to me that any country any responsible Minister of a Government, should make statements which are patently and obviously false and try to mislead the world by that means. You will remember that there were prolonged arguments on this issue before the Security Council at Lake Success. The Foreign Minister of the Pakistan Government who was the chief delegate of their Government there placed the case for Pakistan before the Security Council.

How does that case stand now? I would beg you and the country and the world to consider it because the whole case rested on one basic assumption—the denial of Pakistan's complicity in Kashmir. They throughout denied that they had actively participated in it. If this claim is proved, as it is proved out of their very mouths today to have been false then what happens to that whole case so laboriously built up by the Pakistan Government before the Security Council? What happens to the charge that we brought against them which was never considered by the Security Council at all much to our regret and amazement? So the fundamental thing for us to remember is this, that a fact which was denied for ten months and more has at last been publicly admitted by the Pakistan Government. They have of course admitted it in their own way. I shall read out some passages from their letter to the Commission. They say

"India was steadily building its armed forces in Jammu and Kashmir. This building up process did not cease on April 21, 1948 but was continued and intensified. The Indian Army mounted a big offensive in the beginning of April thereby causing a material change in the situation. This offensive action has continued ever since. The publicly declared intention of the Government of India was to secure a military decision in Jammu and Kashmir thus presenting the United Nations Organization with a *fait accompli*. This situation not only put in jeopardy the entire population of the areas under the Azad Kashmir Government and led to a big influx of refugees into Pakistan but also constituted a direct threat to Pakistan's security. It was this that compelled the Government of Pakistan to move their troops into certain defensive positions.

Observe here, too they do not say clearly that the defensive positions happened to be in another country

Quite apart from their decision in regard to cease-fire and other proposals, the country which participates in aggression against a neighbouring country maybe in the name of defence or its own security denies it for many months and then, in fact when it finds that its guilt is proved, when it cannot hide it any more, then grudgingly admits it and gives some reason for it! According to their statement, they took this action in April last, four months or four and a half months ago. If they felt that their security was imperilled or that something was happening which endangered them and that they had to send their troops, what then should they have done? Obviously they should have informed the Government of India, and informed the United Nations Organization that this was happening and that there had been, as they say a material change in the situation and therefore they were compelled to take this or that action.

They sent this army according to them, in April last or thereabouts and there is no intimation to us into whose territory they were coming and there was no intimation to the United Nations Organization which was seized of this question, and was, as a matter of fact, then thinking of sending out a commission to India. You will remember that in the very early stages of the Security Council's activities, an appeal was made to India and Pakistan in regard to these military operations and in regard to avoiding any situation arising between India and Pakistan. That appeal was repeated. In the few lines I have read to you from Pakistan's reply they accused India of mounting an offensive. We are trying to push out the invader from Indian Union territory. It has been our declared policy which we have repeated before the United Nations Security Council, which in fact was inevitable for us and would have been for any other country with any grain of self respect.

We have, right from the beginning, taken whatever step we have taken in the open there has been no hiding about it. But what did the Pakistan Government do?

May I take the House into my confidence? When this question first came up I sought guidance, as I often did in other matters, from Mahatmaji and I went to him repeatedly and put to him my difficulties. The House knows that that apostle of non violence was not a suitable guide in military matters—and he said so—but he undoubtedly always was a guide on the moral issues. I put my difficulties and my Government's difficulties before him because the moral aspect of this question has always troubled me. Individuals may have erred here and there but I say that the Government of India and the Indian Army as a whole have done something

which was inevitable, and each step that we have taken has been an inevitable step which, if we had not taken it, would have brought disgrace to us. That is how I have ventured to look at this question of Kashmir whereas I find that on the other side the whole case has been built up on what I venture to say is falsehood and deceit. That is what I ask this House and the country and the world to consider.

Therefore, this is the first fact to remember that all this case built up by Pakistan before the Security Council crumbles by this admission of theirs and by the proven fact that large armies of theirs are active in Kashmir and no doubt similar armies—if you like—and others connected with them have operated in Kashmir on Indian Union territory during these ten months or so. Every subsequent proceeding should be viewed from that aspect.

There has been aggression and if it is called—as according to their own admission it must be called—aggression then certain consequences ought to follow. There have been long discussions over the Kashmir issue and every aspect and phase and the past and present history have been considered. But what has been the major point? I repeat that, because I think the fundamental factor is the aggression of Pakistan on Indian Union territory, secondly the denial of the fact of that aggression, thirdly the present admission of the fact. These are the governing factors of that situation. And the argument has gone on for so long because these governing factors were slurred over and were not emphasized. If you try to solve a problem without analysing or stating the nature of the problem, how are you to solve it? And that has been the fundamental difficulty in this Kashmir business: the fundamental issue has been slurred over and bypassed and passed over. Now the basic factor is revealed by the very admission of the Pakistan Government.

Coming in the proposal of the United Nations Commission in India in regard to a cease fire and truce etc., I shall not discuss it much because I do not wish at this moment to say anything which might embarrass the Commission. I need hardly say that the proposal they made was not welcomed by us with joy and enthusiasm: there were many matters in it which went against the grain. But we tried to look at the matter as coolly and dispassionately as possible with a view to establishing peace in the harned State of Kashmir and avoiding needless suffering and shedding of blood and we agreed to the cease fire proposal after the Commission had been good enough to elucidate certain points which we had placed before them. We did not place too many points before them but only certain simple obvious points relating to the security of Kashmir. We placed these before them and they were good enough to tell us that that was their

meaning. Thereupon we accepted the cease fire proposal, accepted many things in it which we did not like, because we felt that both in the interest of peace and of international order it was a good thing for us to go a few steps forward even though some of the steps might be unwilling ones. We did so in order to bring about this peace and to show that we were prepared to go as far as possible to meet the wishes of an international organisation like the United Nations.

The Pakistan Government had also received these proposals at the same time, on August 14. They also had the same amount of time for reply but it was by the pressure of events or the pressure of the Commission that ultimately they gave some kind of a reply yesterday. Meanwhile, they sent long letters seeking elucidation. I have read the significant parts of the reply and in effect it is a rejection of these proposals.

The Commission told us that these proposals stood as a whole and while they were prepared to discuss gladly any matter it was difficult, in fact, it was not possible for them to accept conditional acceptances. So they said that these proposals were to be accepted as they were, and if there were conditions attached to them, it was not an acceptance but a rejection. Therefore, what the Pakistan Government have done is tantamount to rejection. So we arrive at a curious state of affairs, that the country which was the aggressor nation according to its own showing now even rejects and refuses a proposal for a cease-fire made by a United Nations Commission.

MILLIONS ON THE MOVE

OUR RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN have, ever since we became independent, completely overshadowed not only much of our domestic life but to some extent our foreign policy also. We agreed to the constitution of Pakistan by the partition of India because of a variety of things that had happened previously. We accepted it as a fact and we hoped that it would at least solve some of the problems that had troubled us. We did not accept it at any time on the basis of a two-nation theory but on the basis of some kind of territorial self-determination. Clearly it was impossible to divide India on the basis of separate religious groups on one side or the other because they were bound to overlap. It was also clearly

understood that those communities which would become the minority communities on either side must have the fullest protection and fullest security of their lives otherwise the whole structure which we had built up would collapse.

Unfortunately upheavals took place in North India and Pakistan immediately after the partition—and they were upheavals of such an inhuman nature and magnitude that none of us in his wildest moment, could have imagined they were possible. I am not going into that. I shall only say that certain large scale migrations resulted. This imposed tremendous hardships on millions of people who had been uprooted and for whom it is so difficult to find roots again. All that happened—it came like a flood and we were overwhelmed by it.

In those first days and months which were so full of tragedy we had the great advantage of the presence of Mahatma Gandhi here and I do not know what would have happened without him. But he left us, almost—I might perhaps say—as a consequence of those happenings and the passions that they had unleashed.

We had thus far dealt with West Punjab and the Frontier Province on the one side and East Punjab, a bit of Delhi and certain other areas on the other. In the provinces of Sind, East Bengal and West Bengal nothing had happened to begin with and we hoped that nothing much would happen.

But gradually we found that in the province of Sind, conditions were such as to make it difficult for the minority community to continue to live there. There was a ceaseless stream from Sind pouring into northern India till at last Sind became almost bereft of any minority community except for certain scheduled classes, who remained there perforce because they could not easily come away.

Meanwhile the stream also continued from East Bengal although there were no major incidents either in East or West Bengal. Sometimes it came almost in a flood and sometimes it reduced itself to a trickle. In the course of the last two years or so about a million and six hundred thousand people came over from East Bengal. Some people also went from West Bengal to East Bengal during that period. I have no figures but I think their number was considerably less. During the last year and a half or two years, a possibility that has always frightened us has been the development of an evil situation in East Bengal and West Bengal. It has frightened us because of the number and the great suffering involved. We discouraged in every possible way the migration of large numbers from one Bengal to the other. At one period when it went down almost to a trickle it seemed to us that we had probably stopped that migration. Unfortunately in spite of our

discouragement, people came over in hundreds of thousands. Then the events in the last two months or so have brought this problem, which had been a kind of bogey right to the forefront. We have to face it today.

I shall now refer to some other problems affecting Pakistan and ourselves. There is the Kashmir problem. You must have seen that a certain resolution on Kashmir was passed by the Security Council a few days ago and that we have accepted the basic part of it. Nevertheless our representative, Mr B N Rau had made it perfectly clear to the Security Council that certain implications of the MacNaughton formula were not acceptable to us. These implications have to do with the so-called Azad Kashmir forces and the northern areas. We have made it perfectly clear at every stage that we could not accept any other position than the one we have put forward. We have emphasized in our reply to the Security Council, the basic moral and legal factors which we think govern the situation and to which—especially to the moral factor—we attach great importance.

There are other important matters between Pakistan and us, for instance, the question of canal waters, evacuate property and devaluation. These are questions which, when they arise between the two Governments, should essentially be considered on expert level.

Before I go back to the new situation that has arisen in Bengal, may I remind the House that some time ago I made an offer to the Pakistan Government that we should both subscribe to a 'no war' declaration on behalf of our Governments? The draft that we proposed was published in the Press. It was a very simple draft. The answer of the Pakistan Government was rather complicated. They said that before we did this we must devise means for settling every other problem that we had whether it was Kashmir or devaluation. I pointed out to them that it would be a very good thing if we could solve all our problems and that, if we were to solve them, the first step should be taken. What I wanted was to create an atmosphere which would help in the solution of those problems. So we went on arguing and the latest thing is a reply from the Prime Minister of Pakistan making various proposals about how the other problems should be tackled and what procedure should be laid down.

While this was happening the eruption took place in East and West Bengal and I felt that there was a certain element of unreality in my talking about vague declarations, when we could not control the existing situation. There were a great many difficulties in the way of people coming away from East Bengal to West Bengal but most of those difficulties have been removed. Certificates of domicile and income-tax clearance were required; they are not

necessary now. Also, the people had to pass through four barriers, losing some of their belongings at each. The customs barrier was a legitimate one—again a police barrier—then the Ansar barrier and finally a barrier of common folk who called themselves "Jana-ran" which means people gathered together. I visited a big camp at Ranaghat where people are arriving daily. I found that many of them have been able to bring a fair quantity of luggage with them, pots, pans, utensils, bedding and in some cases trunks. Obviously there had been a relaxation in the matter of people bringing goods. What they were deprived of was, I think, mostly hard cash, which was taken away or which they gave as some kind of bribe to the various people who stopped them so that they might bring their other goods with them. In all since February 13 I should imagine about 150 000 Hindus have come from East Bengal to Calcutta. About 100 000 Muslims have left Calcutta for East Bengal and this process is continuing daily. It is a two-sided affair and entirely voluntary in the sense that people are not pushed out—they leave under the stress of circumstances.

As the House knows, there have recently been, in certain towns of U.P. and in Bombay disturbances and incidents which I greatly deplore. A major disturbance also took place for two or three days in the Goalpara and Barpeta parts of Assam where there was an upheaval largely of the tribal folk, who swept down and committed a good deal of arson—driving away a fairly large number of Muslim inhabitants of those areas into either Pakistan or the near by State of Cooch Behar. As far as I know there was very little killing. I cannot say how many were driven away because figures vary from 30 000 to double that number or more.

These problems obviously raise very important questions for us. An exchange of population is something which we have opposed all along. It is something which I consider not only undesirable but also not feasible. If we wanted an exchange of population between East and West Bengal and if we did it with the complete co-operation of both the Governments on expert level and with every facility given, it is calculated that it would take five and a half years—and that if no untoward event happened.

The present position is that so far as the Hindu population of East Bengal is concerned, one might say generally speaking that the entire population is full of fear and apprehension about the future and given the opportunity would like to come away from East Bengal. That is their present feeling. I do not know if they will actually come when an opportunity is given. Perhaps, later some people will stick to their lands and other things. That will depend on the developing situation and on whether they have security or not. Quite apart from the longer considerations of the

problem our opinion is that people, especially those who are in danger should for the present be allowed to come away anyhow and that the door should be kept open for them to travel from one part of Bengal to the other. The relieving of the tension will itself result in lessening panic and giving a little more sense of security to these people. The limitation is really that of transport, that more of it is not available. Anything between 5 000 and 8,000 people come over daily. Sometimes there are 10 000 people a day. About 6 000 Muslims have been leaving Calcutta daily. On a particular day there were 14 000 Hindus coming in and 10 000 Muslims going out. The number varies.

In this connection, it was suggested that a joint statement be made by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and myself to meet the immediate situation of panic and danger to prevent incidents from happening and to allow those who so desired to come away. We do not wish to encourage mass migration, partly because it would mean that people would suffer all kinds of hardships without being able to come away for a period at least. We also think it important that full facilities be given to the people to migrate under adequate protection. It is thus proposed that a kind of joint statement be made for that limited purpose, which, to begin with, would lay down that each Government be fully responsible for the security and protection of its minorities; secondly that the guilty be punished; thirdly that those who have suffered be helped, rehabilitated and compensated; fourthly that an intensified search be made for looted property and that those persons found in possession of it and who have not voluntarily returned it be considered guilty of having looted it and punished accordingly. Also, that forced conversions be not recognized and that every attempt be made to recover women who have been abducted. Finally there will also be a reference to the punishing of people who spread wild rumours and false stories which add to the tension. This applies to newspapers also. There is also a suggestion that there should be, on both sides, a committee of enquiry to go into all these matters and that it should be presided over by a High Court judge and include a representative of the minorities.

Whatever policy we have to pursue in the future must necessarily depend largely on what happens in Pakistan and partly on what happens in India. If there is a grave danger to the minorities in Pakistan it is quite impossible for us to look on and remain calm. As far as Pakistan was concerned, she had agreed to a cultural and human approach as the basis of the partition but such an approach does not follow from the policy of a State which is Islamic in conception. Protection might follow but not equal treatment. In so far as we are concerned our old practice our background—in fact,

our very theory of State—compels us to follow a humanitarian policy. We shall be putting an end to everything we have stood for in the past if we slide in the slightest degree from that position.

THE RIGHT APPROACH

THIS AGREEMENT was meant to deal with a particular situation and a very serious one that had arisen, especially in East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura. It had affected the whole of India and also the relationship of India with Pakistan. The Prime Minister of Pakistan and I met to deal with that particular situation which of course was the outcome of many other things that had happened previously. No one thought—certainly I did not think—that this Agreement was going to solve the entire Indo-Pakistan problem.

This Agreement was meant to check the general drift towards a catastrophe. It was designed to bring a certain measure of relief to vast numbers of people both in East Bengal and West Bengal, the minorities in both countries who had undergone great suffering and were living in constant fear. They were in fact, prevented even from migrating by force of circumstances—not by any statute or law. The immediate object was to put an end to the grave tension and danger to bring relief to millions of people and to produce an atmosphere which would take us towards the solution of many of the important problems that had arisen in Bengal. We had hoped that when the atmosphere improved we could gradually take measures to bring about some kind of solution. It must be pointed out however that the solution depends not only on agreements in regard to Bengal but on agreements covering the whole sphere of Indo-Pakistan relations.

Speaking with due moderation, I would say that few things to my knowledge have succeeded so much as this Agreement. One may say—and one could rightly say—that the position in West and East Bengal is not satisfactory. One may say that all kinds of difficulties exist there and that the minorities are not happy or secure. One may perhaps, say that the Agreement has not solved the problem of Bengal completely. I never thought that it would

Speech in Parliament on the Motion "That the Bengal situation with reference to the Agreement between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan stood on April 8, 1950 be taken into consideration. August 7, 1950.

although I did think that it would help in bringing us nearer a solution to the problem. In my opinion it has helped more than it was expected to

The main thing to remember is that we have been suffering in India, not only in Bengal but also in other parts—and probably in Pakistan also—from a fever from a sickness which did not begin with the partition but which the partition certainly aggravated. We thought, perhaps mistakenly that we could get rid of that disease by the surgical operation which was the partition. So here is this deep-seated illness the disease we are dealing with which comes out in all shapes and forms and will, no doubt, take a considerable time to heal. We are dealing with enormous social and economic upheavals affecting the minds of millions of people.

We talk of migrations and there have been migrations on a tremendous scale since August 1947. But I should like the House to remember that the migrations did not begin in August 1947. They began earlier in Bengal a year before, with Noakhali and other places and in the Punjab—especially from the Pindi and the Multan areas—in March 1947 that is, many months before the partition.

There is no doubt that conditions in East Bengal and West Bengal are not normal. There is no doubt that there is a feeling of frustration and insecurity in the minds of the minorities. I am prepared to apply one test to Pakistan and India and, as far as I am concerned, it is an adequate and sufficient test. The test is what the minority thinks of the majority and not what the majority thinks. So long as the minority in Pakistan does not feel secure and does not trust the majority there is something wrong there. So long as the minority in India does not feel secure and is not prepared to repose its confidence in the majority there is something wrong here, too. We must consider both sides of the case objectively and fairly.

Coming to the figures of migration, you will see that they are disturbing and they continue to create an increasingly difficult situation. Nevertheless, there is a great deal of improvement also. I cannot say if the rate of improvement is fast enough to catch up with the disturbing features of the situation.

I have said and I say again that in my opinion the Hindu minority in East Bengal feels insecure and therefore, cannot settle down. They want to come away. Even if they remain, they do not know how long they will remain. I am quite sure that the conditions are much better in West Bengal now. They are not quite normal yet and during the last two or three months there have been two or three bad incidents in West Bengal. Nevertheless, the Government and the people there have gradually got over them. It is not,

however easy for me to judge how fast the feeling of security will grow in East Bengal. On the whole conditions are still very insecure there. The insecurity comes not from major incidents but rather from a breakdown of law and order. There are dacoities—plenty of them—and often enough these dacoities take place in the houses of members of the minority community and we have had far too many complaints of molestation of women in connection with these dacoities. It is very difficult to say definitely how many of these complaints can be proved because we receive them naturally from the refugees and sometimes they reach us two or three weeks after the incidents. Nevertheless we are trying to lay down a procedure whereby every complaint will be investigated fully whether it is a complaint from us in regard to happenings in East Pakistan or from others in regard to incidents in West Bengal.

There has, however, been a very definite improvement in regard to two matters. One concerns the abduction of women and the other the so-called forcible conversions. According to our reports, forcible conversions have practically stopped now. Our information in regard to the abduction of women is that, although such cases occurred some months ago, no fresh ones have been reported. The number reported previously was also relatively small and each case is being investigated.

I have no doubt at all that the Central Government in Pakistan has to the best of its ability tried to give effect to the Agreement of April 8 as we have done here. I think the Provincial Government of East Pakistan also tried to do the same. According to the terms of the Agreement, our Government appointed a Minister and the Pakistan Government appointed one of theirs and the two Ministers were specially charged with the responsibility for the implementation of the Agreement. We have had the experience of their work for about two months; they have toured about a great deal and made various recommendations. In the course of the last few days I have been seeing a great deal of them. I should like to say that both these gentlemen have, in my opinion, done extraordinarily good work. So, we find honest people are trying to grapple with and solve a difficult situation. They have to contend against economic collapse, against the total breakdown, we might say, of social life, especially in East Pakistan.

I would like to refer to an aspect of the East Bengal situation. We talk about four million people having come away from East Bengal since the partition. Half of them came before this year, long before this Agreement was concluded. Quite a number of them came almost immediately after the partition, because they wanted to come away and that process though slow still continues. Mostly it is the middle-class elements that are leaving East Bengal on

account of the pressure of circumstances. They have, in a sense, been squeezed out of East Bengal they could not carry on their professions successfully whether it was practice at the bar or the medical or any other profession. Many however stayed on. After all, you must remember that nearly ten million Hindus are still in East Pakistan. It is a very large number. A very large number of middle-class people have come away especially people like teachers after the February-March disturbances. Since the Agreement of April 8, there has been a continuous flow back of the minorities, both Hindu and Muslim, who had migrated previously.

The various amendments that have been proposed to the motion raise a number of issues. One of them involves a war on a prodigious scale. A war that involves conflict on a large scale means that the first victims of that conflict will be the minorities themselves. It also involves general uprooting and upsetting without doing anything to produce the condition for rehabilitation we talk so much about. By the time the war bears fruit, the minorities or a good part of them may cease to exist. Every one of the proposals I have received involves an upheaval, a conflict and sometimes, though not always, war.

Take the proposal regarding the exchange of population. I ventured to describe it some months ago as a completely impracticable and fantastic proposal. Further it is completely opposed to our political, economic, social and spiritual ideals. If you want to have an exchange of population then you must change the whole basis of not only this Government but of all that we have stood for these thirty-odd years and during the movement for freedom in this country. It is a question of faith and it involves our whole spiritual background.

People say that this Agreement has failed that it has anyway not accomplished anything. That is all very well but the Agreement is not a law unto itself. The whole point is in the approach of the Agreement and the approach of the Agreement as the House knows, was such as thrilled the whole country. It made a difference to the world. It made a difference to millions and millions of people, Hindus and Muslims, in India and in Pakistan. The friendly approach made them feel that a great burden was going to be lifted from their shoulders, that we were going to settle our differences by friendly discussions and negotiations.

THE LARGER CONTEXT

IN SPITE OF ALL THAT HAS HAPPENED the two countries, India and Pakistan, are intimately connected. Apart from being our next-door neighbour Pakistan shares her history and culture with us. A large number of people in Pakistan have their friends and relatives here similarly people in India have friends and relatives in Pakistan. When people come over from the other side and meet their old friends, they embrace one another they forget, for a moment, the new barriers that have sprung up between them and talk of old times with nostalgia. As against all this, it is also true that grave problems have arisen during the last three and a half years in our relations. These problems were inevitable consequences of the partition but what happened after it has made the situation considerably worse. All these years we have been struggling to restore normal relations between India and Pakistan. We try to overcome the problems, not to lose hope and give them up as insoluble. Struggling in our search for agreement, we proceed slowly and patiently. Sometimes we make a little progress and are heartened by it. For instance, recently we came to a trade agreement with Pakistan. We stand to profit as much from it as Pakistan. The pact was considered not only an objectively desirable step but also as one which would help in securing some normality in our relations.

I should like to say a few words about the Kashmir issue. I believe it is coming up for discussion tomorrow in the Security Council. More than one hon. Member has suggested that the issue be withdrawn from the Security Council. This reaction is perhaps, understandable in the circumstances. In the first place, I am not quite sure if it can at all be withdrawn. Secondly this would entail the reorientation of our basic policy towards the United Nations Organization. This is not a small matter. From the very outset, we have reposed our faith in the United Nations. I have sometimes been distressed by the thought that the United Nations has moved away from some of the ideals that led to its creation. Nevertheless, I feel that if the United Nations ceased to function today it would be a disaster for the world. Therefore, it would be a wrong thing for any country in a fit of impatience to sever its relation with this body and weaken it in the process.

The House will remember that, some time ago a resolution jointly sponsored by the U.S. and the U.K. delegations was placed before the Security Council. It distressed us to read it, for it seemed to us so completely wide of the mark. How could they ignore so

much of what has happened? How the able representatives of these two great nations could possibly have sponsored a resolution like this is beyond me. At the meeting of the Security Council the Foreign Minister of Pakistan also spoke at great length and his charges were incredibly fantastic. It was a surprising performance even for him. The resolution, its approach and the way it has been put forward at this juncture will endanger the peace of the world. This approach is wrong and distorted and grossly unfair to India and the people of Kashmir. Since we did not accept this resolution we did not suggest any amendments to it.

In the place of this joint resolution an amended resolution has now been placed before the Security Council by the same sponsors. I agree that, to a certain extent, it is an improvement on the old one but, basically it still ignores the real situation. It also contains certain recommendations which, as we have all along made clear we cannot accept. Further I must express my regret at the tone and content of some of the speeches, in particular the one made by the representative of the United Kingdom. It seems to me that he has displayed an astonishing ignorance of the entire problem.

Even during the period when the resolution was being considered by the Security Council, before it and since then, there has been a continuous and intensive propaganda in Pakistan for *jihad* against India. Any talk of settlement seems to me to be wholly futile in the context of this perpetual threat of *jihad* and to add to that, the wild charges made against us by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. The atmosphere has to clear up before any friendly talks are possible.

From the very beginning it has been our declared wish that the people of Kashmir should themselves decide their future. We will continue to adhere to our policy whatever happens. In pursuance of our policy we agreed to hold a plebiscite provided the conditions necessary for its peaceful conduct were fulfilled. The conditions which we consider necessary for a plebiscite are contained in the resolutions of the Security Council of August 1948 and January 1949. A deliberate attempt is now being made to go back on these and hence the delay in settlement. We made many important concessions when we accepted those resolutions. We could not further compromise on issues which we considered fundamental. The substance of the resolutions of 1948 and 1949 and the directives contained therein we considered vital and still do. We will not compromise on these in order to appease Pakistan or her sympathizers. Nor can we agree to leave Kashmir unprotected or ungoverned. We cannot allow any outside authority civil or military to assume charge of its affairs even temporarily.

The resolution now before the Security Council does not flow from the resolution of August 1948. It is a new proposition altogether and the arguments advanced in support of it by the U.K. and the U.S. delegations posit an entirely new and fantastic theory that Kashmir is a kind of no-man's land where sovereignty is yet undetermined. Neither the United Nations Commission nor the Security Council has ever advanced such a theory before and, indeed, they could not because the facts were indisputably clear. Kashmir is, juridically and politically, an integral part of India and at no time have the United Nations Commission and the Security Council challenged this fact. The fact that Pakistan is guilty of aggression in Kashmir and that, as a result of this, a certain portion of it has been removed from our factual control cannot and does not detract from our status and our right in Kashmir. Because of our desire to secure the conditions of peace and to avoid further bloodshed, we accepted the cease-fire agreement and chose to allow the existing military position to continue pending further negotiations. This has been interpreted not only to mean that Pakistan has acquired some kind of political right over the territory now under her control but also that she has a right to interfere in the other part of Kashmir. We refuse to accept either of these interpretations. In whatever manner I look at the case I do not see how Pakistan has any rights whatsoever.

The accession of Kashmir to India is entirely in conformity with the Indian Independence Act and the negotiations that preceded it. It is also fully in accord with all that has happened in the case of the other princely States which acceded to India. Kashmir acceded to India when she was still a Dominion of the Commonwealth and the accession was accepted on behalf of the Crown by the then Governor-General. It is strange that His Majesty's Government should now argue that a Dominion had acted unconstitutionally; they are really blaming themselves.

The Government of India has been a continuing body through the changes in India's constitutional status. When India became a republic some time after power had been transferred to Indian hands, the new Government inherited not only the liabilities and duties of the old Government but also its assets and its rights. After all, we continued to be a member of the United Nations without a fresh election. Similarly, it was as much our right as it was our responsibility to protect not only the States which had acceded to India but also those which had not acceded to Pakistan. Thus, even if Kashmir had not acceded to India, we should have still been obliged to protect the people of Kashmir against aggression. Kashmir has at no time been recognized as a sovereign State under international law. It has always been considered an integral

part of India. Partition made no difference to our responsibilities in Kashmir as long as it had not acceded to Pakistan. We did not ask the United Nations to adjudge the validity of Kashmir's accession or to determine where sovereignty lay. We did not seek arbitration but we went to them to complain about aggression by Pakistan which we thought might jeopardize world peace. The United Nations took advantage of our initiative in our referring the matter to them and thus enlarged the scope of their enquiry. Despite the protests of the Kashmir Government, we accorded every facility to the U.N. Commission only because we did not want to undermine the prestige of the United Nations. Until now neither the U.N. Commission nor the Security Council has suggested that the accession was open to question.

We have always been agreeable to the idea of a peaceful settlement through mediation. We do not consider arbitration the right means of solution of a complex problem like demilitarization. We submit that the proposal for arbitration is not fair because it ignores the basic facts we have mentioned.

A great deal of stress has been laid, in the revised resolution and in the speeches sponsoring it, on the proposal to have a Constituent Assembly for Kashmir. No mention has, however, been made of the continuous threat of war that is hurled at us by Pakistan day after day. We have made it abundantly clear that the proposal to have a Constituent Assembly in Kashmir does not, in any way, detract from the authority of the United Nations. It follows naturally and inevitably from our Constitution. We are merely seeking to regularize the position in Kashmir so that the authority for government is derived from the people and not from an absolute sovereign or from a political party.

WE WANT FRIENDLY SETTLEMENT

WHEN WE CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF Indo-Pakistan relations, we have to look at it as a whole. We have to think awhile of past history too, because what we see today has grown out of the past.

Some twenty or thirty years ago, most of us stood, as we do today, for intercommunal unity. We wanted a peaceful solution of our internal problems and a joint effort to win our freedom.

From reply to debate in Parliament on the President's Address, August 11 1951

We hoped we could live together in that freedom. The supporters of Pakistan had a different gospel. They were not for unity but disunity not for construction but for destruction, not for peace but for discord, if not war. I do not think that the people of Pakistan are any better or any worse than the people of India. But, fortunately a certain ideal was before us in this country during the last twenty or thirty years which naturally affected our thinking and action. And in spite of everything that ideal continues to be our guiding star. That is the major difference between India's policies today and those of Pakistan.

A year and a half ago we had an agreement with the Prime Minister of Pakistan in regard to the situation in Bengal and Assam. A good deal of criticism followed then and was repeated later but the results it achieved were remarkable in the sense that a great deal of human misery was relieved and millions were given help in a variety of ways.

I would like to add something to what I have already said on the subject of Bengal and Assam. It is impossible for me to conceive that the process of squeezing out large numbers of people can continue much longer. There is no doubt in my mind that the general conditions in East Bengal are such that some kind of continuous pressure is exercised on the minority population. This is an abnormal situation which keeps alive the tension in Indo-Pakistan relations. It is something that will not allow us to settle down but I cannot find a magic remedy for it.

I have ruled out war as a measure for the easing of Indo-Pakistan relations but I cannot rule it out independently or unilaterally. Since the other party brings it in and talks and shouts so much about it, I have to be perfectly ready for it.

In regard to the Kashmir issue it is remarkable that after all that has happened some of our friends in foreign countries write and speak and behave in the manner they do. I can understand that their knowledge of events is limited nevertheless the assurance with which they try to lay down the law sometimes the effrontery with which they advise us, amazes me.

When I think of Pakistan's case and the way they present it repeatedly I am reminded of the story of a young man who murdered his father and mother. When he was tried for it, he pleaded for mercy on the ground that he was an orphan. It is really extraordinary how reality has been distorted beyond recognition by Pakistan.

The House will remember that a year and a half ago there was a cease fire and just about that time the U.N. Commission passed a resolution which we accepted. It related to the disbandment and disarmament of the so-called Azad Kashmir forces and

to certain northern areas. We naturally insisted that we would stick to the resolution since we had accepted it.

I shall not take the House into the details of the intermediate stages. Ultimately the Commission left it at that since it could not reconcile our interpretation of its resolutions with that of Pakistan. Later there were other developments. Sir Owen Dixon and others came into the picture. In the case of the last resolution passed by the Security Council, a strange sea-change seemed to have been evident. This resolution largely ignored what had been agreed to previously between us and the Commission. Naturally we objected and pointed out that we could only be asked to do what we had agreed to do. The two or three major points we had raised and to which the Commission had agreed in writing are there for anybody to see. The fact is that they were ignored in the last resolution of the Security Council but the latter assured us that there would be arbitration about the existing discrepancies. We ventured to point out to the Security Council our unwillingness to give up the previous agreement. Since the fate of millions of people was involved, we were opposed to submitting the dispute to an arbitrator. That is why we voted against and rejected the resolution in the Security Council. I greatly regret that, when this resolution came up for discussion in the Security Council, two great countries, who are friends of ours, took an exceedingly unfriendly line. Their approach also seemed to me extremely illogical and based on ignorance and on considerations which were extraneous to the problem. Pakistan goes on saying that we have spurned the United Nations and the Security Council. I deny that. All that we have told the Security Council is that we stand by our previous agreements and it is they who have forgotten them. We are not prepared to accept anything which either ignores the previous assurances given to us or challenges our self-respect or independence or honour. Pakistan is taking advantage of the fact that they agreed to the last resolution in the Security Council and we did not. Whatever was put forward later happened to be to their advantage and they quickly agreed to it.

We went to the Security Council with a simple complaint concerning Pakistan's aggression. It is odd that we have not received any decision from the Security Council so far although Sir Owen Dixon did say three years after it had happened that Pakistan's action was a breach of international law.

In foreign countries so much has been said in connection with Kashmir and its rivers that one would think that the rivers of Kashmir determine the destiny of Pakistan! It has been suggested that unless Pakistan controls Kashmir the rivers will be diverted from their natural course and the whole of the Punjab will go dry!

The canal water question does not deal with the rivers in Kashmir it deals with the rivers in East and West Punjab about the rights of which we are as I have said prepared to have proper judicial determination. The rivers which concern Kashmir are the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab. All that one need do is to look at the map of Kashmir and one will then realize that it is fantastic to mix up the Kashmir question with the canal water issue. In England and America much is made of this confusion.

I hope this crisis in our relations with Pakistan will pass. I am convinced that the only thing that will ultimately settle our various problems is friendship. I am also convinced that friendship is bound to come in spite of bitterness in the intervening period. Regardless of the provocation Pakistan has given us and in spite of the daily talk of *jihad* and so on we shall always be ready to solve every problem peacefully and to develop friendly relations with Pakistan.

MILITARY AID TO PAKISTAN

I SHOULD LIKE to refer to the proposed U.S. aid to Pakistan. Recently the House has seen that there has been a pact between Turkey and Pakistan and it is said that this is likely to be followed by some kind of arrangement between the United States and Pakistan for military aid. Our concern is not so much due to any ill feeling against Pakistan and certainly not due to any ill feeling against America. But I have felt strongly that this step is a wrong step and a step which adds to the tensions and fears of the world. It adds to the feeling of insecurity in Asia. It is, therefore, a wrong step from the point of view of peace and removal of tensions.

I have stated on earlier occasions that I believe that the Prime Minister of Pakistan earnestly wishes, as I do, that there should be good relations between India and Pakistan. Mr. Mohammed Ali has made various statements about this matter of aid from the U.S. He asks why India should object. Of course, they are a free country. I cannot prevent them. But if something affects Asia, India especially and if something in our opinion is a reversal of history after hundreds of years, are we to remain silent? We have thought in terms of freeing our countries and one of the symbols of freedom has been the withdrawal of foreign armed forces. I say the return

of any armed forces from any European or any American country is a reversal of the history of the countries of Asia, whatever the motive. It was suggested some two or three years ago in connection with Kashmir that some European or American countries should send forces to Kashmir. We rejected that completely because, so far as we can see, on no account are we going to allow any foreign forces to land in India.

That is our outlook and it is something more than a mere Indian outlook. It is an outlook which applies to the whole of or a large part of this continent of Asia. Therefore, we regret this military aid coming from the United States to Pakistan. I am sure the United States Government did not have these considerations before them. They think, naturally in their own environment, and that is the difficulty. But because in Asia we have passed through similar processes of history in the last two hundred years or so and thus can understand each other a little better it is likely I am in tune with some of my neighbour countries when I speak. If the great powers think that the problems of Asia can be solved *minus* Asia or *minus* the views of Asian countries then it does seem to be rather odd

THE SIGNING of a military pact between the United States and Pakistan and some other countries of the old Baghdad Pact has been discussed in the Press and elsewhere for a long time. The main thing about it is that the old Baghdad Pact having progressively ceased to function in the way it was thought it would function, some of the countries connected with it have apparently tried to replace it. It appears that at the time of the Iraqi revolution in June last year the idea that the Baghdad Pact was crumbling led to a meeting of some of the members of the Baghdad Pact in London. At that time it was generally agreed among them that, in its place, there should be bilateral pacts. Talks have been going on since then and apparently they have led to the signing of this pact at Ankara. As the House knows, we disapprove of all military alliances and more especially such alliances as the Baghdad Pact which directly or indirectly affect us. We have made this clear on many occasions officially diplomatically publicly and privately.

The main thing is to find out whether this new pact goes beyond any previous pacts or is a repetition of them. I cannot precisely say since we have not seen its exact terms. I suppose that these terms will be made public. It is said that they will be laid before the

United Nations. When that is done or if they are otherwise made public, we shall naturally examine the pact.

I should like to add that during the past few weeks when talks about this pact have been going on, we have drawn the attention of the U.S. Government to our concern with such pacts and more especially the prospect of this agreement leading to greater military aid to Pakistan and even otherwise affecting us adversely through any changes made to the pact itself. We have been assured all along by the representatives of the U.S. Government that they are carrying out some old commitments, that there is going to be no addition to these commitments in the form of military aid, and that this was aimed as laid down in the old Baghdad Pact against "communist aggression". It appears that the Pakistan Government wanted to extend its scope to what they call aggression apart from "communist aggression" which presumably meant in their thinking anything connected with India. We were assured that the U.S. Government were not going to make that change. Last evening we were assured afresh by the U.S. Ambassador that the pact amounted to a carrying out of old commitments and that it meant no fresh aid. We were informed that it was governed by what is called the Eisenhower Doctrine embodied in a Congressional Resolution in the U.S. and related only to communist aggression.

MR. BHUPEN GUPTA I draw the Prime Minister's attention to a press report in which Mr. S. A. Baig, Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, said that "the agreement was a guarantee against aggression from any quarter" and that "there was no reason to believe that the U.S. would put any interpretation on the word aggression other than ours".

THE PRIME MINISTER I have seen the statement. Presuming that it is a correct report, undoubtedly, that is not in consonance with the assurance given to us on behalf of the U.S. Government. Because of the obvious conflict in interpretation we shall endeavour to find out again from the U.S. Government the meaning of what the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan has said and how far his interpretation is correct.

THIS STATEMENT relates to the three agreements for military aid signed recently between the U.S.A. and Turkey, Iran and Pakistan.

A meeting of the Baghdad Pact council was held in London on July 29, 1958. This meeting was held soon after the revolution

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Iraq At this meeting a declaration was issued on behalf of the Prime Ministers of Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and the United Kingdom and Mr John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, U.S.A. A copy of this declaration is attached to this statement. The concluding paragraph of the declaration contains an undertaking, given on behalf of the U.S.A. This paragraph runs as follows

Article I of the Pact of Mutual Co-operation signed at Baghdad on February 24 1955 provides that the parties will co-operate for their security and defence and that such measures as they agree to take to give effect to this co-operation may form the subject of special agreements. Similarly the United States, in the interest of world peace, and pursuant to existing Congressional authorization, agrees to co-operate with the nations making this declaration for their security and defence, and will promptly enter into agreements designed to give effect to this co-operation.

In pursuance of this undertaking given on behalf of the U.S.A. consultations took place at Ankara early in March 1959 and three agreements were signed on March 5 1959 between the U.S.A. on the one hand and Turkey Iran and Pakistan on the other. These three agreements signed on March 5 1959 are identical. A copy of the Agreement between the U.S.A. and Pakistan is attached to this statement.

Article I of this Agreement of March 5 1959 runs as follows
"The Government of Pakistan is determined to resist aggression. In case of aggression against Pakistan, the Government of the United States of America, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States of America, will take such appropriate action, including the use of armed forces, as may be mutually agreed upon and is envisaged in the Joint Resolution

to promote peace and stability in the Middle East, in order to assist the Government of Pakistan at its request.
It will be seen from this Article I that the United States of America agreed to assist the Government of Pakistan at their request, in case of aggression against Pakistan by such appropriate action, including the use of armed forces, as would be

- (i) in accordance with the Constitution of the United States of America and
- (ii) as envisaged in the Joint Resolution to promote peace and stability in the Middle East. (This is commonly known as the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East.)

Under the Constitution of the United States of America, U.S. armed forces cannot be used to assist any other country without the specific authority of the United States Congress. The Mutual Security Act authorizes the U.S. Government to give military and

economic aid to foreign countries but does not authorize the use of United States forces in support of any other country. The use of the U.S. armed forces in support of any other country without specific sanction of the United States Congress is, however possible under the authority given by the Joint Resolution of the Congress of March 9 1957 (A copy of this Joint Resolution, generally known as the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East, is attached to this statement)

Section 2 of this Joint Resolution reads as follows

"The President is authorized to undertake, in the general area of the Middle East, military assistance programmes with any nation or group of nations of that area desiring such assistance. Furthermore, the United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East. To this end if the President determines the necessity thereof, the United States is prepared to use armed forces to assist any such nation or group of such nations requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism provided that such employment shall be consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States and with the Constitution of the United States."

A study of the documents attached to the statement and particularly the portions to which attention has been drawn above shows that under the latest Agreement signed between the United States of America and Pakistan, the Government of the United States have undertaken that they will not only continue to give economic and military assistance to Pakistan but will also, on request, use the armed forces of the United States in order to assist the Government of Pakistan, in case of armed aggression against Pakistan from any country controlled by international communism.

The spokesmen of the Government of Pakistan have however given a wider interpretation to the latest Agreement.

In view of this interpretation on the part of Pakistan and the doubts that had arisen because of this Agreement, a request was made to the United States authorities for clarification. We have been assured by the U.S. authorities that their latest bilateral agreement with Pakistan has no effect other than the extension of the Eisenhower Doctrine to cover Pakistan and that the Eisenhower Doctrine restricts the use of United States armed forces to cases of armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism. We have been specifically assured that this Agreement cannot be used against India. We have also been assured by the United States authorities that there are no secret clauses

of this Agreement nor is there any separate secret supplementary agreement.

Spokesmen of the Pakistan Government have on various occasions stated that their objective in entering into a defence aid agreement with the U.S.A. and in joining military pacts and alliances is to strengthen Pakistan against India. We have repeatedly pointed this out and emphasized that the United States defence aid to Pakistan encourages the Pakistan authorities in their aggressiveness and increases tension and conflict between India and Pakistan. We have known for some time that in cases of attempted sabotage in Jammu and Kashmir Pakistanis have used some military equipment of United States origin. It is not possible to say whether this equipment is part of the United States defence aid equipment to Pakistan or whether it has been purchased through normal commercial channels. The wider interpretation given by the Pakistan authorities to the latest Agreement is, therefore, a matter of grave concern to us, particularly in the context of our past experience of repeated and increasing aggressive action on the part of Pakistan.

We welcome the assurance given to us by the United States authorities, but aggression is difficult to define, and Pakistan authorities have in the past committed aggression and denied it. In the context of this past experience, the continuing threats held out by Pakistan, and Pakistan's interpretation of the latest Agreement with the U.S.A., it is difficult for us to ignore the possibility of Pakistan utilizing the aid received by it from other countries against India even though those other countries have given us clear assurance to the contrary. We have, therefore, requested the United States authorities to clarify this position still further.

We have repeatedly stated and it is our firm policy that we will not take any military action against Pakistan or any other country except in self-defence. We are sure that the Government and the people of the United States have nothing but goodwill for us and that they will not be parties to any agreements, formal or informal open or secret, which may threaten the security of India.

THE CANAL WATERS DISPUTE

IN THE MATTER of the Bhakra Nangal project, Pakistan has some complaints and has raised objections. It is a story seven or eight years old dating back to the time of the partition. I have been worrying all these years how to solve this question of canal waters through mutual consultation, to the advantage of both India and Pakistan. You may perhaps remember that we held talks more than six years ago when this dispute arose. Representatives of Pakistan and our representatives met at a conference in Delhi. I was also one of them. Therefore I can speak from personal knowledge. The present Governor-General of Pakistan also participated in the conference and his signature as well as mine is on what was written there. Other Ministers of Pakistan and India and of East and West Punjab had also signed it. A settlement was arrived at.

They told us and we told them that this was not a matter for legal dispute in which lawyers could be engaged and legal quibbles indulged in. This was a human problem, a matter affecting the welfare of millions of human beings on both sides. We did not raise the matter of legal rights but it was clear that East Punjab could not do without the waters of the Sutlej and the other rivers.

We said we did not desire to harm Pakistan. Therefore, we had to find a way which would serve the purpose of both countries. And the way which was found through the agreement of 1948 was this—that India should gradually increase her offtake of waters on the East Punjab side but bearing in mind that Pakistan should have an opportunity to make alternative arrangements, so that the people on the Pakistan side did not suffer any loss. At the same time, however, if anybody should tell us that we cannot under any circumstances take the waters of the Punjab rivers then it does not make sense. Can East Punjab and India agree for all time to starve to remain in poverty and not to make progress. Considering all these things we reached a settlement and Pakistan agreed to it. The agreement was to the effect that we had a right to the waters of the East Punjab rivers and we should give time to West Pakistan to make alternative arrangements, so that they might not suffer any loss.

The settlement provided that our engineers and theirs would consider how to secure the good of both of us. Only a very small portion of the waters flowing in the rivers of both the Punjab is today being utilized. The rest flows into the ocean. If you look at

East and West Punjab as a whole there is no lack of water. We only lack arrangements to take that water to the right places. The right way is to make those arrangements.

Unfortunately the agreement arrived at was not put into practice. I was in favour of joint consultations between the engineers of both sides. A number of obstacles were created from Pakistan's side. They would not talk or allow us to go on. Perhaps they thought that by raising obstacles they would be able to arrest our progress.

Spokesmen of Pakistan said that they had denounced the 1948 agreement. An agreement between two parties cannot be abrogated by unilateral action and so the dispute went on. Some people of the World Bank came here from America and talked with us and with Pakistan. They were prepared to mediate, so that our engineers and Pakistani engineers might hold discussions with their help. We accepted the World Bank's proposal and said that we were ready if they could help to hold joint consultations between the engineers. They told us that as long as the talks went on we should not reduce the supply of water to Pakistan from this side. The 1948 agreement with Pakistan had laid down that India had a right to reduce the supply of water but this was to be done gradually so that Pakistan might get time. Sufficient time was given and years passed. Nevertheless, we agreed to the World Bank's suggestion not to reduce the supply of water as long as the talks under the auspices of the Bank went on. It was not envisaged at that time that this arrangement was meant for all time. We thought that the talks would go on for five or six months and would come to some conclusion. We hoped that the result would be helpful so, taking everything into consideration, we accepted the suggestion for the duration of about six months. Those six months lengthened into a year and now to two and a half years.

The World Bank people put forward a proposition of their own about three or four months ago. Their scheme more or less provided for a division of the rivers of the Punjab. Pakistan was to take the waters of some rivers and we were to take the waters of some other rivers. There was no doubt that we were to get all the waters of our side, but they laid a very great burden on us. We were asked to give financial aid to Pakistan so that she might construct new canals from the other rivers to get more water. They did not clearly specify the amount but they indicated a very large sum. We considered this and consulted the Punjab Government and thought that if the matter was being settled once for all and our welfare as well as the welfare of Pakistan lay in it, then we should accept the payment of the heavy price demanded from us. So we wrote to the World Bank within a few days that we accepted the basic principle put forward by them and though it imposed

a very heavy burden on us, we were prepared to pay this price so that the matter might be settled peacefully and we could go on with our work in our country in peace.

Pakistan did not give any reply though weeks and months passed. We were very perturbed. Our representatives are still sitting in Washington, New York and other cities of America. A long time has passed and a reply from Pakistan is still awaited. It is a strange situation. We wanted to recall our representatives. They had no work to do, but then we thought that Pakistan might make it a pretext and say that we recalled them. Therefore, we let them stay there till such time as a reply was received. In the end we told the World Bank to fix some date for Pakistan's reply so that we might know where we stood. They accepted our suggestion and told Pakistan that they should reply within a week whether they accepted the principle or not with details to be settled later. When they did this, Pakistan showed signs of life and began to run about. In the end Sir Zafarullah Khan undertook the long journey to Washington. Many things were said about the issue—neither yes nor no, but that they would consider it and so on. The World Bank told them that this reply amounted to a rejection. Should it be taken that they had rejected the proposals or had they something more to say? Pakistan saw how the matter would end. They felt that if they rejected the proposals and India accepted them, the consequences would perhaps not be good for them because the effect would have been that our interim agreement would come to an end, the discussions would end and the World Bank's suggestion to us to pay them millions of rupees would become ineffective. The rights of both sides were clear. Then the World Bank asked Pakistan to give a clear reply. We had made arrangements for the return of our deputation but only three or four days ago Pakistan said that they accepted the principle underlying the proposals put forward by the World Bank. But they added that they could not give a final reply unless the whole picture was before them.

Meanwhile when Pakistan did not accept the proposals we wrote to the World Bank that we had been marking time for three months and that we had accepted their proposals which Pakistan had rejected. Therefore our agreement not to reduce the water supply no longer held good. We resumed our freedom of action. We were ready to talk when they or Pakistan wanted, because we did not intend to shut the door to an agreement. But the talks had ended and our delegation would be returning home. The Bank people told us, however, that Pakistan's attitude was changing and that they were saying that they accepted the principle. Since there were chances that a way out would be found, the Bank

asked our delegation to wait for a few days more. Our representatives agreed to do so.

The point is that our former agreement with the World Bank or with Pakistan for not reducing the supply of water has ended. We have every right to reduce it, but we do not want to stand on legal rights in this matter. We want to do something which would harm neither Pakistan nor us. Therefore, we again told them that we would do nothing in haste which may harm the landowners and peasants in Pakistan. We would give them a chance to make their own arrangements. After all we had to reduce the supply of water but we would do it having regard to the conditions, that is, we still stood by the principles accepted in the agreement of 1948.

We have told Pakistan clearly time and again, that for the present we would not reduce the supply of water. It is a fact that they have built one or two canals from which they can take some water. Therefore, they can take water from their side and we would reduce supplies to that extent. It is evident that on our side in East Punjab we have no other source of water than the Sutlej. If we do not take water from it, it would mean that we have no water at all. We should totally deprive ourselves of water and no progress would be possible. Whether it is East Punjab, PEPSU or Rajasthan, they would always remain dry. On the other side they have many rivers from which they can easily take water with a little hard work.

A NON MEMBER asked me about the Canal Waters Agreement. Broadly it is based on the World Bank's proposal of 1934 the salient feature of which was the allotment of the waters of the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab, except for minor uses in Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan and those of the Sutlej, the Ravi and the Beas to India. A transition period during which Pakistan would construct canals etc. to replace supplies hitherto received by her from the rivers going to India was to be fixed, India contributing towards the replacement works and allowing to Pakistan progressively diminishing supplies from the eastern rivers during this transition period.

The main features of this treaty are Pakistan should build these replacement works, presumably in ten years time, and during these ten years we supply water to them, though in a progressively diminishing degree. In building these works, Pakistan is going to be helped by us financially to the extent that we are

going to deprive her of the water that she has been getting so far. In effect, however Pakistan is going to build on a much bigger scale with the help of a number of countries and the World Bank. Large sums of money are going to be given to Pakistan by the World Bank and by a number of other countries. But that has nothing to do with our agreement. We are going to make an *ad hoc* contribution spread over ten years.

It has taken a long time to decide how much water we are to give during the transition period of ten years and in what form the payment should be made. The ten year period began on April 1 1960 the date on which the treaty came into effect, and it can be extended by a further period of three years at Pakistan's request. The extension is subject to a reduction in our contribution by 5 per cent in the first year 10 per cent over two years and by 16 per cent over the three years. The ten-year period is to be roughly divided into two phases, 1960-66 and 1966-70. The water to be supplied by India to Pakistan from the eastern rivers during the transition period is to be of a diminishing scale. India will have no responsibility for their canals, etc.

A question that troubles many people is what effect this agreement with Pakistan is likely to have on the Rajasthan Canal. According to present plans, the Rajasthan Canal will be ready to carry some irrigation water up to 1,200 cusecs in 1961 2,100 cusecs in 1962 and 3,000 cusecs in 1963. Thereafter it is proposed to enlarge the capacity in such a way that by about 1980 the Canal would be developed to 18,500 cusecs. We are trying to provide water to the Rajasthan Canal throughout this period on an increasing scale. This will partly depend also on another scheme namely the Beas scheme. Although the Rajasthan Canal will get water in an increasing quantity during this period, the full supply will come only when the Beas scheme is completed. Because we are accommodating Pakistan to a considerable extent, the World Bank has promised us aid for the construction of the Beas Dam.

The treaty provides for a permanent Indus Commission, consisting of commissioners from India and Pakistan. Each commissioner will be the representative of his Government for all matters arising out of the treaty and will serve as a regular channel of communication on all matters relating to the implementation of the treaty. The permanent Indus Commission will take the first steps to iron out any differences between the two sides. The treaty also provides for a neutral expert to whom differences of a technical nature would be submitted for solution. A court of arbitration has been provided to deal with the major disputes on the interpretation of the treaty. This, broadly is the position.

THIS IS INDEED A UNIQUE occasion and a memorable day memorable in many ways, memorable certainly in the fact that a very difficult and complicated problem which has troubled India and Pakistan for many years has been satisfactorily solved. It is also memorable because it is an outstanding example of a co-operative endeavour among our two countries as well as other countries and the International Bank.

On behalf of India I congratulate you Mr President, and I congratulate you Mr Hiff as representative of the International Bank. I know how Mr Black and you have laboured these past many years. Indeed I often marvelled at your patience and your persistence in spite of all manner of difficulties.

This settlement is memorable because it will bring assurance of relief to large numbers of people—farmers and others—in Pakistan and India. All of us, in spite of many scientific improvements still depend upon the good earth and good water and the combination of these two leads to prosperity for the peasant and the countries concerned. By this arrangement we have tried to utilize to the best advantage the waters of the Indus river system. These waters have flowed down for ages past, the greater part going to the sea without being utilized. This is a happy occasion for all of us. The actual material benefits which will arise from this are great. But even greater than these material benefits are the psychological and emotional benefits. This treaty Mr President, is a happy symbol of the larger co-operation between your country and mine. I should like to express my deep gratitude to the International Bank and to all those who have laboured within Pakistan, in India and in the other friendly countries and to all who have come to our assistance in this matter and generously made contributions towards solving this problem.

I feel sure that if we approach any problem in the world in a spirit of co-operative endeavour it will be much easier of solution than it might appear to be. Therefore, most of all I welcome the spirit which, in spite of all difficulties and obstructions and obstacles, has triumphed in the end. Ultimately the spirit does triumph even in this material age. I should again like to express my deep satisfaction at the happy outcome of many years labour and hope that this will bring prosperity to a vast number of people on both sides and will increase the goodwill and friendship between India and Pakistan.

BASIC FACTS TO REMEMBER

IN RESPECT OF THE Kashmir issue there is a tendency not in this House, but generally of forgetting certain basic facts. I am surprised at the ignorance often shown by eminent foreign observers and by the foreign Press. Whether it is assumed ignorance or not, I do not know but there it is.

Therefore, I should like to repeat a few salient facts. The story is too long the story of invasion of the Jammu and Kashmir State through Pakistan and by Pakistan, her persistent denial and the eventual admission—when the U N Commission was here—of having committed aggression. This initial fact of aggression which governs the whole Kashmir affair must be remembered, because everything subsequent flowed from it.

With this background we may go back to the U N Commission's resolution of August 13 1948. In that resolution the Commission proposed

As the presence of troops in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir constitutes a material change in the situation since it was represented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council, the Government of Pakistan agrees to withdraw its troops from the State

The point to remember is that because of this admission of aggression, the first thing the Commission required was that Pakistan should withdraw its armed forces from the area of the State occupied by it. We were asked to withdraw the bulk of our forces later that is on Pakistan withdrawing from that area. We were asked to relieve tension, to withdraw the bulk of our forces, but retain our Army in the State in order to give it protection. The right of our Army to be there was recognized but it was stated that since Pakistan was withdrawing completely from the Jammu and Kashmir State India also could reduce her forces as that would tend to bring about a better atmosphere. Today eight and a half years after that, those armed forces of Pakistan are still there.

Therefore all this talk of plebiscite and other things is completely beside the point. Those questions would arise only when Pakistan had taken a certain step, that is withdrawal of its armed forces. And Pakistan is out of court till it performs its primary duty by getting out of that part of the State on which it has committed aggression. This is a major fact to be remembered. There were many other prerequisites for a plebiscite. Well, many attempts were made. They did not yield results.

Another important fact to remember is that the Government of India and the Government of the Jammu and Kashmir State could not remain continually in a state of suspended animation in regard to Kashmir something had to be done. Certain steps were taken by the Jammu and Kashmir Government, with the concurrence of the Government of India, to elect and convene a Constituent Assembly. That was done. We stated even then that actually the Constituent Assembly was free to decide any constitution it liked but we made it clear that we continued to be bound by our international commitments.

More years passed and while on the one hand Pakistan continued to occupy a part of the State on which it had committed aggression, the Constituent Assembly proceeded to draw up the Constitution of the State and it passed very important measures of land reform. Great development works were undertaken and the people of the State, except those under the forcible occupation of Pakistan, made progress. The people of Jammu and Kashmir experienced more prosperity under their own government than they had at any time previously in living memory or before. A very simple test of this is the number of visitors who went to Kashmir last year—fifty thousand, an unprecedented number.

It is not for me to say what the state of people on the other side of the cease fire line is. But I notice that there is a continuous attempt by people on that side to come over to this side and share in the prosperity.

We were discussing various ways of settling the question with the Prime Minister of Pakistan when a new development took place. This was the promise of military aid from the U.S.A. to Pakistan—a promise which was subsequently fulfilled. This created not only a new military situation but a new political situation and the procedure thus far followed by us became out of date and had to be viewed afresh. That situation has become progressively worse because of the flow of this military aid to Pakistan and the conclusion of SEATO and the Baghdad Pact. Apart from the legal and constitutional issues, we have this practical aspect to remember in discussing the question of Kashmir with Pakistan representatives and others. We want to promote the happiness and freedom of the people of Kashmir and we want to avoid any step being taken which would be disruptive, which would upset things that have settled down and which might lead to migration of people this way or that way and which further would again lead to conflict with Pakistan. There is no settlement of the Kashmir problem if the manner of settling it leads to fresh conflict with Pakistan. As things settle down any step which might have been logical some years ago becomes more and more difficult.

it means uprooting of things that have become fixed legally constitutionally and practically.

We pointed this out the last time the Prime Minister of Pakistan came here. All our previous discussions had to be abandoned because the basis of discussion had changed. I told him that facts had to be recognized as they were. It was no good proceeding on the basis of old things ignoring the existing facts which include new factors which have come into the picture.

Meanwhile, another thing has been happening. Developments have taken place both in our Constitution and that of the Jammu and Kashmir State. As hon. Members will perhaps remember we have laid down in our Constitution that we could not agree to any change in regard to the Jammu and Kashmir State without the concurrence of the Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly. That is the constitutional position. I pointed this out to the distinguished representatives from Pakistan who came here.

The creation of one unit in West Pakistan also concerns the people of Kashmir indirectly. Now, as a consequence of all these factors, I made it clear to the Pakistan representatives that while I was prepared to discuss any aspect of this question, if they wanted to be realistic they must take into consideration all that had happened during these seven or eight years and not talk in terms of eight or nine years ago. They did not quite accept that position and there the matter ended.

The only alternative, I said, was a continuance of the deadlock in our talks. I had offered some time ago a no-war declaration to the Pakistan Government to the effect that under no circumstances would India and Pakistan go to war for the settlement of any dispute. There was considerable correspondence and, the House will remember Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, who was the Prime Minister then, did not agree to that.

The present Prime Minister of Pakistan has again mentioned this matter and I gladly welcome his proposal. But it is clear that we must not tie ourselves in a no-war declaration with all kinds of conditions.

I want to be quite frank with this House and with the Pakistan Government. Having had nine years' experience of this Kashmir affair in all its changing phases—a problem that is affecting the people of the Jammu and Kashmir State, affecting India in a variety of ways, affecting our Constitution and our sovereignty and affecting our vital interests—am I to be expected to agree to some outside authority becoming an arbitrator in this matter? No country can agree to this kind of disposal of vital issues. I do think that if both Pakistan and we are agreed that on no account should we go to war with each other but should settle our problems peacefully.

they may not be settled for some time, but it is better to have a problem pending than to go to war for it. Therefore, it would be very desirable and helpful to have a no-war declaration.

One thing more. The Pakistan President said with great force that in all these border incidents in every one of them, India was guilty. Well, any number of incidents have occurred. I cannot discuss each one of them. But at least in regard to ten incidents on the Jammu border the United Nations Observers have stated that Pakistan was the aggressor. I take their word for it. But I shall repeat what I said here the other day in my statement on the Nekowal incident. The Nekowal incident stands out in a stark manner not because twelve persons were killed, but in the way it has been dealt with by the Pakistan Government. The present President of the Pakistan Republic was in Delhi when we received the report of the U.N. Observers in regard to this incident. It was handed over to him and to the then Prime Minister. They assured us, and in fact the Prime Minister stated it in public, that they would deal with and punish those who were found guilty by the U.N. Observers. What Pakistan had to deal with was not our opinion, but the opinion of the U.N. Observers, arrived at after an enquiry Pakistan itself said that the guilty would be punished. I am astonished that a year or more has passed and nothing has been done. I am still more astonished that statements should be made to the effect that we are the aggressors in all these incidents. I hope that the Government and the people of Pakistan will consider these basic facts and realize that we mean no ill to them. We want to be friends with them. We want to settle all our problems in a friendly way and I am sure we can settle them if their approach is a friend's approach.

ON OCCASIONS YOU FIND that the outside world and even Pakistan forgets Kashmir for long stretches of time. On other occasions you will find the newspapers and leading personalities in Pakistan having Kashmir on their lips morning, noon and night, and shouting at the top of their voice. It is a kind of cyclical movement. During the past year or so, their propaganda has been at its highest pitch. I confess that it produced considerable effect on the minds of other countries last year. Why it did so is another matter maybe because of the effectiveness of repeating falsehoods with great force again and again or maybe because the minds of some countries have been conditioned that way from the beginning.

From speech in Rajya Sabha, September 9 1957

Hon. Members will remember that when this matter came up before the Security Council last year we had to face a very considerable opposition. It was an astonishing opposition, because it ignored some obvious, basic and patent facts. The kind of speeches delivered and arguments used by the representatives of great powers like the U.S.A., Britain and other countries who are supposed to know about this matter were so far from truth, and from even a fair appraisal of the situation, that we were astonished. I have seldom come across anything so astounding as the attitude last year in the Security Council of some of these great powers. I do not mind their having their opinions, but I do expect them to face a question, consider all the basic factors, make inquiries and frame answers. But not a word of it. And they passed a resolution about the accession of Kashmir not taking place and nothing being done with regard to it on January 26, 1957. They were told repeatedly that the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India had taken place in October 1947 and nothing was happening in January 1957 except the winding up of the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir. They were told further that even though the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir drafted the Constitution, it had been finalized many months earlier. Nevertheless they passed that resolution with all pomp and circumstance. Well nothing happened on January 26. But representatives of some countries, their chanceries and newspapers started writing articles to the effect that India had flouted the Security Council and Kashmir had acceded to India on January 26, 1957.

They talk about a plebiscite. Again and again we have pointed out that in terms of the resolution passed by the United Nations Commission the first thing to be done was for Pakistan to get out—because Pakistan is there by virtue of invasion and aggression, and this has been practically admitted—and until Pakistan goes out nothing else is going to be done. Instead of going out, Pakistan has entrenched itself. In the name, perhaps, of fighting communism, Pakistan has got enormous aid from the United States of America and it may be getting it from the Baghdad Pact or SEATO. We have enough information in our possession to show that the military aid coming from the United States to Pakistan is very considerable and is a menace to India unless we deal with it. Because of this menace we have had to do something which has hurt us and given us a tremendous deal of pain, namely to spend more and more on armaments. The House knows that on the economic plane especially in regard to foreign exchange we are not very happily situated. Just at such a moment we have had to add to our burden of foreign exchange. But where the security of India is concerned, there can be no two decisions. I should like our friends concerned

to realize how by some of their policies of military alliances and military aid they have added to the burdens of India, a feeling of insecurity and thereby come in the way of our working out our Five Year Plan and our developmental schemes. We are grateful for the financial help we have received from other countries, but it is an odd thing that while we are helped, other conditions are produced which wash out that help.

So far as Kashmir is concerned let there be no doubt in people's minds as to what our position is. We have not repudiated any direction or decision of the Security Council to which we agreed. The Security Council passed two main resolutions, one in August 1948 and the other in January 1949. We accepted them we stood by them and we stand by them but they have to be interpreted in terms of today. The two things those resolutions laid down were that Pakistan had brought their Army into Kashmir and that it must withdraw from that territory. They have not done that. Their aggression, indeed their occupation, continues in Jammu and Kashmir. While that continues, we are asked repeatedly by some of the Western powers to make it up with Pakistan, agree to what Pakistan says or to agree to a plebiscite. Whatever may be the rights and wrongs in regard to some steps taken by us, I fail to understand how anybody in the wide world, including Pakistan, can justify the presence of Pakistani armies and civil personnel in Jammu and Kashmir territory. If they say

Oh, we came here because Muslims are in a majority in Kashmir. The hearts of Muslims in Pakistan bleed because they were suffering under foreign yoke and we came over to free them. Then let that be put forward and no other argument. We shall answer that. The more I think of it the more surprising it becomes as to how these statesmen of the Western world cannot see the facts as they are.

The House knows how attempts at sabotage are being constantly made in Kashmir. Members may have read this morning about bombs bursting and little children being killed. These bombs and crackers do not solve the question of Kashmir. It is absurd to what extent people in Pakistan are going. Having failed in their major efforts, they are now sending their emissaries with bombs, money and so on. We have been able to take possession of the money and material which were sent by Pakistan.

IN REGARD TO THE KASHMIR ISSUE there has recently been a report by Dr Graham. Dr Graham was here previously and

From speech in Lok Sabha, April 9 1958

all of us who have had the privilege of meeting him respect him. He is a man beaming goodwill and good intentions, and it is really a pleasure to meet such a man. When he came here again he was our honoured guest. Although we had informed the Security Council that we could not accept their resolution we told them that, nevertheless, if Dr Graham came he would be welcome. He came and had some talks with us. In his report he has given an outline of the nature of our talks.

I believe there are no two opinions in this House or in the country in regard to the Kashmir question. The trouble, according to us, in considering this matter has been that from the very beginning certain basic factors and basic aspects have not been considered by the Security Council and because of that, the foundation of thinking and action has been unreal and artificial. When Mr Jarring came here representing the Security Council—that was before Dr Graham came—he presented a brief report. In that report, the House may remember there was a recognition of certain factors certain developments certain facts of life which could not be ignored. He merely hinted at them he did not go into the matter. Anyhow that was the first glimmering that you saw of what the problem was today.

Dr Graham has been good enough to put forward certain suggestions. One is that we should reiterate solemnly—we meaning India and Pakistan—what we had said previously and make a new declaration in favour of maintaining an atmosphere of peace. I am perfectly prepared to make it any number of times. However we drew Dr Graham's attention to the type of declarations that were being made in Pakistan from day to day while he was in Karachi and to all the bomb explosions organized from Pakistan in the Jammu and Kashmir State.

The second thing Dr Graham said was that we should also declare that we would observe the integrity of the cease fire line. I do not think anybody has accused us during these ten years of a breach of the cease fire line. There it is. We do not recognize Pakistan's occupation on the other side as justified in any way but we have given our word that we will not take any offensive action against it. We have kept our word. On the other hand organized sabotage has been repeated by Pakistan across the cease-fire line in Kashmir.

The third suggestion of Dr Graham was about the withdrawal of Pakistan troops from the occupied part of the Jammu and Kashmir State. It is not a question of our agreement to their withdrawal we have been asking for their withdrawal all this time.

The fourth proposal was about the stationing of U.N. forces on the Pakistan border of the Jammu and Kashmir State following

the withdrawal of the Pakistan Army from the State. Now the proposal was or is for the stationing of U.N. troops not in any part of Jammu and Kashmir territory not in the part which is occupied by Pakistan now but in Pakistan territory proper. Pakistan is an independent, sovereign State. If it wants to have any foreign forces, we cannot prevent them. We, for our part, do not like the idea of foreign forces anywhere. And more especially in this connection we did not see any reason why U.N. forces should sit in Pakistan on the Kashmir border. But it is for Pakistan to agree or not to agree.

Finally Dr. Graham suggested that the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan should meet under his auspices. It has been our practice or convention always to be prepared to meet anybody anywhere, not only our friends but our opponents or adversaries as well. There can be no difficulty and no objection on our part for me to meet the Prime Minister of Pakistan. But Dr. Graham says that we should meet under his auspices that is to say the three of us should meet. That produces an entirely different type of picture.

First of all, it places us in a position of, let us say equality in this matter with Pakistan. We have always challenged that position. Pakistan is an aggressor country in Kashmir and we are the aggrieved party. We cannot be treated on the same level. That has been our case right from the beginning.

Secondly for the two Prime Ministers who meet, it would almost appear as if they have to plead with Dr. Graham under whose auspices they meet, as advocates for certain causes which they represent. This kind of thing does not lead to proper consideration of problems. So we told Dr. Graham that while we were always prepared to meet, this way of meeting with a third party present, even though the third party might be so eminent as Dr. Graham, was not a desirable way.

I have ventured to say something about Dr. Graham's report because there has been a good deal of ill-informed criticism in the foreign Press on the subject.

NEHRU-NOON AGREEMENT

THE PROBLEM OF OUR border with Pakistan may be divided into three parts. One is what might be called the international border about which there is no doubt. Then there is the cease-fire line in the Jammu and Kashmir State which, at any rate, is precise we know where it is. The third part of the border is what was decided by Mr Radcliffe and Mr Justice Bagge on two different occasions, and this has not been demarcated with the result that sometimes disputes arise as to the interpretation of what Mr Radcliffe or Mr Justice Bagge said.

Minor disputes about a mile here or there or about a village or whether the middle of a river is the frontier or the bank of the river are all a matter for friendly settlement. It seems to me most deplorable that in matters of this kind there should be conflicts and intermittent firing. I hope that the meeting with the Prime Minister of Pakistan will lead to the ending of this border trouble.

THE HON. knows that the Prime Minister of Pakistan visited Delhi on our invitation. He came here on the 9th of this month and left yesterday morning.

In the course of his stay here, we had talks with each other in regard to border problems principally. At the end of his stay here a brief statement was issued which has appeared in the Press this morning.

That statement mentions that a number of border problems relating to the eastern region have been solved and agreements arrived at. A few other matters still remain for further consideration, and procedures have been laid down for their discussion.

In the eastern region there has been a boundary dispute between West Bengal and Pakistan, in regard to the district of Murshidabad and the district of Rajshahi including the thanas of Nawabganj (Pakistan) and Shyrganj which in the pre-partition days was in Malda district. This was the first item of the Bagge Award.

I might recall here that just before the actual partition took place Mr Radcliffe was appointed to determine the exact line of partition of the frontier. He did so, and that was very largely accepted. But some disputes arose as to the interpretation of the Radcliffe Award. Some time thereafter another tribunal was appointed consisting of a judge from India and a judge from Pakistan.

and presided over by Mr Justice Bagge. The Bagge Tribunal considered the disputes in the eastern region and made certain recommendations or awards. Most of these were accepted and acted upon. Unfortunately however some doubts still persisted, and arguments have gone on all these years in regard to some areas. The Prime Minister of Pakistan and I considered some of these disputes. One of the decisions arrived at was in regard to the first item of the Bagge Award. Another related to the second item of the Award. This deals with the boundary between a point on the Ganga where the channel of the river Matabhanga takes off according to the Radcliffe Award and the northernmost point where the channel meets the boundary between the thanas of Daulatpur and Karimpur. It has been settled that the exchange of these territories should take place by January 15 1959.

Then there was the Hilli dispute, also between West Bengal and Pakistan. Pakistan has dropped it and the position thus has been decided and remains in favour of India.

The fourth was the dispute regarding the Berubari Union No. 12 also between West Bengal and Pakistan. It was decided to divide the area under dispute half and half, one half going to India and the other half going to Pakistan.

The next point was about two Cooch Behar 'chitlands' on the border of West Bengal which it has been decided should go to West Bengal.

The next was some dispute about that border between the 24-Parganas in Khulna and the 24-Parganas in Jessore. It was decided again here that the mean position should be adopted in both these, taking the river Ichamati as the guide as far as possible.

Then there is the Anam-East Pakistan border. There was the Bholaaganj dispute. In respect of this, Pakistan gave up its claim.

In regard to the Piyain and the Surma rivers, it has been decided that a demarcation be made according to previous notifications, and that wherever the demarcation may be full facility of navigation should be given to both sides.

On the Tripura-Pakistan border there was a small bit of territory where the railway passes. We have agreed to give this small territory to Pakistan because it is near their railway. The Feni river dispute is to be dealt with separately.

There is one thing which has long been causing us and Pakistan a great deal of trouble. This relates to the Cooch Behar enclaves. On partition, some of these fell in Pakistan and some in India as Cooch Behar State itself. The result is that we have some little enclaves in Pakistan and they have some in India. This has led to an awkward situation. Therefore it has been decided ultimately that we should

exchange them—that is, our Cooch Behar territory in Pakistan goes to Pakistan and their enclaves in India come to India.

I might now mention the problems which have been left over for later decision. One is the Patharia Hill reserve forest in the eastern region. According to us, it is ours, but since there has been some dispute, we have decided to ask the two Conservators of Forests, of Assam and of East Pakistan together with the two Chief Secretaries, to meet and draw up provisionally a line there, so that friction might be avoided even before a formal settlement. As a matter of fact, nobody lives in this forest, and disputes arise because of timber.

Another matter left over and an important one for Assam, is in regard to the course of the Kushiya river on the Assam-East Pakistan border. The Bagge Tribunal decided about the course of the Kushiya river but, according to us, some points have not been cleared up owing to certain confusion about maps. It is an area consisting of about 30 villages, and has been in our possession all along. These are the only matters pertaining to the eastern region that have still to be decided apart from one or two very small ones.

We did not come to any effective decisions in regard to the western side. The points to be determined there pertain to the Suleimanki and Humainiwala areas. Both deal with canal head works, and involve decisions regarding how the headworks are to be worked and who should have the bunds. In regard to these we have suggested that the Commonwealth Secretary of India and the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan should report to us after joint consultation with their respective engineers.

Then there are three other disputes. The first relates to a small area of three villages in the Lahore-Amritsar border. The second is a matter which we had not thought was in dispute at all. This concerns Chak Ladheke, a small tongue of land in the Punjab area. The third is about Chadbet in Kutch. Pakistan raised this question two or three years ago. We thought that there was no dispute about it, and we sent them a rather lengthy reply to which their answer came after two years, only about ten days ago.

The total position is this: quite a number of matters which were leading to irritation between the two countries have been disposed of. This is a matter for satisfaction, since each little thing creates confusion on the border and people suffer. Among the matters still to be resolved, the Kushiya river issue is somewhat big. The Patharia forest question is not a difficult one. On the western side, there is the question of the headworks.

We have thought, and we still think, that the best course to decide any outstanding matter that cannot be decided by mutual

talks is to refer it to an independent party or tribunal. Either we come to an agreement ourselves or ask somebody else to advise us and accept whatever decision is arrived at, whether it is in our favour or against us. There is no other way. For the present the Pakistan Prime Minister was not agreeable to this being done in regard to one particular matter. But the matter is open for consideration.

In our statement we have said that in regard to the exchange of small territories we do not want any migration to take place. We want the people to continue living in their area, and accept the country to which they will now belong. Further we have said that we hope to keep in touch with each other and try to reduce the areas of difference and find out ways of deciding the remaining points.

On the whole, I think, the result of our meeting has been satisfactory.

NEW REGIME IN PAKISTAN

IT IS DIFFICULT and perhaps not very appropriate for me to discuss events in Pakistan. Some of them are surprising some of them, well, are not likable some of them produce concern. As for General Ayub Khan's remarks, I suppose you are referring to his answer when he was asked if he would go to war. He said "Certainly if necessary." That is not a very wise statement to make for the leader of a nation at any time, much less for a military leader who has just assumed power. If I may say so with all respect to General Ayub Khan, it does not worry us very much, although inevitably we have to be wide awake. Where power is concentrated in an individual and that individual is a military person, the normal checks which occur in a government or in a society are absent. Whether the present Pakistan Government is good or not is not for me but for the people of Pakistan to say. But one thing is clear that nowhere in the wide world today is there such a naked military dictatorship as in Pakistan. There is no veil about it. Inherent in such a system are always certain risks and dangers.

Some newspapers in England and in the United States have almost tried to show that what has happened in Pakistan is a way to freedom. It is really extraordinary how one's wishes can alter

facts. Whatever else it is—it may be good or bad—the new system in Pakistan is far removed from any type of free society or free government. Yet it has been said that it belongs to the free nations. If that is a test of free nations, I am afraid words have no meaning.

I have tried to avoid saying much about the developments in Pakistan. But what little I have said was criticized by a Member of Parliament in England, who asked "What right has Nehru who himself has stuck on to office for a number of years, to criticize? He has a one-party government and imposes that on everybody, and then he dares to criticize others." I do not understand this reference to one-party government. What exactly do they expect? Do they want that in popular elections there should be an automatic rule that parties should come in alternation or should we bribe the people to work against us?

QUESTION: On the last occasion when it was suggested that you should take up with the American Government the question of supply of arms, you said that you did not propose to do so. In view of the further developments in Pakistan, and General Ayub Khan's sabre-rattling and the danger that the one man dictatorship might launch a war, would you take it up again with the American Government? Or have you already taken it up with them?

THE PRIME MINISTER: I do not think it necessary to take up the question in that form. Even without this *coup d'état* in Pakistan we have brought this matter to the attention of the U.S. Government on many occasions during the last several years. We do not think it appropriate to go on repeating it.

QUESTION: Since the presidency of Pakistan has been abolished or has been revived in a new form, does the question of recognition of the new Pakistan Government arise?

THE PRIME MINISTER: That is a legal issue on which I would not like to express an opinion. But the fact, as you know, is that the first *coup d'état* was taken to the Pakistan Supreme Court and they decided that the fact of the success of a revolution justifies everything. On the second occasion General Ayub Khan with soldierly bluntness said "I have assumed the presidency. And presumably according to the Pakistan Court's ruling, the factual success of his functioning as such is enough proof for law."

Reference was made to Hilli. As a matter of fact the whole area of 34 86 square miles comes to India. Pakistan has admitted that it should go to India.

I might now refer to Tokergram. Tokergram has been in India's possession ever since independence. The dispute about Tokergram arose only this year. Tokergram is part of a larger area about which there has been some dispute. But there is no dispute about Tokergram by itself. It is undoubtedly our territory.

THE HOUSE KNOWS that we have tried our utmost keeping in view the security of India, to deal with these border issues so as to put an end to the troubles and not to do anything likely to create bitterness. Yet it has been our misfortune to see these big and small incidents day after day and year after year. I must confess to a feeling of great disappointment that our effort has not led to peace on the border which I had hoped it would do.

There are hon. Members in this House who connect these border troubles, firing and so on, in some way or other with the recent military aid pact between the United States and Pakistan. I can only say that on our enquiry from the United States Government we have been given categorical assurances that the aid pact has absolutely nothing to do with any idea of Pakistan attacking India. The assurances are as categorical as they can be. Of course, the assurances cannot be wholly satisfactory because of the repeated statements to the contrary made by Pakistan.

Secondly reference has been made by Pakistani forces. I think I should place the facts, exactly as we know them, before the House so as to prevent misapprehensions from arising. When I spoke earlier about this equipment I was referring to certain types of equipment which came into our possession on the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir and which undoubtedly were of American manufacture. In fact they could not have come from anywhere else. I cannot say of course whether they formed part of the aid programme or whether they were bought in the open market. We have no evidence of American arms being used in border incidents in the east. But some equipment of American manufacture has been found in cases of attempted sabotage across the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir.

Reply to discussion on adjournment motion in Lok Sabha on the heavy firing resorted to by armed Pakistani troops across the West Bengal-East Pakistan border against three villages in Murshidabad district, March 12, 1959

On a great many occasions mention has been made in this House of border troubles between East Pakistan and India. A great majority of these incidents took place on the Assam border.

Generally speaking the West Bengal-East Pakistan border was quieter. Lately however there has been much greater activity on the West Bengal side. Because of the frequent recurrence of incidents on the Assam-East Pakistan border it was arranged to put the Army more definitely in charge of that area. That was not so on the West Bengal-Pakistan border although the Army had overall responsibility and could be summoned when necessary. In view of the recent developments, this matter has to be reviewed and we are going to discuss with the West Bengal Government how to take more effective measures to give security to our people.

In regard to this particular incident about which this adjournment motion was moved I shall give the facts which have been supplied to me by the authorities in West Bengal. On March 6 at about 11 00 hours, one Ratu Kanta Mondal along with four of his employees (all Chaudmandals) of Char Rajanagar and adjoining areas under Raninagar P.S. J.L. No. 91 while harvesting linseed from their field at Char Rajanagar bordering Pakistan were challenged by the E.P.R. men of Diar Khudirpur Pak B.O.P. who fired two rounds from their rifles from a distance of about 200 yards. None was injured. Three Pakistan nationals armed with lathis followed by four Pakistan E.P.R. armed personnel came there and claimed the plot of land in question to be in Pakistan. The Pakistan nationals caught hold of one Makhan Mondal of Char Rajanagar passing by that way on a charge of harvesting linseed from the Pakistan territory and took him away to Pak B.O.P. at Diar Khudirpur and severely assaulted him on the way. Ratu Kanta Mondal was also assaulted by the E.P.R. personnel who trespassed into the Indian territory. He sustained a swelling injury on his arm.

The necessary steps were taken to guard the border and the police force in the area was reinforced.

On March 9 our District Magistrate at Murshidabad lodged a protest with the Pakistan District Magistrate of Rajshahi against this trespass and firing in Indian territory. He suggested a joint enquiry on the spot by the two District Magistrates and also asked for stern action against the Pakistan border police and Pakistan nationals responsible for this incident and for immediate return of Makhan Mondal, who had been kidnapped, and for compensation for assaulting Indian nationals.

On March 10 heavy and incessant firing by Pakistani border forces continued and our border police returned fire in self defence. Two Indian nationals of Char Rajanagar were injured by the Pakistan fire.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Our District Magistrate of Murshidabad got in touch with the Pakistani District Magistrate of Rajshahi on the telephone and the latter agreed to stop firing and to a meeting of the two District Magistrates.

Our District Magistrate of Murshidabad went to the place fixed on the border at 4 p.m. to meet the Pakistani District Magistrate of Rajshahi. The Rajshahi District Magistrate, however did not turn up at the appointed place and the Pakistanis continued to fire and even fired at the messenger sent across to tell the Pakistani District Magistrate of Rajshahi that the District Magistrate of Murshidabad was waiting for him.

On March 11 the Pakistanis stopped firing at 06.00 hours but resumed heavy and intermittent firing on Char Rajanagar later in the day. Adequate measures have been taken to deal with the situation.

I have nothing further to say on this matter except that we are very much concerned about these developments, not only the incidents in themselves, but the whole background behind them. We certainly hope to take effective measures.

SYRIA

NEW CHALLENGES

BY MAKING ME A CITIZEN of this great and ancient city you have made me an inheritor or a sharer of its great traditions. Damascus is not only a very ancient city—perhaps the most ancient in the world—but has, during its long history gathered to itself tremendous traditions. Whenever I have thought of Damascus—even when I was very young—the name of this city has brought to me many dreams and stories and so today when you do me this unique honour I feel overwhelmed. I come today from another ancient city the city of Delhi, whose story goes back to the dawn of history and it is perhaps symbolic not only of the past but, I earnestly hope, of the future that these two ancient cities should in my humble self be brought together in this way.

Here in Damascus city and round about, every stone tells a story of past history. Your country and mine have had great periods of triumph and glory. We have also had periods of decay.

From speech at civic reception, Damascus, June 14 1957

and subjection. Our countries and many other countries of Asia and Africa were petrified for long periods. Our social structure became unchanging although the world was changing. And so Asia, from where at one time vital currents of thought and culture had spread to other parts of the world, became backward and the dependant of European countries. The countries of Asia remained for a long period stagnant under foreign domination. That foreign domination has gone from many of our countries though it still remains in some. Political freedom does not solve all our problems. It must necessarily be followed by economic and social freedom and growth.

I believe that the spirit of man is awake in the countries of Asia. Even though in many matters we are weak and may fail, we are building ourselves up by labour and sacrifice, and I hope we shall be able not only to maintain our national freedom and independence but also to enlarge individual freedom and advance along the lines of social regeneration and social revolution.

It is becoming increasingly difficult for any country to lead an isolated life. The progress of science and the progress of means of communication have brought the world together. We are all neighbours of each other although we may live thousands of miles apart.

You referred, Mr Mayor to the Bandung Conference, which laid down certain principles of international co-operation. I believe that those principles must be the basis of any international order. I am sorry that even those countries which participated in the Bandung Conference sometimes forget or ignore the principles to which they adhered. That has been our misfortune in Asia. We fall out, we cannot hold together. It has done us harm in the past and it will do us harm in future if we cannot hold together about certain basic principles. I believe that the countries of Asia do not mean any ill to the countries of Europe or other continents. All that we want is to ensure our own freedom and we wish to interfere with no other country's freedom. We want to live in peace and co-operation with other countries, whether of Europe or Africa or America or any other part of the world.

You in Syria have your difficulties and we in India have plenty of problems so have others. But if interference by one country in another is not there it will itself be a tremendous step towards peace.

Here in this ancient city of Damascus, where you stand on the edge of a long history and elsewhere we are working for a future which is to emerge from a marriage of the past and the present. That future is to be part of a world order of peaceful co-operation and common progress. May it be given to this ancient city of Damascus which has seen so many vicissitudes in its long history

to witness also the development of this new world. May it be given to the Arab countries to help in this development of a peaceful world of free nations co-operating with each other

GROWTH OF THE AFRICAN PERSONALITY

ONE OF THE most striking things today is the gradual development of what has been called the African personality. It is emerging, and I have no doubt that it is going to play a vital role in the future. Whether it can play that role through peaceful development or not, I cannot say. For down south and in the south-west of the African continent there are forces which are not only opposed to that African personality but are ranged today in complete opposition to any idea of race equality, political equality or any kind of equality. Of course, the most outstanding exponent of this doctrine of racial inequality is the Union of South Africa. But there are some areas north and north-west of it, where, though the Government has not expressed such opinions, the European people who are dominant often express the very ideas that the South African Government expresses. The question of the people of Indian descent in South Africa has really merged into bigger questions where not only Indians are affected but the whole African population along with the Chinese people, the Japanese people and any other people who happen to go to South Africa and who do not belong to European or American countries.

We have been building up opposition against the policy of apartheid. If this kind of policy continues in the Union of South Africa and at the same time, what I referred to as the African personality grows, there can be no doubt that there will be a mighty clash between the two. Such a clash can be of advantage to neither side, because it is quite inconceivable for these growing nations of Africa—finding their soul in some measure of freedom—you might say—to put up with the kind of treatment that the South African Union has given to coloured people. They will never put up with it, as we can never put up with it. Our only hope lies in the recognition on the part of the South African Union, under pressure of world opinion of the fact that the whole world is turning against them in so far as apartheid is concerned so that they will change their policies to avoid a catastrophe.

I have referred to this growth of the African personality. We know about the emergence of the new State of Ghana a year ago as an independent State. Other developments have taken place since then, and the latest to become independent has been Guinea, which had formed part of the French possessions. A very interesting phase of this new development has been Ghana and Guinea agreeing to come together. It is not quite clear in what form they will come together but whatever legal or constitutional form that might be it does represent the outward manifestation of that deep urge in African countries to come together. In the recent conference held in Accra, this urge has found utterance. I am sure that this House would wish to send its goodwill to these young African nations who are finding their soul, and who in the past centuries have suffered more than any other people in the world and have carried their burden of sorrow. It gives us special happiness that they should get rid of these shackles. I should like to congratulate even the colonial powers who, at last, and to some extent, have helped them in this process.

A WHOLE CONTINENT IN FERMENT

AFTER A VERY LONG PERIOD of colonial domination, the countries of Africa have suddenly come out with a bang. In the last two months a number of countries have become independent. Some of these are small, very small, while others are huge like the Congo. But the process is bringing tremendous problems in its wake notably the Congo exemplifies these problems. In the Congo the situation is changing rapidly. It is not easy to speak much about it except to say that the action which the United Nations has taken in regard to the Congo is to be welcomed for a variety of reasons. The changing picture in Africa is also affecting the concept of the Commonwealth which is changing because of the new members who include countries from Africa. All this has brought to a point the question of racial segregation, notably in the Union of South Africa and to some extent, in other African countries like Rhodesia or a part of the Federation there. So far as the Central African Federation is concerned, their proclaimed policy is not one of racial segregation although in practice it is so and we have suffered from it. But in South Africa this is

their proclaimed policy. It is a matter which affects the Commonwealth very deeply even though it may not be discussed publicly for various reasons, and I have no doubt that in the few months to come, or in years to come, some vital decision will have to be taken about this issue so far as the Commonwealth is concerned.

There is another issue tied up with it, namely that of South-West Africa, which after the first world war was made a mandated territory and was handed over to the Union of South Africa. In this matter we and other countries have repeatedly spoken in the United Nations about the behaviour of the Government of the Union of South Africa, which does not acknowledge South West Africa as a mandated territory and has functioned almost as if it were a part of its own domain and it could do what it liked with it. It refused to send any kind of reports to the Trusteeship Council, on the basis that the territory was given to it by the League of Nations and that, the League of Nations having ceased to exist, the Council derived full rights over it. The issue was referred to the World Court and the Court's decision was not in favour of South Africa's stand. Even so the Government of South Africa has not reformed. The capacity of the Government of the Union of South Africa to persist in error is really quite remarkable, but I take it that if a country as an individual, persists long enough in error, retribution comes. And in the present state of Africa where we see a whole continent in ferment, doing many right things and doing many wrong things, and where all types of movements and revolutionary changes are taking place, I do not know where such a policy will take them. Anyhow it is good that Africa is changing and changing fast, because the previous condition in the colonial administration was so bad that nothing could be worse from the human point of view.

IN AFRICA, BARRING A FEW areas, chiefly the Portuguese areas, practically the rest of the continent has attained its freedom or is going to attain it soon. There is, of course, Algeria which has lived under tragic conditions during these many years and has suffered enormous loss and sorrow in its fight for independence. Unfortunately when all the territories in Africa which were previously under French domination have been freed, Algeria has still to continue the struggle for its freedom. Apart from this, we come to perhaps what might be called the darkest parts of dark Africa, the Portuguese colonies, from where during these many years,

hardly a ray of light of information has come. To the extent it comes now it shows that things in these Portuguese colonies are also on the move. One can hardly expect that when the whole of Africa is aflame the Portuguese colonies can live in cold storage.

ALGERIA

A POPULAR UPSURGE

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA view with deep concern and regret the grave developments in Algeria which have now reached the dimensions of a large-scale conflict with mounting violence and the end of the conflict nowhere in sight. The conflict, it must be recognized, is one in which basically all the urges, passions, hopes, aspirations and that mass upsurge of peoples which go to make the great movements of rising nationalism are engaged. Too often are such movements and their consequences regarded as mere challenges to constituted authority which can and must be suppressed. The conflict in Algeria is part of the great wave of national upsurges which has swept Asia and Africa in the last two generations. What ever view we may take of the particular aspects of the present Algerian situation and however much we may recognize as we must, the practical difficulties and complexities involved, we and all those concerned must, at the same time recognize the basic issue.

The position of the Government of India in regard to all movements for national liberation, and specifically with reference to Algeria, has been repeatedly stated. It was also reiterated by the Government of India, in unity with the other independent Governments of Asia and Africa, at Bandung last year when they joined in declaring their support for the rights of the peoples of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence, and in appealing to the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay. This approach has two essential aspects—our support to freedom movements, and our adherence to a peaceful approach.

The Government of India take this opportunity of according their full recognition of the wisdom and statesmanship of the Government of France and the generosity of all the parties concerned in bringing about a solution of the problem of Morocco and Tunisia.

They hope that the independence of the two countries which is now recognized by France, will soon be well established and that these countries will before long become members of the United Nations.

The Government of India realize that there are special factors and complexities in the Algerian situation, which however should not be permitted to bar a settlement. These call for negotiation. The Government of India are happy to think that their recent contacts with French statesmen lead them to believe that there is an increasing recognition in France that the claims of Algerian nationalism have to be met. At the same time, there is the grim fact that large forces are deployed in Algeria, and violent conflict rages there. It should be our endeavour to assist the forces which stand for a constructive settlement by urging the fuller recognition of national aspirations and at the same time by not encouraging hatred and violence on either side.

The Government of India consider that the first step to peace and settlement in Algeria is the stopping of violence and bloodshed. They therefore, venture to appeal to all concerned to initiate and to respond to any moves to this end. A cessation of fighting in Algeria, the desire for which has recently been expressed from diverse quarters including the two sides, is the first and essential step. We hope that the French Government will pursue in Algeria the path which yielded helpful results in Morocco and Tunisia, and that the Algerian people will be ready to respond.

In their earnest desire to help resolve this conflict and promote a negotiated settlement, which will bind the parties in friendship and co-operation, the Government of India venture to make the following suggestions

- (1) The atmosphere of peaceful approach be promoted by formal declarations by both sides of the substance of their recent statements in favour of ending violence
- (2) The national entity and personality of Algeria be recognized by the French Government on the basis of freedom
- (3) The equality of the peoples in Algeria irrespective of races be recognized by all concerned
- (4) That Algeria is the homeland of all the people in Algeria irrespective of race be recognized as also the fact that they shall all be entitled to the benefits and to a share of the burdens arising from the recognition of the Algerian national entity and personality and freedom and
- (5) Direct negotiations based on the above-mentioned basic ideas and in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations be inaugurated.

The Government of India have the highest regard for the

traditions of France and are happy to regard themselves as in very friendly relations with that great country. They share with the Algerian people the faith in the justice of the cause of national freedom and feel bound to them in this common aspiration. They therefore, express the fervent hope that no further time will be lost by either side in their response to the call for peace.

The House will recall that in Indo-China the first step towards the termination of a long conflict began with the cessation of hostilities, and that an appeal similar to the present one evoked the unanimous approval of the House and helpful responses elsewhere. It is our hope that in a situation no less fraught with danger to the parties and to international peace than the war in Indo-China, now happily ended, this fervent appeal will reach the friendly ears of the parties to the present conflict, both of whom we regard as our friends and to whose co-operation and friendship with each other and with ourselves we are dedicated.

FREEDOM—BASIC ISSUE

YESTERDAY DR. KUTERU asked me to place before the House the resolution on Algeria adopted by the U.N. General Assembly. I shall read it out.

The following resolution on Algeria was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10 1957 by 80 votes to none. South Africa was absent and France did not participate in the voting.

"The General Assembly having discussed the question of Algeria and recalling its resolution of February 15 1957

- (1) expresses again its concern over the situation in Algeria
- (2) takes note of the offer of good offices made by His Majesty the King of Morocco and His Excellency the President of Tunisia
- (3) expresses the wish that in the spirit of effective co-operation parleys will be entered into and other appropriate means utilized with a view to reaching a solution in consonance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

The resolution does not go very far but it serves a purpose. From the super heated atmosphere where the problem had tended

to become a cold war issue, it has been drawn out by this resolution into an atmosphere which should lead to more effective approaches. That itself is a great gain and I am very glad that our delegation in the United Nations played an important part, together with others, in bringing about this approach of reconciliation. I use the word reconciliation and I do feel that that should be the governing approach to this issue.

WE HAVE ADMIRER many things in France. We are happy to have come to a friendly and peaceful agreement with France in regard to Pondicherry. Our attitude has always been one of friendship with France. But in spite of our friendly feeling for France, a country with its history with its struggles for freedom and with its culture and high intellectuality what has happened and is happening in Algeria does come as a deep shock to us. A few days ago, an incident occurred which I think is likely to be numbered among those relatively few instances of horror like the Jallianwala Bagh in India, which affect the whole population. Many worse things have happened in India since the Jallianwala Bagh, but it remains a tragedy which powerfully affected a whole generation, and possibly changed the current of history in India. Now in regard to the bombing the other day of the village Sakiet in Tunisia near the Algerian border—accounts of it have been given by British, American and French journalists and people of the Red Cross—the facts are shocking almost beyond belief. Apart from the horror of 100 200 or 300 persons being bombed and, I think, 20 or 30 being killed and the whole village being wiped off, the fact that this should be done in this way is itself more important than the unhappy deaths. It has a powerful effect—it is bound to have—in countries in Asia and Africa. Of course even in Europe and America it has had very powerful reactions. I do not know what to say except that if this kind of policy is to be persisted in and approved of, there is the greatest disaster ahead in Africa.

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WE HAVE BEEN GIVING a great deal of thought to the problem of Algeria, and we have been completely in favour of Algerian independence ever since this question arose. We have referred to it in the U.N., in public, and in our diplomatic correspondence.

From reply to debate in Lok Sabha on the President's Address,
February 18, 1958

Statement at Press conference New Delhi, October 12, 1958

We have also felt that the independence of Algeria should be achieved as far as possible by peaceful methods. We have been greatly distressed by the very cruel repression of that movement in Algeria by the French authorities and armies. Our sympathies are with the people of Algeria.

The question of an immediate recognition of the Provisional Government of Algeria has rather difficult aspects. It involves the recognition of a government which might be called a government existing outside the territory which it is supposed to govern. The real test in our minds has always been how we can help in this matter and not merely making a gesture without being able to help. Therefore, at present, we are not giving formal recognition to the Government. The matter will be kept in mind all the time. We shall watch, but we are very anxious that Algerian independence should be recognized.

The French Government have often said that they did not know whom to deal with. I think it may well be said that what is called the Provisional Government of Algeria represents all the elements in Algerian nationalism moderate and extremist, and therefore it should be easy to deal with them as representing Algerian nationalism. I would hope that the French Government will deal with these people because it is obvious that there is no way of settling the Algerian problem except by recognizing Algerian freedom.

IN ALGERIA THERE HAS BEEN for the last several years a most bloody conflict and all kinds of excesses have been committed. We had hoped and still hope that General de Gaulle's Government would deal with the Algerian question in a broad-minded and generous way recognizing the basic fact that it cannot be settled except in terms of the full freedom of Algeria.

A resolution in this regard came up only two or three days ago before the United Nations General Assembly. It found support in a big way but it failed, by one odd vote, to get the two-thirds majority. It was anyhow a great moral victory for the Algerians. It is interesting to see how the voting went on this question. Speaking from memory all the great powers like the U.S.A., abstained from voting. The vote of the U.S.A. is not merely the vote of one country. It represents the vote of a very great nation which exercises more authority in the United Nations than any other country because of its power and position. It shows, therefore, that the position in

regard to Algeria is also taking a favourable turn to some extent. It is perfectly clear that the Algerian question cannot be solved except on the basis of independence. What relationship free Algeria may have with France is a matter entirely for them to determine. We have realized always that in considering the Algerian problem, the fact of a million or more people of French descent living there is an important one. We cannot ignore this aspect, but important as it is, the fact of ten times that number wanting independence is more important still. We cannot ignore ten millions for the sake of one million especially when that country happens to be one where the ten millions and their ancestors have always lived. The only feasible solution would be Algerian freedom, with full protection to the large French minority there. It is not for me or for this House to indicate any solution of this question except to say that we desire the freedom of those people who have so bravely fought for it during these years and that we would hope earnestly that General de Gaulle's Government which has shown foresight and generosity in some matters, as in the case of Guinea, will also, in this much bigger issue, show that same foresight and generosity.

PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION

ALGERIA HAS BEEN a continuing tragedy for the last eight years. The sacrifice of the Algerian people has been amazing. I do not know if there are any parallels in history of a country of this size carrying on such a war of independence year after year at enormous cost to life and other things. Recently General de Gaulle went there. And when he first went there, he had a rather fierce and violent reception from the Europeans, the Colons, chiefly French. That was checked. Immediately following that came the African reaction which was also big and violent but on a much bigger scale in terms of numbers. The French army surrounded these people apparently and shot them down in large numbers. This created a tremendous impression not only in Algeria but elsewhere, and the difficult situation which existed previously became almost impossible of solution.

General de Gaulle announced over a month ago that there would be a referendum in Algeria. He did not give details, but for

the first time be referred to an Algerian Republic linked to France by a treaty. At that time it was proposed to hold the referendum early in January—part of it to be held in France itself and part in Algeria. It is not quite clear what the precise subjects will be on which votes will be taken. Broadly it is on what General de Gaulle said was his policy of Algerian self-determination, connected with France, and on the provisional establishment of a new governmental institution in Algeria, ensuring some degree of self-government pending the referendum. It was after this that General de Gaulle's visit came.

Recently there has been a resolution in the Political Committee of the U.N. which was fathered by a number of Afro-Asian countries including India. This morning news came that this resolution was passed minus its last clause. It is a somewhat long resolution. The part of the resolution that was passed reads:

"Recognizing the right of the Algerian people (I am not reading the preamble) to self-determination and independence. Recognizing the imperative need for adequate and effective guarantees to ensure the successful and just implementation of the right of self-determination on the basis of respect for the unity and territorial integrity of Algeria."

The last paragraph states:

"That a referendum should be conducted in Algeria, organized, controlled and supervised by the U.N. wherein the Algerian people shall freely determine the destiny of the entire country."

As far as I have been able to find out, this last clause about referendum and control by the U.N. was not passed by the requisite majority. That is the position in Algeria. The situation in Algeria as in the Congo is exceedingly grave and behind it is the broad effect of all that is happening in Africa and the possibility of great powers intervening in Africa in various ways. In Algeria one of the main complaints of the Algerian people's representatives has been not only against the French Government but against certain powers, the NATO powers who directly or indirectly support the French Government.

THE CONGO

CRISIS IN THE CONGO

AMONG THE MOST significant features of the world situation today are the developments in Africa. We welcome the firing of a large number of African nations yet, there has lately been a measure of anxiety in our mind because of the various conflicts which have been arising in Africa, more especially in the Congo.

As soon as the Congo became independent, we naturally recognized it. We looked upon the Congo as a single entity not to be split up. Our approach to the question is that the integrity and the sovereignty of the Congo should be maintained. We shall adhere to this approach.

When the troubles arose in the Congo, the United Nations was appealed to and the latter responded with speed and efficiency. This particular action which the United Nations took in the Congo is unique. In a sense it marked a new phase in the activities of the U.N. Taken all in all, I think it is a good and desirable phase and the manner in which the U.N. has functioned in the Congo has been commendable.

I do not quite know what would happen in the Congo if the U.N. was not there. Apart from the possibility of a great deal of internal conflict, there would be a possibility of intervention by other countries, big and small. I would like to express on behalf of the Government our appreciation of the steps which have been taken broadly by the U.N. in the Congo.

Some countries have been called upon to send their armed forces to the Congo under U.N. colours. We are not one of them. But we have rendered a good deal of assistance, rather important assistance, if I may say so. In terms of numbers, we have sent 200 to 250 persons from here. Many of them are of the officer class or constitute medical teams. That is, those we have sent there are not meant to fight but to aid. Of the principal officers whom we have sent, one is a kind of Military Adviser to Mr. Hammankjoeld and another is very soon going to be his personal representative in the Congo. Both are very responsible posts.

There was very recently another rather heavy demand on us for setting up immediately a 400-bed hospital in the Congo. This kind of thing can of course be done only on a military basis. We are air-lifting all the apparatus, medicines and men right to

the Congo to put up the hospital within a fortnight. We have done this on the understanding that the United Nations will replace these things in India. The vital aspect was the speed with which this could be established and under competent management. The demand was made to us, partly because some countries are ruled out in the circumstances in the Congo. We are one of the very few acceptable countries who could undertake it. We were pressed very earnestly and we agreed.

THE CONGO PRESENTS extraordinarily difficult problems. In spite of their complexity one can disentangle them and look at the basic features of the Congo. The first thing that strikes one is the extraordinary state of the Congo when the colonizing country, namely Belgium left it, or apparently left it. There was a total absence of trained personnel for any work in the country, apart from Belgians. Normally this should have created a difficult situation. It did. The United Nations was asked to help. It undertook to help.

The only alternative to the United Nations functioning in the Congo would be the filling of that vacuum by others in an undesirable way leading to civil wars and tribal wars, egged on by outside agencies. There was no way out except for the United Nations to go there and take charge of the situation in order to give the country a proper foundation and base on which to function.

I would commend to the House the latest report of the U.N. Representative there, Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal. I might mention that Mr. Dayal was not sent there by us and was not even our choice. Mr. Hammarskjöld, the U.N. Secretary-General asked us for the loan of his services. We hesitated because he was doing important work as our High Commissioner in Karachi. Nevertheless, we agreed and he went at short notice and fell into the muddle of this rather steaming cauldron of a situation there. I may say that during all this time he has been there, we have been practically out of touch with him. He does not report to us. We do not send him instructions. He is an international civil servant, now functioning in a difficult position, reporting to the U.N. This report is an objective survey from a man not only on the spot, but a man responsible for dealing with the situation.

Many facts come out of this. One basic fact is, I regret to say, that Belgians there have not functioned as they ought to have functioned. Indeed, after the first few weeks, Belgians who had

left in the earlier stages of independence returned in considerable numbers to the Congo. This became a heavy flow not only in a province like Katanga which of course, is practically completely controlled by Belgians of all types, military civil technical and others, but even in Leopoldville itself. The House will remember that the Security Council said repeatedly that Belgians should be made to withdraw. Naturally the Security Council referred to the military element, but the military people are there still, having gone back there in some numbers. The Government of Belgium apparently says that they have nothing to do with this business, and cannot interfere because these are individual Belgians functioning of their own free will.

Mr Dayal's report says

There is clear evidence of the steady return, in recent weeks, of Belgians to the Congo, and within this framework, of increasing Belgian participation in political and administrative activities whether as advisers, counsellors or executive officials. Belgian military and para military personnel as well as civilian personnel continue to be available to authorities in the Congo notably in Katanga and South Kasai."

This steady return, following the precipitate mass departure of last July may be attributed in part to spontaneous, individual reactions to an improvement in the security factor following the arrival of the United Nations Forces in the Congo but the magnitude and nature of subsequent developments is difficult to explain in such terms.

Even in the capital city of Leopoldville where the United Nations has its Force,

"Symptomatic of the changing picture is the rise of the Belgian population in Leopoldville from a low of 4,500 in July to at least 6 000. While a proportion have come back from Brazzaville, the regular Sabena service brings back full loads of passengers."

Here is an interesting fact

Soon after a measure of security had been re-established in the Congo, a recruiting agency for the Congo was set up in Brussels and supported Leopoldville.

The House will notice the organized way this was done and yet the Belgian Government says that it is individual action. Of the manner of Belgians coming in

"One striking illustration has been the recent joint application of 122 candidates from Belgium for posts in the Congolese judiciary. In this and other cases there is an implication of considerably more than that individuals are seeking employment solely and directly with the Congolese authorities."

"Belgian influence is also seen in the military field. A Belgian colonel, who recently arrived from Brazzaville, acts as an adviser to the Leopoldville Ministry of National Defence while a former Belgian warrant officer serves as aide-de-camp to Colonel Mobutu, with the rank of captain. Thirty-six Congolese have been sent by Colonel Mobutu to Brussels for military training" and so on.

In Katanga which wants to leave the Congo State

"In Katanga, Belgian influence is omnipresent. Virtually all key civilian and security posts are either held directly by officials of Belgian nationality or controlled by advisers to recently appointed and often inexperienced Congolese officials."

Referring to South Kasai the other troublesome area

"In the so-called Autonomous State of South Kasai there is also a considerable Belgian presence. The current emphasis there is on warlike preparations directed by a Colonel Cravecoeur serving in Belgian uniform and assisted by another Belgian Colonel Levaux."

In conclusion, Mr Dayal says

"From the data above and the general consensus of well-informed UNCC officers and from other sources, it may be concluded that a gradual but purposeful return is being staged by Belgian nationals, which has assumed serious significance in view of the key areas which they have penetrated in the public life of the country

You will find that wherever Belgians are in the greatest numbers that area is asking for separation from the Congo and for separate statehood. In fact Belgians are often leading these movements. It is not an unjustifiable assumption for me to make that one of the first things that should be done in the Congo is to carry out firmly and clearly what the Security Council said previously about Belians. In the circumstances, it is very difficult to draw a line between civilians military personnel and para military formations. I feel a basic fact is that the Belgian authorities there are supporting the disruptive elements. Apart from the provinces that wish to part company from the State even in Leopoldville the so-called Government of the Congo that exists today is being pushed hither and thither by Belgians.

There was a parliament for the Congo which was elected under the basic fundamental law framed by Belgium, and more or less fashioned after the Belgian Constitution. That parliament appointed President Kasavubu and Prime Minister Lumumba. Then trouble arose and a new gentleman appeared on the scene, Colonel Mobutu who had been appointed by Prime Minister Lumumba as Chief of Staff. Colonel Mobutu, as far as I know has no previous experience

of military matters or anything. This Chief of Staff decided to do away with parliament and the Prime Minister and the rest. He said he was taking charge of the situation and he would not permit parliament to meet. He tried on various occasions to arrest Mr. Lumumba. All this is very extraordinary. After all the one solid thing there is parliament, and the one fact which is obvious is that Colonel Mobutu has no legal, constitutional or any other basis and yet, a still more extraordinary fact is that some countries have supported and encouraged Colonel Mobutu in his activities—and very strange activities they have been. His army has been behaving in a totally undisciplined and wholly irregular way indulging in looting etc. It was with some difficulty that the U N troops could establish some order in Leopoldville.

I submit that the first basic thing is that parliament should meet. Let them have a new Prime Minister or a new President, if they like let them do what they like and try to come to terms, with the U N helping and advising them. The second basic thing is the less of interference from outside, from any country primarily Belgium, the better.

In about two or three days time, a United Nations delegation is going to the Congo. I wish it success, and I hope it will achieve some success in its work of conciliation. We were asked to nominate a member to this delegation and we have selected an hon. Member of this House, Mr. Rameshwar Rao, because he has wide acquaintance with African countries, and we thought that the delegation would profit by that experience.

A CONFUSED PICTURE

THE HOUSE WILL REMEMBER that when troubles first arose in the Congo soon after independence the then Prime Minister invited the United Nations to come and help them. That help was very badly needed even for the day-to-day activities of government. It was needed still more to maintain not only law and order but health and the normal activities of the country. Of course, the whole structure had completely collapsed immediately after independence as a result of the extraordinary developments that took place because of the attitude of the Belgian Government.

The Belgian Government, in its colonial days in the Congo had built up—more than many other colonial countries—a good health system and some other social services, like a fairly good system of primary education—but nothing beyond primary education. In fact, it appears to have been their deliberate policy to prevent higher education so that, curiously enough in the Congo today you find a fairly large proportion of people who have got primary education—I think there are about 30 000 schools—but every single teacher of these schools was Belgian. So the sudden withdrawal of all these Belgian functionaries, whether it was in education, whether it was in health or whether it was in any other activity left a complete vacuum. When the Belgians left, there was some trouble in the Congolese army and they demanded that the Belgian officers should withdraw. There was some violence on the part of the army. That did not last long but was rather exaggerated at the time.

Now the United Nations came in. In one of its earliest resolutions the Security Council decided that the Belgian military and para military personnel should be withdrawn—that is broadly Belgians should withdraw except probably those engaged in some social services or other essential services. Then all kinds of internal troubles and conflicts arose within the Congo and it began to appear that outside powers were encouraging and helping the contestants for power there. Some sided with Mr. Lumumba who was the elected Prime Minister, some with President Kasavubu who was also elected and who later had apparently fallen out with the Prime Minister. Some definitely sided with Colonel Mobutu who emerged as the Army Chief. He turned against Prime Minister Lumumba, turned against even President Kasavubu, put an end to parliament, and in fact there was a *coup d'état* in which he had more or less captured power and said there would be no parliament at least for a long time. He set up a few senior students—these few students who had some university education in Belgium at the University of Louvainne—and called them Commissioners to carry on the government, while President Kasavubu also appointed independently another gentleman as Prime Minister, having dismissed or tried to dismiss Mr. Lumumba. All this produced a very confused situation in which authority was spread all over. Broadly speaking the Congolese army which was to some extent under Colonel Mobutu's control was the authority. It was useful to Colonel Mobutu in suppressing his opponents but was not helpful to him or to anybody in preserving law and order. In fact it was a most disorderly element in the situation and it was not under a unified command. People looked at the constitution of the Congo and lawyers said that

of military matters or anything. This Chief of Staff decided to do away with parliament and the Prime Minister and the rest. He said he was taking charge of the situation and he would not permit parliament to meet. He tried on various occasions to arrest Mr. Lumumba. All this is very extraordinary. After all, the one solid thing there is parliament and the one fact which is obvious is that Colonel Mobutu has no legal, constitutional or any other basis and yet, a still more extraordinary fact is that some countries have supported and encouraged Colonel Mobutu in his activities—and very strange activities they have been. His army has been behaving in a totally undisciplined and wholly irregular way indulging in looting etc. It was with some difficulty that the U.N. troops could establish some order in Leopoldville.

I submit that the first basic thing is that parliament should meet. Let them have a new Prime Minister or a new President, if they like, let them do what they like, and try to come to terms, with the U.N. helping and advising them. The second basic thing is the less of interference from outside, from any country primarily Belgium the better.

In about two or three days time, a United Nations delegation is going to the Congo. I wish it success, and I hope it will achieve some success in its work of conciliation. We were asked to nominate a member to this delegation and we have selected an hon. Member of this House, Mr. Ramnathwar Rao because he has wide acquaintance with African countries, and we thought that the delegation would profit by that experience.

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The Belgian Government in its role as donor in the Congo has been successful in its efforts to develop the country and to bring about a more equitable distribution of the country's resources. It has been able to do this by means of a series of measures which have been designed to bring about a more equitable distribution of the country's resources. These measures have been designed to bring about a more equitable distribution of the country's resources. The first of these measures is the establishment of a system of land tenure which is based on the principle of the right of the individual to the land which he or she occupies. This system of land tenure is based on the principle of the right of the individual to the land which he or she occupies. The second of these measures is the establishment of a system of land tenure which is based on the principle of the right of the individual to the land which he or she occupies. This system of land tenure is based on the principle of the right of the individual to the land which he or she occupies. The third of these measures is the establishment of a system of land tenure which is based on the principle of the right of the individual to the land which he or she occupies. This system of land tenure is based on the principle of the right of the individual to the land which he or she occupies.

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From speech in Rajya Sabha, December 20 1960

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When I was at the United Nations I made a suggestion—others did too—that in these circumstances in the Congo the only real authority which should decide finally should be parliament. It consisted of elected people from all over the Congo and they should meet if they quarrelled in parliament, let them quarrel and decide. If they wanted to solve the confusion arising from two persons claiming to be Prime Minister and a third group calling themselves Commissioners and overriding the Prime Minister who was to decide? President Kasavubu was also a legal entity.

Then President Kasavubu himself went to the United Nations. There was a very heated debate in the General Assembly as to whether he should be allowed to sit in the Assembly as representing the Congo. Only a few days before that there had been a proposal that a delegation of Afro-Asian countries should go from the Assembly who under the Secretary-General's direction had formed themselves into an advisory committee on the Congo and report. It had also been decided that until they reported, a discussion on the Congo should be postponed. But four or five days after that this question of President Kasavubu came up. After a debate which created a good deal of heat, President Kasavubu was accepted as the representative of the Congo by a majority. This rather put an end to the previous decision about the delegation going there, and so the process of some kind of conciliation etc. envisaged in the Congo was hit on the head.

Then, Mr Lumumba escaped from his place of detention, was later arrested and treated very brutally and is still in jail.

The position of the United Nations in the Congo meanwhile underwent a change. They became less and less effective and Colonel Mobutu became the most effective person though not wholly so. They (the U.N.) could not do anything. The instructions that they got were that they must be completely neutral—whatever that might mean. Actually this meant that while the killing of one group by the other took place on a big scale in front of them they looked on. So from the point of view of law and order they had no position at all because of the instructions or the interpretations of the Instructions of the Security Council. In effect, the Congo gradually began to disintegrate. There had been the Katanga province which had declared its independence under Mr Tshombe, and now the Orientale province with Stanleyville as its capital also went astray. In fact, it calls itself the Government of the whole country.

One major thing that has happened during these months is the return of Belgians in considerable numbers and with considerable

authority though not directly exercised. The persons whom they favour are Colonel Mobutu and Mr Tshombe of Katanga and others. In fact, all these people have Belgian military advisers civil advisers and other advisers. The Student College of Commissioners have all Belgian advisers who presumably do all their work although issued in the name of the Commissioners. In effect, we have in a different form, a return to the functioning of Belgians in the Congo in all fields.

All this jumble of circumstances has produced, therefore an extraordinarily complicated and dangerous situation. Gradually the situation is becoming as is said, something like the old Spanish situation when the Spanish civil war took place thirty years ago or so. Apart from this, some of the African countries—many of whom have got their contingent of forces there—do not accept Colonel Mobutu at all they are in favour of Mr Lumumba who is in prison. Some have withdrawn their forces others may withdraw them later. There are proposals to the effect that apart from the United Nations Force, an African force should be constituted from various countries in Africa and they should go into action. It is not clear to me what such a force can do in these circumstances. Obviously this force would not be under the United Nations. If such a force comes, it is inevitable that forces from other countries will come in to oppose it. We have therefore not viewed these proposals with favour.

In spite of these difficulties we have all along felt that if the United Nations fail in the Congo, it will be a disaster not only for the Congo but for the world. If the U.N. cannot effectively deal with the situation, it would fade away in the Congo and its reputation will continue to suffer. The suggestion that we should withdraw our contingent has not been approved by us. The fact remains that under present conditions, our men or any country's men there, are frequently insulted and manhandled by the Congolese soldiery under Colonel Mobutu. We have put up with the many difficulties that face us, but I cannot, if our people are not treated properly and given opportunities to do the work for which they were sent, guarantee that the question will not arise whether it is worthwhile keeping them there or not. Normally we would have withdrawn them but we have hesitated and we hesitate to do so because it would really mean the collapse of the United Nations work there. It would mean most inevitably leaving the Congolese to fight it out amongst themselves, and it would also mean the intrusion of foreign powers with their troops and therefore war.

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IN REGARD TO THE CONGO two resolutions were placed before the General Assembly and as you know neither of the resolutions could be passed. One was defeated and the other did not get the two-thirds majority. I would like to refer to them briefly. The resolution moved on behalf of some Afro-Asian countries and Yugoslavia said after the preamble

Conscious of the incalculable and urgent responsibility of the United Nations both in the interests of the Congo as well as in the interests of peace and security which stand endangered and for the avoidance of the grave civil war considers

That the United Nations henceforth implement its mandate fully to prevent the breach of peace and security to restore and maintain law and order and the inviolability of persons including the United Nations and diplomatic personnel and property in accordance with the Charter and to take urgent measures to assist the people of the Congo in meeting their most pressing economic needs

Urges the immediate release of all political prisoners under detention more particularly members of the Central Government of the Congo and the officials of parliament and others enjoying parliamentary immunity

Urges the immediate convening of parliament and the taking of necessary protective measures thereto by the United Nations including custodian duty

Urges that measures be undertaken forthwith to prevent armed units and personnel in the Congo from any interference in the political life of the country as well as from obtaining any material or other support from abroad

Draws the attention of the Government of Belgium to its grave responsibility in disregarding the resolution of the United Nations

Demands that all Belgian military and quasi-military personnel, advisers and technicians be immediately withdrawn in pursuance of the resolution of the United Nations and the repeated pledges and assurances given by the Government of Belgium in the interests of peace and security "

India was one of the sponsors of this resolution which has now been defeated. The other resolution was supported by the United States of America and the United Kingdom. But, as I have already said, it was not able to get a two-thirds majority. If one reads the latter hurriedly one gets the impression that it is an attempt to some extent to approach the Afro-Asian resolution, but really there is a great deal of difference. After saying

that peace and order should reign there etc. the resolution reads

Calls upon all States to refrain from direct and indirect provision of arms or other materials of war and military personnel and other assistance for military purposes

Requests the Secretary-General with due regard to paragraph 4 of the Security Council resolution on August 9 to do every thing possible to assist the Chief of State of the Republic of the Congo in establishing conditions in which parliament can meet and function in security and freedom from outside interference."

There is a slight move forward by the U.S.A. and the U.K. towards a meeting of parliament but such a roundabout way of referring the thing back to the Chief of State really does not go very far

Declares that any violation of Human Rights in the Republic of the Congo is inconsistent with the purposes that guide the United Nations " etc.

so that the Secretary General has to assist the Republic of the Congo in ensuring respect for these rules and for civil and human rights of all persons within the country

Expresses the hope that the International Committee of the Red Cross will be allowed to examine detained persons throughout the Republic

Expresses the hope that the forthcoming round table conference to be convened by the Chief of State and the forthcoming visit for the purpose of conciliation, to the Republic of the Congo by certain representatives appointed by the advisory committee will help to resolve internal conflicts.

It is a two-and a half page resolution which contains a number of pious hopes but contains nothing you can get a hold of. It again comes up against the same difficulty which has been pursuing the United Nations work in the Congo namely tying up the hands of the Secretary-General limiting what he can do and what he cannot do. This has pursued him almost from the very beginning

Originally when the Security Council passed its resolutions, this point was not so obvious, because it was taken for granted that they were sending 20 000 or 22 000 troops there to do something. Now it appears that their chief duty there is to protect themselves, self-defence—an extraordinary position. "Self-defence" is the actual word used. That is to say they can do peaceful duties which non-soldiers could have done but where it is a question of any conflict they must not indulge in any step in prevention except in a self-defence. Surely if they are to limit themselves to steps conceived in self-defence alone they need not have gone

there. But they were sent there to help not to interfere, not to encourage any conflict, but surely when the need for it arose, to prevent wrong-doing. Cases have occurred repeatedly where the Congolese forces under Colonel Mobutu have been functioning with great brutality and the United Nations Forces have looked on very angrily being forbidden even to rescue the people who were being manhandled or killed, because of the strict orders that they could use force only in self-defence. This is a very extraordinary position.

Previously one of the chief things which the U.N. Representative Mr. Dayal, did was to seek to control the so-called Congolese army which was let loose everywhere. Repeatedly he reported to the U.N. that this must be controlled. Gradually this control grew and ultimately the Congolese army was asked to march out of Leopoldville. They did so. A little later came the United Nations Day which the U.N. Representative in the Congo decided to observe. There were United Nations Forces there. So there was a parade, etc. At that time Colonel Mobutu was permitted to bring his troops—the Congolese troops—back to Leopoldville to join in this parade. I think it was a very wrong step to take after they had been gradually peacefully pushed out. Well, they were back they have been there since then—in fact aggressively so. In all these matters a great deal has depended on the attitudes of the great powers and their representatives there.

If you look at the whole context of events, you see how by gradual pressures a situation has been created in the Congo in which the U.N. Forces have been put in a most difficult position. They have been humiliated often and they have to watch humiliating spectacles without being able to do anything. A large number of African countries have been infuriated by the turn of events. They have started withdrawing their forces from the Congo.

In such circumstances, it is difficult for a country like India to function effectively or to help fully. We do not wish to be swept by a gust of passion into doing something which even though it might be justified does not help in the situation. On the other hand when a situation is deteriorating one has forcefully to say as to what should be done. Our broad attitude is in favour of the Afro-Asian approach. That does not mean that we agree with everything they say like the formation of an all African force. They have demanded many measures which we think are not feasible. Our attempt has been to put forward something which we think might avoid this element of anger as much as possible and also be feasible otherwise.

TOWARDS A MORE VIGOROUS POLICY

FOR THE LAST many months as the House very well knows the situation in the Congo has been deteriorating. Throughout this period we have been drawing the attention of the countries concerned, and of the United Nations, towards the situation and suggesting various steps and measures to be taken. All kinds of disgraceful things happened there and the plea was that the U.N. mandate which was limited, prevented the U.N. from interfering. A great deal of resentment arose among those who had sent forces to the Congo at the request of the United Nations, and several countries even decided to withdraw their forces, because they did not agree with the policy that has been pursued by the United Nations or rather the absence of a policy—the passive inertness of the United Nations there. But it was not quite inert. The United Nations has done quite a fine piece of work in the field of feeding people and looking after them. But in the political field it had become very passive and its passivity naturally was all in favour of those people who had seized power and were exploiting it to their own advantage—more especially in Katanga and elsewhere.

If all the United Nations Forces are withdrawn from there the United Nations ceases to function there and will withdraw itself. If that happens, the consequence will not only be a continuing civil war but there would also be the danger of outside powers coming in in a big way to help their respective colonies or those whom they acknowledged—which would be a very serious thing. Also such failure would redound to the great discredit of the United Nations and make it difficult for it to function in future in any like emergency.

Some time back, Mr. Lumumba, who was in some kind of detention in Leopoldville, escaped from there. He was captured by Colonel Mobutu's forces somewhere, brought back and put in a prison. A few days back he was removed from that prison to Katanga in spite of many protests, because the Katanga people were—rather Mr. Tshombe was—his bitterest enemy.

About this time the so-called Conciliation Commission went there and everyone in the Commission agreed that to have any kind of conciliation their principal activity should be to meet Mr. Lumumba because he was the person who counted most there and he was a popular leader. The members of the Commission were not allowed to meet him and ultimately they were practically on the point of coming back before meeting him. Mr. Tshombe

informed them—it is rather significant that they were informed through a Belgian officer or Belgian adviser of Mr Tshombe—that they could not meet Mr Lumumba. This was only a few days ago.

Then came the news of the escape of Mr Lumumba. This news was given by the Katanga authorities. Very few people believed this. It was feared that this meant possibly some attempt at liquidating Mr Lumumba and his advisers. Two or three days later it turned out to be true.

Now there are many aspects of this tragedy. There is no doubt that Mr Lumumba was murdered. The kind of explanation that the Katanga authorities have given is so extraordinary and so audacious that it surprises one that any of these people should have that audacity to say things while completely disclaiming, rather indirectly, that they are responsible for the murder they have done everything to make people suspect that they are directly responsible for this. It is interesting to note that they refuse even now to permit any inquiry. They refuse even to indicate where Mr Lumumba was murdered or to indicate where his grave is, lest, as they say, the place should become a place of pilgrimage. It shows what his bitterest enemies thought of Mr Lumumba—that his grave would become a place of pilgrimage for the Congolese people. It would indeed have become so because Mr Lumumba, in a sense, was the founder of the national movement. It is not a very old-established movement but he was the founder and there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that whatever his failings or weaknesses may have been he was by far the most popular figure in the Congo not only among his own tribe but among others too. The tribal elements conflict with each other but among them he was the most popular figure. And it should be remembered that it was Mr Lumumba who invited the United Nations to come to their help six months ago. It was at his request that the United Nations decided to send their contingent there.

So Mr Lumumba was murdered. He was murdered in a brutal and callous manner. He was murdered by people who, in doing so, defied the whole process of the United Nations, its previous resolutions and even the present demands. They insulted the United Nations and the Conciliation Commission in every way. It is a picture which naturally angers one and which is going to have, and is having in fact, very far-reaching and serious consequences.

Our policy in such a situation must necessarily be limited by our capacity. Obviously we cannot go and fight a war in the Congo. Although we did not send any combat troops, we have helped the United Nations in other ways and if necessary and if we really thought it was necessary from the point of view of the world or

from the point of view of the Congo we shall even send combat troops. But we cannot possibly send them except through the United Nations. We cannot stand by ourselves there to fight all and sundry. We can only do that if we are convinced that they will be used rightly for the freedom of the Congolese people and not to support the gangster regimes that function there.

It is most unfortunate that this tragedy should have occurred when there was a chance of some better and more effective policies being pursued by the U.N. It is possible that it was the fear of these better policies being pursued that hastened Mr. Lumumba's death—that is, his opponents did not want him to live longer lest the other policies should come into play. It is a fact that in the United Nations even those who had been reluctant to take any effective step were coming round to the belief that something effective should be done instead of this inert policy and passive support of the existing conditions there. The United Nations itself was thinking of this. The United States of America under the new regime—we were informed—had definitely decided to change the old policies and do several things which we and others had been asking for these many months. Just when there was some hope of this new policy coming up which included naturally the release of Mr. Lumumba and the factional forces there being disarmed or brought under control, as also many other things like the summoning of parliament, this tragedy occurred.

I should have thought it better for us and for the other countries to await the decisions of the Security Council which is meeting from day to day before finally deciding on its own policy. Speaking for my Government, in spite of all our dismay at all that has happened and our disagreement on many of the policies that the United Nations has pursued in the Congo during the last few months it would seem to us that if the United Nations withdraws from the Congo it would be a disaster because then the field is left open to civil war and large-scale foreign intervention in various ways. On the other hand if it is not effective there is no point in its being there. It can stay on only if it changes its past policy very largely and if it insists on these basic matters. One of the actions which are quite essential is that the foreign elements must be controlled and must be made to withdraw specially Belgians.

We have made our position quite clear not only to the United Nations but also to the countries concerned. In spite of our anger and our great resentment at all that has happened, we have restrained ourselves. We hope that it may be possible for the Security Council to come to firm decisions so that the U.N. authority can function there effectively and strongly. This means

that it should function even if it is necessary to use armed force and not merely look on while others use armed force for a wrong purpose, that the foreign elements must go from there, and that the so-called Congolese army should be controlled and disarmed.

Having got the situation under control, the U.N. should try to get parliament to meet for deciding what kind of government they will have, the object being that the unity integrity and independence of the Congo should be preserved. If any help has to be given to them it should go through the United Nations and not through other sources.

We were asked, by the United Nations, may be about two weeks ago, to send combat troops there because some countries were withdrawing their forces from there. We have about 800 personnel there doing hospital and supply and signals work. In our answer we made our position clear. We said that we did believe that the United Nations should function there because as soon as it withdrew there would be a collapse of everything and one did not quite know where this disaster would take the Congo. But we completely disagreed with the way the U.N. had been functioning and we pointed out the various things that I have mentioned here. If our views could be accepted we would get over our reluctance and help even by sending some combat troops to the Congo. That is the position we had taken up earlier and it still holds.

DESPATCH OF COMBAT FORCES

ABOUT A MONTH AGO the Secretary-General of the United Nations asked us to send Indian armed forces to the Congo. We informed him in reply that we had not approved of the way in which the United Nations had been functioning in the Congo. We had no desire, therefore, to send our armed forces to the Congo unless the policy of the United Nations was changed and brought more in line with our views on that subject. With the passage of the recent resolution of the Security Council, which was sponsored by the United Arab Republic, Ceylon and Nigeria, the position has changed to some extent and it appears to us that a more correct and more effective policy will now be pursued. This resolution was drafted in consultation with many Afro-Asian countries and

were also consulted. A certain responsibility therefore is cast upon us.

The situation in the Congo has been a changing and confusing one, and we were reluctant as we always are, to send our armed forces outside India. We gave careful thought to these matters and communicated our views about the policy to be pursued in the Congo to the United Nations Secretary-General. When his reply was received it was considered generally satisfactory. After giving very careful thought to all aspects of the question, we decided to place an army brigade at the disposal of the United Nations for service in the Congo. In doing so however we informed the Secretary-General that we did not want our forces to come into conflict with the forces of any member country of the United Nations, apart from Congolese and Belgian and other mercenaries engaged in the Congo and further that the brigade should function as a unit by itself and not be attached to other units. We laid stress on the very early withdrawal of Belgians who are serving in the Congo as this appeared to be the crux of the problem there. We made it clear also that our troops must not be used in any manner against popular movements in the Congo.

EGYPT

NATIONALIZATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL

ON JULY 26 1956 President Nasser announced in a speech at Alexandria that the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company had been effected. The control of the offices of the company at Port Said Ismailia Suez and Cairo was taken over by the Egyptian Government following the promulgation of the nationalization law by presidential decree.

The assets and obligations of the company were taken over by the State. The law provided for compensation to shareholders at the market value of shares as on the day preceding nationalization. Such compensation was to be paid after the State had taken delivery of all the assets and properties of the company.

The management of the Suez Canal traffic service was entrusted to an independent authority with an independent budget and all powers without being subject to government rules and regulations.

The funds and assets of the nationalized company were frozen. The new authority was under obligation to retain the existing personnel who, in turn, were not to relinquish their posts without permission. The decree also provided for enforcement of the law and penalties attaching to breaches thereof.

The announcement has had world wide repercussions. A grave crisis has developed which, if not resolved peacefully can lead to a conflict the extent and effects of which it is not easy to assess. In this crisis, the foremost consideration must be to strive for a calmer atmosphere and a rational outlook. When passions dominate, the real issues recede into the background, or are viewed or presented so as to emphasize the differences between the disputants and to rouse or feed the passions already engendered. It is not easy for the disputants to escape tragic involvement. Even for others total objectivity is not possible. In a crisis of this kind not merely do we deal with the issue in dispute, but we witness the upsurge and conflict of mighty forces.

So we have to deal with the problem as it confronts us or be overwhelmed by it. It is appropriate, therefore, to look at the history of this problem.

The Suez Canal Company which is nationalized by Egypt, controls the operation and the equipment, and holds the concession of the Suez Canal. The Canal itself is in Egypt and an integral part of Egypt. The sovereignty of Egypt is thus beyond question. This is recognised both in the charter given to the Company in 1856 by the Viceroy of Egypt under the Ottoman Empire and in subsequent agreements and until as late as 1954. The original charter of 1856 which set out the terms of the canal concession provided that the Canal "shall always remain open as a neutral passage to every merchant ship crossing from one sea to another without any distinction, exclusion or preference of persons or nationalities."

The Convention of Constantinople of 1888 reiterates that the Canal shall always remain free and open.

The position in regard to the sovereignty of Egypt on the one hand and the charter of the international waterway on the other is well set out in the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1934 negotiated by the Governments of the United Kingdom and Egypt. Article 8 reads

The two contracting Governments recognize that the Suez Maritime Canal, which is an integral part of Egypt, is a waterway economically commercially and strategically of international importance and express the determination to uphold the Convention guaranteeing the freedom of navigation of the Canal signed at Constantinople on October 29 1888

The Suez Canal Company is an Egyptian company and in Egypt's view subject to the laws of the country. The shares are held, except for a small portion, by foreign Governments or nationals. The British Government hold 44 per cent of the shares. There are 32 Directors on the Board: 9 British, 16 French, 5 Egyptian, 1 American and 1 Dutch.

The concession of the Suez Canal Company would have expired in 1968, and the Egyptian Governments the present and previous ones, have publicly declared that the concession would not be renewed. The assets and obligations would then have reverted to Egypt under the Agreement of 1856.

The present decision of the Egyptian Government, therefore, would appear to ante-date the taking over by them of the company. No question of expropriation has arisen since the shareholders are to be compensated at market value. Even if there remain any outstanding differences in this matter they do not call for developments which lead to an international crisis.

The Egyptian Government have also reiterated that they will honour all their obligations arising from international agreements and in their reaffirmation have referred both to the Convention of 1888 and to the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1954.

The French and the United Kingdom Governments reacted to the Egyptian announcement quickly, sharply and with vehemence. Hon. Members of the House have seen press reports of military and naval movements ordered by the United Kingdom and France and some military measures in Egypt. These have received much publicity and have aggravated the situation. All this has influenced public opinion not only in Egypt but over the Arab world. In Asia as a whole, with its colonial memories, great resentment has been aroused.

I have no desire to add to the passions aroused, but I would fail in my duty to this House and the country and even to all the parties involved in this crisis and not least of all to Britain and France if I do not say that threats to settle this dispute or to enforce their views in this matter by display or use of force is the wrong way. It does not belong to this age and it is not dictated by reason. It fails to take account of the world as it is today and the Asia of today. If this were all we could perhaps hold our lives to patience and reflect that the mood will pass. But it would be unrealistic and imprudent not to express our deep concern at these developments and point to their ominous implications. We deeply regret these reactions and the measures reported to be taken in consequence and we express the hope that they will cease and the parties will enter into negotiations and seek peaceful settlements.

We also much regret that, in the steps that have led up to this crisis, there has been no exercise by one side or the other of their respective or common initiative to inform or consult one another.

We have great respect and regard for the sovereignty and dignity of Egypt and for our friendly relations with her. The Egyptian nationalization decision was precipitated by the Aswan Dam decision of the United States Government in which the United Kingdom Government later joined. More than the decision the way it was done hurt Egypt's pride and self respect and disregarded a people's sentiments.

The suddenness of the nationalization decision and the manner in which it has been implemented may have contributed to the violent reactions. But the very terms of the nationalization under the laws of Egypt are within the province of that Government.

The Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France have held urgent and prolonged consultations and their views are set out in a joint communique.

This communique recognizes the sovereign rights of Egypt, but appears to limit these sovereign rights to nationalize only assets, which in the words of the communique are "not impressed with an international interest". If this was the point at variance, the violence of the reactions and the warlike gestures—I would still hope they are not war preparations—were unnecessary and have been grievous in their results.

The three powers also agreed that a conference of the parties to the Convention of 1888 and other nations largely concerned with the use of the Canal should be held on August 16 1956 in London in which they agreed to participate. The United Kingdom has in pursuance of this decision extended an invitation to 23 countries which are Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Greece, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

The Government of India received an invitation from the United Kingdom on August 3 to a conference in London on the Suez Canal question. Prior to this, the United Kingdom Government kept the Government of India informed of the developments. Aware as they are of the extreme gravity of the situation that has developed and of the circumstances that obtain, the Government have given anxious and careful consideration to all aspects of this question including the reply to the invitation. The Government have also been in contact with the interested countries, including Egypt.

It has always been quite clear to the Government that they could not participate in any conference which bound its participants.

beforehand as to the conclusions to be reached. The Government would equally decline participation in any arrangements for war preparations or sanctions or any step which challenged the sovereign rights of Egypt. They have also been concerned at the exclusion from the list of invitees of various countries who should be included in the categories of signatories to the Convention of 1888 or of principal users. Without seeking to make invidious distinctions I would like to say to the House that the exclusion of Burma is to us a particularly regrettable omission. Yugoslavia, by virtue of being a successor State in respect of the Convention of 1888 and a maritime power should also have found a place among the invitees. The Government of India, therefore do not subscribe to the appropriateness of the list of invitees.

They have sought clarifications from the United Kingdom Government and feel assured that their participation in the conference does not in any way imply that they are restricted to or bound by the approach and the principles set out in the joint communiqué. They recognize that Egypt could not and would not participate in a conference on the Suez Canal to which she is merely an invitee and in respect of which there have been no consultations with her.

The Government of India had to take a decision in the situation as it confronted them. India is not a disinterested party. She is a principal user of this waterway and her economic life and development is not unaffected by the dispute not to speak of worse developments, in regard to it.

Even more India is passionately interested in averting a conflict. She is in friendly relations with Egypt, and associated with her in the acceptance of the Bandung Declarations and the Five Principles. India has also good and close relations with the principal Western countries involved. Both these relations are held in great esteem by us. The considerations and the criteria on which the Government had to base their decision—and not an easy one—is how best they could serve the cause of averting conflict and obtaining a peaceful settlement before it was too late. The House will appreciate the gravity of the situation as the Government have done. The settlement of this problem, on the basis of the sovereignty and dignity of Egypt, and by agreement amongst all concerned, and the abandonment of postures of threats and violence and of unilateral action by either party are of the utmost concern to India.

The Government, therefore obtained the necessary assurances from the United Kingdom and made their own position quite clear. They have satisfied themselves that their participation in the London conference will not injure the interests or the sovereign rights and dignity of Egypt. With the sense of grave responsibility

that rests on them the Government have decided to accept the invitation and to send representatives to the conference. They have kept in close contact with Indonesia and Ceylon and with others who broadly have an approach and attitude similar to that of India on this question. The Government are well aware that this conference can reach no final decisions for that requires the agreement of Egypt.

PLEA FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT

THE HOUSE KNOWS our earnest efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement in regard to the Suez Canal. It has been clear to us that any other approach to this problem or any attempt to impose a decision would not only not bring about the results aimed at but might lead to much graver consequences, the extent of which it is not possible to foresee. At the conference held in London we pleaded with all the force at our command for steps to be taken to bring about negotiations, and certain broad proposals were set out by us. We were supported in these proposals by Ceylon, Indonesia and the Soviet Union. The majority of those present at the conference, however adopted, as is known, a different line.

From the reports of Sir Anthony Eden's speech yesterday in the House of Commons, it is not possible to assess fully the meaning and import of the action said to be contemplated by the Governments of the United Kingdom, France and the United States. The action proposed to be taken by the three Governments which purports to be in the interests of the users of the Canal and to maintain the freedom of use of the Canal seems, to say the least, surprising and the consequences which may flow from it may well be very grave. It is clear that the action proposed is not the result of agreement, co-operation or consent, but is to be taken unilaterally and thus is in the nature of an imposed decision.

The Government of India deeply regret this development which is very unusual and which will render peaceful settlement more difficult of realization. It is not calculated to secure to the users peaceful and secured use of the Canal which is and should be what is required by the users and the international community.

The Menzies Mission which recently visited Cairo asked the Egyptian Government to accept international control of operation

and administration and the establishment of an international corporation displacing the Egyptian National Corporation. Egypt has declined to accept them as being contrary to her sovereign rights and not related to the purposes of the Convention of 1888 and the interest of users, which are freedom of navigation toll, maintenance of the Canal, etc., which the Egyptian Government alone can guarantee.

The reply of the Egyptian Government has opened a way to negotiations. In the view of the Government of India, such negotiations could have led to a settlement which would have met all requirements of the users and the international community without prejudice to or derogation of the sovereignty of Egypt and her national rights in respect of the Canal which is admittedly an integral part of Egypt.

I have in the last few days communicated to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States our view that the situation which emerged after the Menzies Mission and the statement made by the Egyptian Government accepting all international obligations and inviting negotiations opened a way to settlement. We appeal to both the United Kingdom and the United States to consider all this and enable the development of negotiations which will lead to a settlement. We hope that despite all that has happened and the tensions that have been engendered, the path of peace will be followed. There is here no question of appeasement of one side or the other as what is to be sought and can in our view be obtained is a settlement satisfactory and honourable to all concerned.

The Government of India earnestly hope that the appeal we have made will not be in vain. To seek to impose a settlement by force or by threats of force is to disregard the rights of nations even as the failure to observe international treaties and obligations would be. The Government regret to learn from press reports that pilots of British, French, Italian and other nationalities are being withdrawn. This is an action not calculated to promote the use of the Canal and is not in the interest of user nations. The Government of India are desirous that no statement of theirs should come in the way of the efforts to lower tension and to open the way for negotiations. But they cannot fail to point out that the steps announced to assume the operation of the Canal without the consent and co-operation of the Egyptian Government are calculated to render a peaceful approach extremely difficult and also carry with them the grave risk of conflict. I should like to say that I have read the report of Sir Anthony Eden's speech with surprise and regret as it appears to close the door to further negotiations. The action envisaged in it is full of dangerous potentialities and

far-reaching consequences. I earnestly trust that, even now it is not too late to refrain from any such action and to think more in terms of a peaceful negotiated settlement which alone can achieve the results aimed at in regard to the proper functioning of the Suez Canal for the good of all countries concerned as well as for the maintenance of friendly relations in the middle-eastern region and the whole of Asia.

As I have stated previously the proper functioning of the Suez Canal is of vital importance to India. We are convinced however that this can only be achieved through a peaceful negotiated settlement ensuring the rights not only of Egypt but of all the user countries.

ANGLO-FRENCH INTERVENTION

SINCE MY LAST statement on this subject in the House over two months back, much has happened in regard to the Suez Canal issue. The matter was taken up by the Security Council and there was broad approval of certain basic principles which should govern any agreement in regard to the Suez Canal. It was proposed that the chief parties to the dispute, namely Egypt, the United Kingdom and France, should meet soon to discuss the subject further on the basis of those principles.

That meeting did not take place. Instead, on October 29 Israel launched a sudden and premeditated attack on Egypt, and *large concentrations of Israeli troops made deep penetrations into Egyptian territory*. The next day the Governments of the United Kingdom and France sent an ultimatum to Egypt and Israel to the effect that if they did not stop fighting and withdraw their forces to ten miles on either side of the Suez Canal, British and French forces would intervene to stop the fighting. The ultimatum expired on the morning of October 31 and, soon after British and French forces commenced aerial bombardment of airfields and military objectives in Cairo and elsewhere in Egypt. This was followed a few days later by landings of airborne troops near Port Said which resulted in heavy fighting there.

As the House knows India had viewed with grave apprehension the policy pursued by the U.K. and the French Governments following the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company. In

particular the massing of troops and aircraft for the purpose of military operations in Egypt appeared to us to be a reversion to past colonial methods and an attempt to coerce Egypt by a show of armed might. Indeed, it was stated by responsible statesmen in the United Kingdom and France that the regime in Egypt must be changed and, in particular the head of the State and of the Government of Egypt should be removed. We had hoped however that after the Security Council's resolution, more peaceful methods would be adopted to solve this dispute. Therefore the starting of military operations against Egypt by the United Kingdom and France and more particularly the bombing of parts of Cairo city and other parts of Egypt came as a profound shock not only to people in India but to large numbers of people in other countries including the United Kingdom. This appeared to be a flagrant case of aggression by two strong powers against a weaker country with the purpose of enforcing their will even to the extent of changing the Government of that country. This led to widespread world reactions against the Anglo-French action and as the Security Council proved ineffective because of the exercise of the veto by the United Kingdom and France the U.N. General Assembly at an emergency session, expressed its disapproval of this action and demanded the stoppage of military operations in Egypt and the withdrawal of the armed forces of Israel, France and the United Kingdom from Egyptian territory. An uneasy armistice followed and it was declared on behalf of the United Kingdom, France and Israel that they would withdraw their armed forces, though this was made subject to certain conditions.

These developments gave some hope that peaceful methods would henceforth be employed and I ventured to say a few days ago that the situation had slightly improved. Today I am by no means sure that this improvement has taken place. There are numerous tendencies which, unless checked may well lead to a rapid deterioration of the situation and a reversion to warfare. If unfortunately military operations begin again it is possible that they might extend over a much wider area and might even develop into a major war.

Two days ago the Prime Ministers of Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and India issued a joint statement which has already been placed on the table of the House. That statement gives expression to the views of these Prime Ministers on the recent happenings in Egypt and in Hungary and points out the danger of war inherent in the present grave international situation.

In spite of the resolution of the U.N. General Assembly sporadic fighting continued and there has been no attempt at withdrawal of forces from Egyptian territory. It would appear

indeed that these forces have established themselves firmly on Egyptian territory and have no present intention of leaving it. If these foreign forces continue to remain on Egyptian territory the situation is likely to deteriorate rapidly and bring the danger of fresh military operations nearer.

The Governments of the United Kingdom and France, though apparently accepting the U.N. resolution, have laid down certain conditions which are not consistent with that resolution. The Prime Minister of Israel has continued to insist that he will not evacuate Gaza. If the foreign forces are not wholly removed from Egyptian territory this will amount to a clear violation of the U.N. resolution.

Meanwhile, India has agreed to send a contingent of her armed forces for the United Nations International Force in Egypt. This contingent is expected to leave India by air today. This Force will not be concerned with the Suez Canal issue as such, which can only be considered separately after peace has been fully established and all foreign forces removed. The main task of the International Force is said to be to ensure that Israel remains within the demarcation lines set by the old armistice agreement.

We have received some accounts of the fighting around Port Said, which show that the casualties, chiefly among Egyptian civilians, were very heavy, running into many thousands. Conditions in Port Said have been distressing in the extreme. We are taking immediate steps to send a large stock of medicines by special aircraft to Egypt for purposes of relief.

The story of the past three and a half months, ever since the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company, is full of tragic drama, and events have happened which I would have thought could not possibly occur in this modern age. I find it a little difficult to deal with this record of unabashed aggression and deception. The explanations which have been given from time to time contradict one another and exhibit an approach which is dangerous to the freedom of Asian and African countries and to world peace itself.

During all the controversies since the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company, Egypt has conducted herself with a large measure of propriety and forbearance. Without the least justification, Egypt was attacked not only by Israel but also by the United Kingdom and France. Whether there was any previous consultation among the aggressor countries, I do not know. But it is obvious that their plans fitted in, and the Anglo-French attack helped Israel's aggression and was itself helped by it. Egypt, the victim of Israeli aggression, was attacked immediately after by the armed forces of the United Kingdom and France. It was only the widespread indignation of peoples not only in Asia and Africa but

also in Europe and America and the action taken by the United Nations that put some check on this aggression. But it appears to me that the cease-fire having taken place there is a tendency to complacency and to allow matters to drift. Indeed, some attempt has been made to minimize and justify this utterly unprovoked and brutal attack on Egypt. Attention has been diverted to some extent to the grave and distressing occurrences in Hungary.

EVER SINCE THE NATIONALIZATION of the Suez Canal, we were in very intimate touch with what happened there and we were in a much better position to judge that situation. It was an open situation at that time.

Things that have later happened in Egypt are rather confusing for example, the state of affairs at Port Said and so on. I believe even now facilities are not being given in parts of Egypt occupied by foreign forces, like Port Said and the other parts occupied by the Israeli army, for outsiders to go there. We have been suggesting in the case of Egypt, as in the case of Hungary, that it is desirable from every point of view even from the point of view of the occupying forces, that impartial observers preferably sent by the United Nations, should go look at the things there and report. I earnestly trust that the Governments or the authorities concerned in both places will permit this to be done because otherwise all kinds of wild reports are circulated and believed in. This will open a window through which the world can look at what has happened and what is happening.

The House knows that the first contingent of our forces has already gone to Egypt. Others will follow. I want to make it perfectly clear on what conditions we sent these forces to join the United Nations Force. First of all we made it clear that it was only if the Government of Egypt agreed that we would send them secondly they were not to be considered in any sense a continuing force continuing the activities of the Anglo-French forces but an entirely separate thing thirdly that the Anglo-French forces should be withdrawn fourthly that the United Nations Force should function to protect the old armistice line between Israel and Egypt and finally that it would be a temporary affair. We are not prepared to agree to our force or any force remaining there indefinitely. It was on these conditions which were accepted, that these forces were sent there.

last year and a half, we have been watching how Ghana has become a kind of symbol to many other countries in Asia and in Africa. Recently we heard of Ghana and the newly independent country of Guinea coming closer together perhaps as a portent of other changes. Only a few days ago you had a conference at Accra where representatives of nearly all the African countries gathered together. That also I think, was an eye-opener to people who were intimately acquainted with what was happening in Africa. The forces and the undercurrents which had been at work there for a long time came to the surface and surprised many people and suddenly they realized that something big was happening in Africa, and that Africa was astir with longing for freedom. It was not merely that individual countries in Africa sought their freedom. It was something on a wider and bigger scale. Africa seemed to have moved very much into the centre of the picture longing for freedom, not with too soft a voice but rather assertively and aggressively. This was only natural after the long period of suppression and the terrible history of hundreds of years. So the drama has unfolded itself during the past year and a half, and in this drama Ghana has played a very important part.

Your coming, therefore, to India is doubly welcome, both for the sake of Ghana and for the sake of Africa where new urges are moving the minds and hearts of millions and millions of people. We wish them well. We hope not only that they will achieve their freedom but will achieve it peacefully and in co-operation with other countries. We hope that the peoples of Africa and those of Asia will live co-operatively and peacefully together. The countries of Africa and Asia have, broadly a common background of colonial rule and to some extent, common problems to face. Inevitably they come closer to each other to learn from each other and to help each other where possible. We have been drawn in particular to the new countries of Africa and I earnestly hope that in the future these bonds of friendship and co-operation will grow to the advantage of both. We hope that these great forces that have arisen in Africa will find an outlet in peace and friendship for otherwise it will be most unfortunate for all concerned. This great continent may be backward in development but when people are full of vitality and full of desire to make good and grow they have the quality essential for growth and they are likely to make good. I have no particular anxiety about the future provided that this growth is peaceful.

DANGER OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

ONE OF THE QUESTIONS of the most immediate concern to us is the question of racial discrimination in South Africa and the treatment of people of Indian descent there.

The question concerns not Indian nationals but people of Indian descent who are South African nationals. There is no Indian national there. Our interest in the problem is not only because we are against racial discrimination, but because there is a long history behind this, going back to 50 or 60 years or more. We have been intimately involved in the issue before and after independence.

There are many conflicts which divide the world and this question of racial conflict in South Africa is as grave as any other issue. There are racial conflicts elsewhere in the world. In India we have no racial conflict in that particular sense but something akin to it when we suppress the people because they are called "untouchables" or "depressed classes". We are fighting it. Again, for instance, there are racial conflicts in the United States of America. But there is a difference. In the United States of America efforts have been made with growing success to ease the racial problem. I do not say they have solved it, but the Government have tried to solve it, with the help of public opinion, and there is progress in a certain direction, so also elsewhere.

In South Africa, on the other hand, it is the deliberate acknowledged and loudly proclaimed policy of the Government itself to maintain this segregation and racial discrimination. This makes the South African case unique in the world. It is a policy with which obviously no person and no country which believes in the United Nations Charter can ever compromise because it uproots almost everything the modern world stands for and considers worthwhile whether it is the United Nations Charter or whether it is our ideas of democracy or of human dignity.

THE RACIAL POLICY of the South African Union is, I think, more basically wrong and dangerous for the future of the world than anything else. It surprises me that countries, particularly those who stand for the democratic tradition and those who

voted for the United Nations Charter and for the Human Rights Convention—tomorrow happens to be the tenth anniversary of the passing of the Human Rights Convention—express themselves so moderately or do not express themselves at all about the racial policy of the South African Union. It is not a question of policy only. I say it is the greatest international immorality for a nation to carry on in that way. We have no desire to interfere with what a country does. The South African Government can do what it likes in its internal policy. No doubt, we have a special concern in this matter because the people of Indian descent in Africa went there under certain guarantees, but even apart from that, we would have held these strong views about the racial policy of the South African Government.

GROWING DISAPPROVAL

ONLY A FEW DAYS ago a resolution came up before the United Nations General Assembly as it comes up every year about the racial policy being pursued in South Africa. The resolution, it is interesting to note, was passed with the biggest majority that it has had in the past few years. Gradually countries that were opposed to this type of resolution are now supporting it or at any rate are not opposing it. I am sorry that among the countries that still oppose the resolution are one or two Commonwealth countries of note, but I am glad that some other Commonwealth countries, which did not previously support it, have supported it. In fact, one might almost say that there is world wide opinion today against apartheid in South Africa. I believe five countries out of eighty or so in the United Nations voted against that resolution. Even these countries do not really support the principle of apartheid, but they do not wish publicly to oppose it for political reasons and for other reasons. In the United Nations, as elsewhere, we have deliberately approached this question as moderately as possible. Even this time the resolution which was put forward was a moderate one expressing disapproval of South Africa's policy and of not acting up to the last year's resolution of the United Nations General Assembly and calling upon them again to meet the representatives of India and Pakistan. We are prepared to meet them. We shall invite them to meet us to discuss this matter because in the final analysis

there is no way of resolving a problem except by consultation, discussion and settlement.

One thing I may mention in this connection is that a proposal has been put forward by the South African Union for South West Africa to be divided up one part to go fully to the South African Union and the other to remain under the U.N. Trusteeship. I am glad to say that this has not found support in the United Nations, because it would be most dangerous and harmful for any area of Africa to be handed over to a country which proclaims loudly its policy of apartheid which is a complete breach of the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the Human Rights Declaration, and acts up to it. I submit that South Africa's racial policy is a violation of everything that the United Nations stands for.

IN THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS much has happened in Africa which has been very painful. What we see in South Africa is a survival in the realm of policy and administration of all kinds of atavistic activities. Such emotions and feelings have no place in the world today. They can only lead to utter disaster in Africa and elsewhere. We are pretty near to that disaster unless the policies of racial suppression and racial discrimination are changed.

The House knows how the matter has come up again and again in the United Nations and how the South African Union has ignored the advice and the resolutions of the United Nations. The only good aspect of it is that progressively and in spite of all kinds of pressures, the countries in the United Nations barring a very few have come round to dissociating themselves in various ways from South Africa's policy.

Every person who is at all watching the development of the African situation will have seen that the whole continent is in a ferment. I have repeatedly said in this House and elsewhere that unless this matter is handled with some forethought now we will have to face a most terrible catastrophe—not only of a colonial war but racial war and the bitterness and violence that come out of long suppression suddenly finding an outlet. That will be a terrible tragedy for Africa to face just when its people are moving towards the verge of freedom.

FIRING IN LANGA TOWNSHIP

I **W**AS TO MOVE the following resolution

"That this House deplora and records its deep sorrow at the tragic incidents which occurred at Sharpeville and in Langa township near Capetown in South Africa on March 21 1960 resulting in the death of a large number of Africans from police firing. It sends its deep sympathy to the Africans who have suffered from this firing and from the policy of racial discrimination and the suppression of the African people in their own homeland.

The resolution I am moving is, as the House will see, a moderately worded resolution. It has been deliberately worded in that way not because we feel moderately about this matter—strong feelings have been roused by it in this House and in this country and over a great part of the world—but because I thought it would be in keeping with the dignity of this House and of Parliament if we should express ourselves in a restrained manner. The matter is too serious merely to be disposed of by strong language. It is not the custom of this House normally to consider such matters which are supposed to be in the internal jurisdiction of another country nor indeed would we like the other countries to consider matters in the internal jurisdiction of this country. That is the normal practice, and it is the right practice. However sometimes things happen and occurrences take place which are not normal at all but are exceedingly abnormal, and then it becomes rather difficult if some convention comes in the way of the expression of a feeling which is deep-seated and powerful. After all, this House is and ought to be in some measure a mirror of our people's feelings. Therefore, although this is not a normal procedure we felt that this House should be given an opportunity to express the strong feelings which it has in regard to this tragic incident.

It is bad enough for a large number of people to be killed; it is worse for the killing to take place in the manner it did in South Africa a week ago. Behind it all lies a certain deliberate policy which the South African Union Government is pursuing. In principle and practice it is the negation of everything which the United Nations stands for and we stand for. It is the negation of what every civilized government today stands for or should stand for.

Not too long ago voices were raised in a great part of the world denouncing the racial policies of the Nazi regime in Germany and when a great war took place bringing enormous slaughter in its train, it was said that partly at least—there were many reasons—

it was due to the racial policies which the regime has based on the basis of a master race with the right to exterminate people belonging to some other race. In my view was a sub-human race. Now that policy has been adopted and openly proclaimed in the South African Union has been often stated in this House such a policy is a disaster because it is impossible to conceive that Africa or indeed of any other part of the world will ever submit to that policy. So much for the principle.

In regard to the actual practice of it I wonder whether Members are aware of the details of how it is carried out. What they have to submit to and how families are torn apart, husband from wife, father from son. They cannot do anything without special permits and passes. They may stay in a place for a whole generation but if they have to go anywhere else they have to quit the place at once within a few hours. I am pointing out that apart from the principle the practice of that policy causes an enormous suffering to African people. That country after all is their home, they are not aliens, they do not come from elsewhere. Their descent in South Africa, as we all know, has been marked by a great deal of discrimination and suffering. It is not that but we must remember the African people are suffering with something infinitely more and that that suffering must go on to them even more than to the white people.

I am moving this resolution in connection with the occurrences. It so happened that today is a day of African organizations as a day of mourning. It is appropriate therefore that this resolution should be moved by this House today.

The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has called a wind of change coming or blowing over the continent. That was a moderate reference to the situation in Africa. It is clear that the policy of the Government has not taken into consideration the needs of the people realizing them is not going to be affected. I think of the system they have introduced and they carry a pass wherever he goes, and they do not allow him to enter certain areas at all. It is the life of a prisoner on ticket I say. That is what is the situation of the South African Union has been. It is not surprising that they have resented it and they have fought back.

I cannot go on without much further reference to the events which took place there but

a peaceful protest. There might have been some violence. But the fact remains that these people who are protesting in the main peacefully were mowed down by machine-guns, while, in order to terrify them, I believe, jet aircraft flew overhead.

Apart from this particular tragedy something terrible has happened in South Africa. It is not surprising that there has been this great reaction all over the world, and I believe the matter is going to be brought before the United Nations. The United Nations Organization also normally does not interfere in the internal affairs of member countries although there have been cases when it has interfered, and rightly so in giving consideration to those matters. It may be argued that this is not a matter for the United Nations—not being a matter that is likely to lead to violation of international peace and security. Well, even in a strict sense, it is very much a matter which the United Nations, as representing the international community should consider because it involves something of the most intimate concern to humanity itself.

Therefore, this is not a matter affecting merely the South African Union. It affects the whole of Africa and indeed it affects all of us. It is an odd position that a member of the United Nations is using its State power for the assertion of racial superiority within its territory. This is something which is objected to and denied by the United Nations in its Charter.

SOUTH AFRICA LEAVES THE COMMONWEALTH

THE RECENT MEETING of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers held in London was rather an unusual one—at any rate, it was not the normal meeting which is held to consider various problems in which the Commonwealth is interested. It was specially convened to consider specific problems like disarmament and to some extent the future of the United Nations. As it happened when it met there were one or two very important and urgent matters like the situation in Africa and more particularly in the Congo which were considered at some length.

Although these problems were considered rather fully through out this meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers the issue which seemed to overshadow the proceedings was the question of South Africa and the racial policy followed by that country.

We have discussed this matter on many earlier occasions, and reference has been made to it almost every year in our debates on foreign affairs. The matter has also been raised annually in the United Nations on behalf of India and other countries and resolutions have been passed there by overwhelming majorities. We have been interested in this for a long time past. In fact, it is well to remember that it was in South Africa, fifty years ago that our leader Mahatma Gandhi started his first campaign against racial inequality and racial domination and suppression. Ever since our independence, our interest in the matter has grown so also that of other countries. Originally we were interested because of the large number of people of Indian descent there. Apart from that, racial inequality is not a mere internal question of a nation. It raises international issues.

This matter came up in a particular way at the meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. The South African Government have recently had a referendum on the issue of a republic and by a small majority it has been decided to have a republican form of government there. The Prime Minister of South Africa made a statement before the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference informing them of the result of the referendum and requesting that the South African Union might continue in the Commonwealth in spite of becoming a republic. We could take no exception to any country becoming a republic we ourselves are a republic and we approve of the republican form of government everywhere but because this application was made the allied question of racial relations in South Africa arose and it was discussed. Even the Prime Minister of South Africa agreed to its being taken up. So while we had no objection to a republic being taken into the Commonwealth many of us laid stress on the incompatibility of any country being in the Commonwealth which followed racial policies like the South African Union Government. I would add here that the main thing is that in South Africa this is the official policy. It is not the failure of an official policy. The apartheid policy of suppression, separation and segregation is the official declared policy of the Government there. This matter was discussed and the incompatibility became quite obvious to all. It became a question practically speaking of whether the South African Union Government should continue in the Commonwealth or whether a number of other countries should continue in the Commonwealth. As a result of this the South African Prime Minister decided to withdraw his application for continuing membership of the Commonwealth and this was agreed to. South Africa will cease to be a member of the Commonwealth as soon as the South African Union becomes a republic that is on May 31.

This was an unusual and far reaching decision for the Commonwealth organization to take. It is an important one, and I think that it has strengthened the Commonwealth. This very tenuous and vague association has developed certain basic formulae on which it stands and one of them is equal treatment of races equal opportunities, no racial suppression and certainly no segregation. I might add that Mr Verwoerd Prime Minister of the South African Government, in presenting his case stoutly denied that there was any racial suppression but he based his case on what he called separate development of different races. He stressed that the South African Government's policy was separate development and not suppression allowing different races to develop equally. Of course, that does not happen there. He might almost have gone a step further I thought then and said that this policy was one of peaceful co-existence, but perhaps that did not strike Mr Verwoerd at that time.

I think this decision of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers meeting will have far reaching effect on racial questions all over the world. At the same time this mere fact shows the South African Government is going to continue this policy as it has been doing in the past. They may not call it apartheid in the future, and they have officially said that it shall not be called apartheid nevertheless, it is one of segregation and suppression. This policy obviously is going to continue. In fact, it is because of that that this break or split came in the Commonwealth conference. If they had said that they would vary this policy even to a small extent, it would have had some effect on some members of the conference but they were completely rigid. They would not vary it or change it at all and they would hold on to it in its entirety. Therefore, it should be realized that the major problem remains. The fact that the Commonwealth has given its opinion rather forcibly against it is helpful but it has not solved the question. It will, no doubt come up before the United Nations as it has done annually and the question may well arise as to what the United Nations should do about a country which violates the very constitution and Charter of the United Nations in regard to this vital matter.

EUROPE

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ADHERENCE TO PANCHSHEEL

MR. PRIME MINISTER, Your Excellencies ladies and gentlemen We have met here to do honour to you, and to your country. It is a pleasure to welcome you here as the representative of a great country famous in history which has so often fought for freedom. Sitting here again and again my mind went back to something which occurred nearly 20 years ago when almost by chance I happened to be in Prague that beautiful and historic city. I found myself hurled unexpectedly into the very cauldron of history. At that time Czechoslovakia was faced by grave dangers. There was the smell of war of invasion and preparations to defend Czechoslovakia. It was an extraordinary time of high tension which produced a great effect upon me. I think of what happened afterwards, a year later when the great war began with its terrible destruction, and of all else good and bad which happened since then. The world has in many ways made tremendous progress, specially in the field of technological advance and more specially in the much mightier and more deadly weapons of mass destruction. Sometimes I have felt again that there was that smell of war or preparation for war. So the memory of what was happening in Czechoslovakia nearly 20 years ago comes back to me vividly today in these altered but much more dangerous conditions.

We talk of peace and yet sometimes our gestures produce reactions which are not helpful to peace. We in India have tried, in spite of our many weaknesses at least to avoid such gestures and be friendly to all countries even though we may not agree with them in their policies. It was in this connection that, some years back our country and the People's Republic of China issued a statement of what has come to be known as Panchsheel or the Five Principles. Your country Mr. Prime Minister also adhered to that statement, as many other countries did. Recently in the

United Nations to our great gratification a resolution which embodied those Five Principles was passed. I do think it was a very considerable achievement for the United Nations, and for the world, to have passed such a declaration unanimously and accepted in substance those principles. The principles represent the approach of tolerance, of non-interference, of living one's life, learning from others but neither interfering nor being interfered with. I earnestly trust that the nations of the world, big and small, will develop this sense of tolerance and try to settle their problems in a peaceful way. Disarmament is the biggest problem of all. It may not be settled quickly as a whole, but any advance made towards disarmament is a step in the right direction. We endeavour to search for these avenues, and we have often had in this search the co-operation of your country in the United Nations and elsewhere. No doubt, our chief occupation in the country is to build it up to get rid of the many ills and the poverty it suffers from. It is a tremendous task. We have had the friendship and friendly co-operation of many countries and I acknowledge the friendly co-operation of your country in this work of building up India. I hope that during your travels in this country brief as your visit is, you will gain some insight into our work.

FINLAND

AN ELEMENT OF KINSHIP

IN RECENT WEEKS we have had the privilege of welcoming here the heads of the Governments of two great and powerful States great in extent, great in power great in many things.* Today we are welcoming the Prime Minister of a country great in quality Finland is quite a big country but its population is, I believe, about one per cent of India's population. But with that relatively small population it has a record of progress which we envy in many ways. It has faced all kinds of difficulties and trials and faced them with courage and determination and made good if I may say so. It is a country with a very high standard of social security and welfare. It has a high standard in the field of physical culture.

From speech at banquet held in honour of Dr V J Sukselä, Prime Minister of Finland, New Delhi, February 14, 1960
President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Khrushchev

athletics and games as also in the realm of literature. The high quality of a people is surely more important than numbers which we, for instance, possess in an abundant measure. So there are many things in Finland, and indeed in the other countries of Scandinavia, which have appealed to us greatly like their far reaching measures of social security and welfare their democratic quality and freedom and their institutions.

These apart, so far as Finland is concerned there is a particular element which has drawn us to it in the realm of international affairs and foreign policy we have thought and acted more or less alike and on the same plane, in trying to be friendly with all countries and in not joining any military alliances. That has necessarily brought us nearer to one another in a special kinship.

GERALD

WE WANT TO LEARN

INDIA HAS HAD CONTACTS of various kinds in the last 200 years with the countries of Europe. Our contacts with Germany in the past have been very largely in the realms of scholarship and culture. Probably it is the scholars of your country more than any other in Europe who have studied our ancient and magnificent language, Sanskrit they not only studied it but taught many Indians how to study it. Many an Indian student of Sanskrit went to Germany and came back with added knowledge of his own ancient language to continue the work here. I hope that these contacts as well as others will continue in future.

Your country has been noted for and has gained great renown in both the arts of peace and the science of war. In the past several years your country has, after the terrible ravages of war, made an astonishing recovery, advanced and built its life anew. That shows the great vitality, perseverance and ability of the German people. I am sure that we in India can learn much from them. We hope and propose to do so. You know Sir that we are concentrating such energies and strength as we possess on trying to build up our country. In trying to pursue the path of peace as well as in rebuilding our country we seek your country's friendship.

From speech & transcript by J. M. Brown, J. D. F. J. P. and Dr.
 the Minister of the German Federal Rep. in New York January 11, 1944

even as we seek the friendship of other countries I trust that this approach of ours will be welcomed by your country

Your country has been distinguished in many ways. I am sure that in the future it will be distinguished as before and even more, if your country devotes its energies to the arts of peace and works in co-operation with other countries in the solution of problems by peaceful methods. If so, I am convinced that your great country will perform a tremendous service to the world.

You mentioned to me this morning in the course of our talk that often enough crusaders create trouble. I entirely agree with you. Their crusading spirit, whatever the motive might be, is apt to interfere with the lives of others. This leads to conflict. You have heard Sir of the Five Principles which we consider a sound basis for international relationships. One of the most important of those principles is non-interference with others, the recognition of others' individuality and freedom of life and action co-operation with them but non-interference. We have been fortunate that in following this policy we have gained the friendship of many nations and the hostility of none. We hope to follow that policy and to gain the friendship and co-operation of your country.

ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

MY VISIT TO THE German Federal Republic impressed me greatly. This nation or part of it, after the most crushing defeat and destruction in war and stricken prior to that by the crushing of the human spirit and values under the Nazis has resurrected itself. It is truly remarkable that West Germany is today a highly successful industrial nation. The capacity for hard work and the inventiveness of these people is impressive.

The problem of German unity remains. It is the main and understandable obsession of the German people, of the West and the East. In my talks with Chancellor Adenauer I expressed my understanding of, and sympathy with, the desire of the German people for the peaceful achievement of their unity which would be facilitated by a lessening of tensions and which would contribute to the improvement of both the European and the world situation.

The German Federal Republic expressed its implicit faith in the economic future of India and its desire for co-operation in the

technical, scientific and cultural spheres, which I reciprocated. The Federal Government offered to establish in co-operation with the Government of India, a technological institute in some part of this country, and a large number of students have been offered scholarships for technical studies in West Germany. I gratefully accepted these offers.

The Chancellor and I issued a joint communique at the end of my visit, a copy of which is laid on the table of the House. This communique reaffirmed the faith of the two countries in democracy and individual freedom and that the approach to each other and other countries should be that of friendly and peaceful co-operation, respect for national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of others. The basic aims of preserving and strengthening peace were emphasized. Two days after the date of our communique, the Chancellor issued a statement in the course of which he said: "We reject energetically every war and share in regard to this the view point of the Indian Prime Minister which he has laid down in the five basic political principles."

HUNGARY

THE TRAGEDY IN HUNGARY

EVEN AS WE WERE distressed by the events in Egypt, we viewed with grave concern and distress the events in Hungary. It is possible that what happened in one country produced its reactions in the other, and the two taken together created a very serious international situation. But it is well to remember that though both deserve serious attention, the nature of one differed from the other. Neither can be held to justify the other.

We are concerned with an attack on freedom anywhere in the world. We are concerned also with strong nations dominating by armed force weaker countries. In regard to Hungary, the situation was obscure for some days, and it was only gradually that the story of the tragic events which have taken place there became known. From the very beginning we realized that in our opinion the people of Hungary should be allowed to determine their future according to their own wishes and that

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

foreign forces should be withdrawn That has been and is our basic view in regard to Hungary This has been repeated in the joint statement of the Prime Ministers of Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and India.

There was a resolution in the U.N. General Assembly in regard to Hungary sponsored by Pakistan Cuba, Italy Peru and Ireland against which we voted. The resolution was, in our opinion, improperly worded. But the most objectionable part of it demanded that elections should be held in Hungary under the supervision of the United Nations. We took strong exception to this because we felt this was contrary to the Charter and would reduce Hungary to less than a sovereign State. Any acceptance of intervention of this type, namely foreign supervised elections, seemed to us to set a bad precedent which might be utilized in future for intervention in other countries. The resolution was voted paragraph by paragraph. We abstained from voting on all the other parts of the resolution. In regard to the paragraph about elections under the United Nations supervision we voted against it. When the whole resolution including this paragraph was put to the vote, we voted against it too because of that particular paragraph to which we objected strongly.

The voting on this particular resolution was entirely in consonance with our general policy and instructions. It seemed to us that this resolution, apart from the basic objections we had to a part of it would not prove helpful to Hungary at all. We were trying to get the Soviet forces withdrawn from Hungary. What was proposed in the resolution would come in the way of that withdrawal and an attempt thereafter to intervene with armed force would have led to a major conflict. It might well have led to Hungary perishing in the flames of war.

We are arranging to send relief to Hungary as early as possible.

The tragic dramas in Egypt and Hungary which have been enacted almost before our eyes have demonstrated the inherent dangers of a recourse to arms to settle any problem. The recourse to force and the armed intervention in Hungary have not only cost the lives of many brave men and women but have also checked a progress towards greater freedom which we had welcomed.

IN REGARD TO Hungary the difficulty was that the broad facts were not clear to us. Also the occurrences in Hungary took place at a moment when suddenly the international situation became very much worse and we had to be a little surer and clearer as to what had actually happened and what the present position was. Therefore, we were a little cautious in the expression of our opinion in regard to facts, though not in regard to the general principles that should govern conditions there.

The accounts we have been receiving from various sources about the developments in Hungary give a very confused picture but I think one can make a fair appraisal of these events.

There is little doubt that the kind of nationalist uprising which took place there developed after conflict with the Soviet forces there. The Soviet forces were withdrawn from Budapest and a statement was issued on October 30 embodying the Soviet policy in regard to these countries which stated that they would withdraw their forces after consulting the Warsaw powers.

It is a fact, I think, that they were withdrawn. But, very soon after other events occurred in Budapest—and this matter is not quite clear I think not only in Budapest but in all Hungary—and within three or four days the Soviet forces returned and with far greater mechanized power. There were big conflicts in Budapest which were ultimately suppressed by the Soviet armed forces. Some people say that even while the Soviet forces were withdrawing from Budapest round about October 29 or 30 actually the Soviet Army had come across the frontier and that it was not—if I may use that word—a *laissez faire* withdrawal at all. Others think that something happened in the course of those two or three days which made the Soviet Government change its policy because we must remember that before any Government does that, more especially the Soviet Government or the British Government or any major power all these separate questions are weighed presumably in the light of other international developments and the possibility of a bigger flare-up. Anyhow the fact remains that the Soviet forces came back and there was a major conflict in which a fairly large number of Hungarians suffered as they fought very bravely. It is possible that the Hungarian Army itself was on the side of the Hungarian people and in the initial stages the Soviets also suffered fairly considerably though, naturally in lesser numbers. The major fact stands out that the majority of the people of Hungary wanted a change political economic or whatever else and demonstrated and actually rose in insurrection to achieve it but ultimately they were suppressed.

I think it is true that there were some elements on the side of the Hungarians which might be called by a word which is rather misused sometimes, "Fascist". I think it is true that outsiders also came in because the border forces were not functioning. And I think it is also true that arms came from outside to some extent. But while all that is true, that is not the major fact. The major fact is that the people of Hungary—a very large part of them—claimed freedom from outside control and interference, objected to the Soviet forces coming, wanted them to withdraw and wanted some internal changes in their Government.

Another rather implicit feature of the situation, perhaps more significant than even the fighting that the Hungarian people indulged in, is the fact that when fighting stopped—it stopped some days ago. I think they are not fighting now—certainly not in Budapest. If not in all Hungary—there was rather an extraordinary demonstration of passive resistance. That is, the people of Budapest refused to go back to work and refused to take part in other normal activities at a time when the city was suffering very greatly by the stoppage of work during the period of armed conflict. This resistance of the people in a peaceful and passive way seemed to be, so far as I am concerned, more significant of the wishes of their country than an armed revolt.

I wonder how many of the hon. Members present here have in mind the past history of Hungary. It is a rather tragic history with frequent attempts to attain freedom frequently suppressed. During the regime of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, there were many such attempts. We know well what we were told nearly forty years ago, when we in this country first had this picture of non-co-operation put before us by Mahatma Gandhi—and we read about the non-co-operation or something like it in other countries. Among those countries, more especially was Hungary where sometime in the middle of the nineteenth century a movement of non-co-operation and passive resistance arose which achieved some objectives though not completely. Again, five weeks before the first world war ended, just after the October Revolution there was an upheaval in Hungary. Austro-Hungary was breaking up; the German armies had been there and they were withdrawing and there was an upheaval more or less on the lines of the upheaval in Russia at the time. The leader of that was one Bela Kun, an associate of Lenin and he established the Republic of Hungary. That was a time of intervention by other foreign countries in the affairs of the Soviet Union after the Revolution. The Rumanian Army marched into Hungary then, and suppressed this new Republic of Hungary and suppressed it, so far as I can remember in an exceedingly ruthless manner. In fact, it was not merely a suppression

of the Republic, but widespread loot of Hungary by these armies. As a result of that, the Republic ceased to be and a regime was established under Admiral Horthy which was a kind of feudal regime. Hon. Members may perhaps remember that Hungary has been in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries one of the most feudal countries in Europe, with very large landholders and outdated aristocracy. There was conflict between the various groups. I had a glimpse of Admiral Horthy's regime in 1928 when I happened to be in Budapest. It was not a very satisfying spectacle. Then came the big war. There are many names connected with Hungary which are famous in the fight for freedom of peoples. There is little doubt that the present movement in Hungary was a popular one—it was a movement with the great mass of the people behind it, the workers and the young people especially. This, as I said, became even more potent by the passive resistance of the people in spite of the heavy armed strength against them.

The House knows that during the last year or two there have been certain currents and motions in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union itself, which have to some extent liberalized the functioning of the regimes there. In Poland this went perhaps further than in other places, but the same ferment has been apparent in all countries. If anything is done which comes in the way of this internal and organic process of change, which may well have the opposite effect to that intended, then it becomes tied up with the larger issues of war and peace. What do we see behind these issues? Fear—fear of the Western powers, fear of the Soviet Union, and even more so, fear of the possible armed might of rearmcd Germany. All over Eastern Europe, whether it is Poland or Hungary or Czechoslovakia and those countries which have repeatedly suffered invasion from the German side, there is this fear of an armed Germany. The fear of Western countries regarding the armed might of the Soviet Union brought into existence alliances and pacts like NATO SEATO and the Baghdad Pact. Then came into existence, as a counterblast, the Warsaw Treaty.

Because of this background, when about three weeks ago the Anglo-French forces bombed Cairo there was immediate danger of the conflict spreading. The Hungarian situation arose and the two, taken together definitely added greatly to this danger. The fact is that each group is attempting to lay stress on what has happened in the other place so as to hide its own misdeeds.

The House knows that only yesterday Premier Bulganin issued an appeal. I received a letter from him containing some proposals for a conference to consider the world situation and more especially disarmament.

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of the Republic, but widespread loot of Hungary by these armies. As a result of that, the Republic ceased to be and a regime was established under Admiral Horthy which was a kind of feudal regime. Hon. Members may perhaps remember that Hungary has been in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries one of the most feudal countries in Europe, with very large landholders and out dated aristocracy. There was conflict between the various groups. I had a glimpse of Admiral Horthy's regime in 1928 when it happened to be in Budapest. It was not a very satisfying spectacle. Then came the big war. There are many names connected with Hungary which are famous in the fight for freedom of peoples. There is little doubt that the present movement in Hungary was a popular one: it was a movement with the great mass of the people behind it, the workers and the young people especially. Thus, as I said, became even more patent by the passive resistance of the people in spite of the heavy armed strength against them.

The House knows that during the last year or two there have been certain currents and motions in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union itself, which have to some extent liberalized the functioning of the regimes there. In Poland this went perhaps further than in other places, but the same ferment has been apparent in all countries. If anything is done which comes in the way of this internal and organic process of change, which may well have the opposite effect to that intended, then it becomes tied up with the larger issues of war and peace. What do we see behind these issues? Fear—fear of the Western powers, fear of the Soviet Union, and even more so, fear of the possible armed might of rearmcd Germany. All over Eastern Europe—whether it is Poland or Hungary or Czechoslovakia and those countries which have repeatedly suffered invasion from the German side—there is this fear of an armed Germany. The fear of Western countries regarding the armed might of the Soviet Union brought into existence alliances and pacts like NATO, SZATO, and the Baghdad Pact. Then came into existence, as a counterblast, the Warsaw Treaty.

Because of this background, when about three weeks ago the Anglo-French forces bombed Cairo, there was immediate danger of the conflict spreading. The Hungarian situation arose and the two taken together definitely added greatly to this danger. The fact is that each group is attempting to lay stress on what has happened in the other place so as to hide its own misdeeds.

The House knows that only yesterday Premier Bulganin issued an appeal. I received a letter from him containing some proposals for a conference to consider the world situation and more especially disarmament.

Let us look at the problem of Hungary and the Soviet Union. There was no immediate aggression there in the sense of something militarily happening as there was in the case of Egypt. It was really a continuing intervention of the Soviet armies in these countries based on the Warsaw Pact. It is true that the great force of the Soviet Union triumphed in the military way in Budapest and Hungary. But at what cost? I have no doubt in my mind that sooner or later the Hungarian people, who have demonstrated so vividly their desire for freedom and for a separate identity are bound to triumph.

Apart from that, we must realize that all these events have powerfully affected the prestige of the Soviet Union not only in the many countries which are supposed to be uncommitted countries, but more among countries and governments which are on the side of that country including if I may say so the people of the Soviet Union itself. We see today that the events in Egypt and Hungary have set the Soviet Union, England, the countries of Europe and America, and certainly the Asian and African countries thinking. Even those people who are intimately tied up with one particular policy and with one particular bloc of countries, are not clear in their minds whether that policy was the correct one. Two or three years ago certain new trends displayed themselves and affected the life and activities of the Soviet Union and later the East European countries. But we have seen that the progress made was too slow in the East European countries and they wanted it to be more rapid. This created a difficulty for the Soviet Union, resulting in this conflict. Whether this conflict will lead to a greater liberalization on the part of the Soviet Union or the reverse I cannot say.

OUR GREAT ANXIETY and the anxiety of many other peoples, in this matter has been that the situation should not be allowed to drift towards war. Naturally this House and all of us have witnessed the gravest tragedies that have been enacted in Hungary and have the greatest sympathy for the people there. But we have also kept in mind that this tragedy might be infinitely greater if war should break out not only elsewhere, but in Hungary itself. Therefore our approach has been to prevent this happening in so far as a country like ours has any weight in the councils of the world. This has been the object of the recent activities of our delegation in the United Nations.

From speech in Rajya Sabha, December 13, 1956

Hon. Members may have seen the resolution that was moved on behalf of India and some other countries and the amendment moved also on our behalf there to the other resolution sponsored by some countries. The major divergences were not in regard to any judgement of the situation in Hungary but rather the approach. We want the approach to be constructive, so that these difficulties are somehow got over and the result is not only avoidance of war and the establishment of peace and normal conditions, but the withdrawal of foreign forces from Hungary. We thought that such a constructive approach was more important than a merely negative approach which might lead to more dangerous consequences. That is the main difference between these two resolutions—the one put forward by about twenty countries—and the other put forward by India and three other countries.

The latest news is that the resolution put forward by the twenty countries—the United States and others—was passed with one amendment. I think one of our amendments was incorporated in it. It was passed and thereupon our representative did not press our resolution.

I find that the hon. Dr. Kunzru quoted some sentences from the speech of the leader of our delegation in the United Nations and wanted to know whether he was expressing the opinion of the Government of India in this matter. I shall read out a part of the speech as reported in the Press. We have not received it independently.

“My Government does not want, in the present context of existing circumstances in the world—although it does not conform to its own policies—to go into the question of withdrawal of foreign forces in the sense of forces which are tied to defence alliances in this context.

May I explain this? In our opinion the way to bring about real stability and peace in Europe and in the world and to put an end to the tensions and the armaments race, in fact to endeavour to solve these very grave problems, is the withdrawal of all foreign forces from every country—certainly in Europe. I think the major problems of Europe such as the very important problems of Germany which is the heart of Central Europe, would be much nearer solution if foreign forces on both sides were removed. It is our opinion and we hold by it. Nevertheless, we did feel that for us to press that opinion at this juncture in Hungary when there was a deep crisis would not be legitimate. That is what Mr. Menon has said. That is, although we want such withdrawal we are not pressing that general proposition at this stage, but are rather pressing the immediate issue of Hungary and the withdrawal of foreign forces from there.

There is NATO, there is the Warsaw Pact, there is the Baghdad Pact and SEATO and so many others

" a policy of power balance which is rapidly pushing this world into a state of war. We are, therefore, judging the situation in the limited context of the use of Soviet forces in regard to internal affairs in Hungary. The only justification, if there was one, would have been for the Soviet forces to have been called to the aid of civil power in conditions where there was an attempt at a *coup d'état*.

My Government is convinced that the original revolt against the Hungarian regime that existed was a movement of national liberation, by which is meant not national liberation as a colonial country but a movement to overthrow or rather to bring about the kind of changes that are taking place in Eastern Europe."

Now as the House will notice, the burden of the argument is that first of all we are not going into these defence alliances, etc., which have prompted foreign troops to be placed in various countries though we disagree with these alliances under which one country helps another with troops. In a strictly legal way these alliances may permit foreign troops to be stationed in a country and utilized if there is a *coup d'état*. But what is a *coup d'état*? It certainly is not a national uprising, but it means somebody is trying to seize power rather against the nation's wishes. Mr. Menon has pointed out that even if one agrees with this, it does not apply to Hungary because this was a national rising. This is the burden of the argument, a perfectly legitimate argument and an argument which strengthens the main contention that the Soviet forces should be withdrawn from there. The Soviet intervention was not a case of their intervening according to their treaty obligations, because there was no *coup d'état*. On the other hand there was a national rising. That is the whole burden of the argument. Our position and Mr. Menon's position is that foreign troops should not be there at all. It is a very powerful plea in this matter with which we wish to associate ourselves fully.

THE HOUSE KNOWS that a committee was appointed by the United Nations to report on Hungary and that committee presented a report. The committee consisted of able men, and I am quite sure that they tried their utmost, with the material before them to arrive at some conclusions as to what had happened there.

Their material was not complete for no fault of theirs. Now this matter is coming up before the United Nations. There was a question, which was answered here today about India's attitude towards the consideration of this report. Naturally when a committee was appointed by the U.N., its report has to be considered by the U.N. We are of the view that it should be considered as far as possible, in an atmosphere which would help the people of Hungary and help in lessening the tensions and fears in Hungary and not merely to add to them. Many things have happened in Hungary which most of us have disapproved very strongly. It has been one of the biggest tragedies that have occurred in recent years, and yet the question has been how we could help in a situation like that. I believe that India has played some effective part in helping the people of Hungary and during the past few months we tried to continue to play that part.

I believe that in Eastern Europe certain liberalizing and democratizing forces have been at play and that some progress has been made by some countries in that direction. Left to themselves and helped a little they would go further but if they are restricted and hindered and are upbraided and condemned, then you stop those forces from functioning properly and yielding results. That is our broad attitude in regard to Hungary.

IN REGARD TO the recent execution in Hungary of Imre Nagy and some of his colleagues, I was shocked when I learnt of it and I have expressed my deep distress over it. It is obvious that this has resulted in passionate feelings, charges, counter-charges, and an increase in tension so that, in effect, it has taken us back from that movement towards a lessening of tensions. I think it has been very unfortunate. We avoid, as you know criticizing other countries or interfering in their affairs even though we may hold strong opinions about what happens in other countries. But we have to express our opinions when we feel them, without any intention of interfering. And, above all, we have an objective in view namely of eliminating the horror of war and reducing tensions.

Keeping that in view we try to say things which help that objective. Those who are dead are dead, but I earnestly hope that this process will not continue.

QUESTION It was believed that Mr Khrushchev represented a trend towards liberalization in the Soviet Union. Can it be said now that the recent happenings in Eastern Europe and the

Soviet Union, including these executions, indicate a reversal of that trend?

ANSWER All this is in the nature of speculation. It is not for me to say what the trends happen to be now in the Soviet Union, and sometimes there are contradictory trends in evidence at the same time. I earnestly hope that the trends towards liberalization or democratization will continue.

NORWAY

COMRADES IN PEACE

IT GIVES ME peculiar pleasure to welcome our distinguished guests, the Prime Minister of Norway and Madam Gerhardsen, for a variety of reasons. A purely personal one is that I visited Norway a year and a half ago, and the welcome I had there from you Sir and from the people of Norway is with me an abiding memory.

Our country is a lovely country but in many ways Norway like the other countries of Scandinavia, has so many things which appeal to us and which we would like to see in our own country that inevitably we feel drawn to it.

You have been here, Sir just for a day and a day is a very short time for you to gather impressions. Yet, I suppose you have gathered some impressions.

India is a very big country in size, and our population is not only big but perhaps too big. We have a great deal of potential resources which, no doubt, will gradually become actual and bring some results in their trail by way of better living standards for our people. We are struggling today through our Five Year Plans and others for the material betterment of India. It is a hard struggle because our people are very many and they have long been oppressed by poverty. Even as we struggle, India, like other countries, has its own special individuality which in spite of all kinds of disasters has persisted. There is much to learn from us, and we want to learn from other great countries great not in power or size but great in the higher values—cultural values, values of spirit as well as material values. Indeed the problem before the world is one of combining

From speech at banquet held in honour of Mr Einar Gerhardsen, Prime Minister of Norway New Delhi, November 28, 1958

freedom, democracy and the deeper urges with organized social progress. Today we talk with apprehension of the possibility of war with the terrible weapons that the world possesses. If it comes, it will put an end to everything material things as well as the things of the spirit. Therefore, it becomes the primary aim for us, Sir, your country and ours—and I believe, for people in every country—to struggle against those tendencies which tend to push the world towards disaster. In trying to do this, we seek the comradeship of others who think likewise. And, in this we feel we have good friends and comrades in your country. Therefore we are drawn to your country in more ways than one.

POLAND

AN EXAMPLE OF REBUILDING

YOU HAVE DONE me a great honour by endowing me with the role of honorary citizen of this famous and valiant city of Warsaw. To be so associated with the city of Warsaw is honour indeed for me.

Warsaw represents today two opposing tendencies in human nature: destruction and construction. We see here, more than perhaps anywhere else, the organized evil of destruction. We see here also the reply to that destruction: the organized human effort to combat that evil, to construct and thus to defeat the purposes of destruction.

My country not only believes in peace but all its traditions are in favour of peace. Our great master Mahatma Gandhi taught us above all to value peace—not a passive peace but an active peace. Therefore, you can well imagine how confirmed we are in our belief in peace and how we hate war and all its works. You in Poland, having had your terrible experience, also are firm believers in peace.

As I speak to you far away in San Francisco, the United Nations is celebrating the tenth anniversary of its founding. It may be that the United Nations has not quite lived up to the hopes of mankind. Nevertheless, the United Nations is something which is worthy of the efforts and hopes of mankind and if it were not there, it would be difficult for us to build up a world of co-operation.

Therefore, let us send greetings to the session of the United Nations and wish them well.

There is another tenth anniversary which the world will certainly not celebrate and which is coming very soon. Ten years ago the first atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima. That is an accursed date. But it is well that the world remembers that anniversary. It reminds us that great power has come to man and the mighty question is how he will use that power—with wisdom, with tolerance to others or in hatred and for the purposes of destruction. We have to approach this question in a new spirit of friendship, co-operation and mutual tolerance, in the earnest desire to preserve peace.

I earnestly hope that we shall have the wisdom and tolerance to make this approach, so that it may not be said that we of this generation who had this great opportunity offered to us to relieve the suffering poverty and anxiety of the world lost it and failed in our endeavours.

I have seen much good here in the work you have done and are doing in this great effort of construction and in the smiling faces of your lovely children. So my visit has been very worthwhile for me and I shall carry away with me a memory which will long be by me and will hearten me.

RUMANIA

AVENUES OF CO-OPERATION

MR. PRIME MINISTER, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen. Nearly two years ago our Vice-President visited Rumania and received a warm welcome there and now you, Sir, have come here as our welcome guest with your colleagues who are all welcome and thus we have in the present age put a seal on our co-operation and friendship. I do not know very much about past contacts between India and Rumania. I believe that in fairly ancient times there were contacts of trade and the like and I am told that the main routes from Asia, from India across Western Asia, ran through Rumania and to other parts of Europe. However for a long period there were no marked contacts between the two countries because

From speech at banquet held in honour of M. Chiriac Stoile, Prime Minister of Rumania, New Delhi, March 8, 1958.

many barriers came in their way. Anyhow in the new age, we are developing these contacts, not only reviving old friendships but making new friends, and we are happy to count you among our friends with whom we can co-operate in so many matters.

During this long period of the past we have had a different course and we have been conditioned in a different way. Inevitably we may differ in some matters, but I believe there are far more things in common between us. We are both engaged in building up our countries. I believe that there are many profitable ways in which we can co-operate to our mutual advantage. I am grateful to you and your Government for the co-operation they have given us in the exploration and exploitation of oil in this country. I am sure this will lead to other avenues of co-operation.

Apart from these contacts, there is one matter which affects you as well as people in every country—namely the question of peace. I believe that in spite of the great difficulties and dangers that confront us in the international sphere, the world is moving slowly towards peace. We have to try to do our best to help that process in many ways, above all in the minds of men. We in India have no strength of arms nor have we any other way of influencing other countries by our wealth or might, but we have at least the negative way of keeping out of military pacts and trying in all humility to serve the cause of peace. We believe that at any time, and more particularly today, an attempt by one country to impress its will over another through force is bad and indeed is bound to fail. We cannot ultimately change the minds of men by force and, therefore, we believe in peaceful co-existence of countries even though they differ in their political or economic structure. You will remember Sir those Five Principles, sometimes known as Panchasheel, of peaceful co-existence when no country commits aggression on another or even interferes in its internal affairs and each country and each people evolve according to their own genius in friendship for others, thus influencing each other not through military might or ways of coercion and compulsion but by goodwill and co-operation. We pledge ourselves to co-operate with every country which seeks and strives for peace, if I may say with all respect, through peaceful ways, peaceful words and peaceful actions. So we welcome you here today both as firmly establishing our co-operation in many fields and also as fellow travellers on the way to peace.

SPAIN

MISSION IN MADRID

THERE WAS SOME REFERENCE in the House to our opening a Mission in Madrid. We have resisted opening an office there for many years, and for various reasons. Ultimately we felt that this was not in conformity with the general policy we had laid down. We have suggested to other countries that, for instance, China should be recognized regardless of whether they agreed with China's policy or not, because it is a fact, and it should be recognized and dealt with. If that is so the argument is put before us whether we are right in saying that we do not agree with the policy of another country and will not have dealings with it. For other reasons too we made this decision. Many of us for long years had certain sympathies in regard to Spain. Even the United Nations, at one time, expressed an opinion which was not favourable to the present regime in Spain and asked countries not to have missions there. Years have passed and we have felt that it would not be right in the present circumstances for us not to have recognized the Government of Spain and not to have our mission there and to accept missions from there.

SWEDEN

AN EXAMPLE FOR US

MR. PRIME MINISTER, Your Excellencies ladies and gentlemen A few days ago we had the privilege of welcoming with great warmth and cordiality the distinguished head of a great nation today it is a peculiar pleasure for us to welcome you. Your country is not nearly as big as the United States of America or India, but we have long learnt to attach value not to size but to other qualities in a nation. And of those qualities your country appears to possess many in an abundant measure. You have built up a society which is free democratic, progressive, and which has ensured to

Statement in Lok Sabha, July 23, 1957
From speech at banquet held in honour of Mr Tage Erlander Prime
Minister of Sweden, New Delhi, December 19, 1959
President Eisenhower

its people a high standard of living and social security. Two and a half years ago I visited your country and you and your people were good enough to give me a warm and cordial welcome. I saw a little of your beautiful country. I was more especially interested in the scheme of social security and the great advance you have made in the co-operative movement and in so many other fields in which you are distinguished. All this has been done within a structure of government which is as free as any in the world, and in a society where everyone has opportunities for progress.

I would wish that the tremendous achievements which you have brought about in Sweden during your period might have been ours also. But our achievements cannot compare of course the backgrounds have been different, and we had to start at a very much lower level. But I believe it is true to say that in some of our basic policies, external or internal and in our outlooks there has been a very great deal of similarity. Indeed if I may say so we look upon your country as a model State to which we would like to aspire in India in many ways.

Your people have had one rather unique experience which I doubt if many countries or any country has had. You have been free from war for 150 years. Even though tremendous and disastrous wars raged all round you, you kept yourself out of them, not through any weakness, but through strength of will and policy. As a result of that and of other qualities, you have built up Sweden as she is today and now you follow a policy which is dear to us and which we have tried to follow firmly and propose to follow in the future, that is, a policy of non-alignment and non-involvement in military alliances. So wherever we have had occasion to work together whether in the United Nations or elsewhere, there has been a great deal of co-operation between our representatives and delegations and yours on broad matters. We have worked together in many fields, and we have tried to learn many things from your country's example especially the way you have built up social democracy in your country. I hope the time may come when we might also take some pride and pleasure in advancing much more along that line. In that process I am sure we can learn much from you, and we propose to do so.

A NEW TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP

WE HAVE MET HERE TONIGHT to honour Sir Anthony Eden and Lady Eden. At any time they would have been welcome here because we look upon them as friends. But their visit has something even more than the character of a friendly visit to friends, although that aspect is important. There is a symbolic significance when persons in high office visit other countries in that capacity because they carry with them a little of their country or of the ideals which their country stands for. Therefore, Sir Anthony Eden's visit here has that symbolic character for us that too is welcome.

Our Vice President this afternoon referred to the long history of the contacts between India and England. It is a history in which much had happened which was not agreeable to many people and which had even created bitterness and yet we meet here today as we have met in the course of the last six or seven years here or elsewhere in a spirit of friendship and co-operation. I always thought that a rather remarkable thing for which it is not easy to find a parallel in history. The Vice-President in his own inimitable way said that we should have the capacity to forget what ought to be forgotten and remember what ought to be remembered. That is a very wise saying because all of us have much to forget and much to remember. If unfortunately we remember what we ought to forget, then there is difficulty and if we forget what we ought to remember that is bad.

So this remarkable thing happened that after a long period of both good and ill, we came to an agreement and to a settlement and forged a new type of relationship which type in itself is a good example for others. This is a relationship of being completely independent and yet attempting to be friendly with each other and to co-operate with each other.

This brings us to the question of the manner of approach to problems. Our great leader Gandhiji always laid the greatest stress on means as being more important than ends. Therefore, it is of the highest importance how we approach a problem and how far we try to understand others' view points. It would be a dull world indeed if everyone agreed with everyone else. I suppose an element of conflict is necessary to make the world a live world. There can be diversity and conflict of opinion and yet a healthy growth out of that provided always that it has as its basis a friendly approach.

It is a commonplace to say that we are passing through a period of transition. In this period of transition probably the most important thing is not the atomic or the hydrogen bomb but the minds and hearts of men from which the bomb has come. I have no doubt at all as to the manner of approach to all these problems, which I feel is in some measure exemplified in this happy relationship that subsists between India and the United Kingdom. We do meet often, we discuss many problems, and we agree often. We disagree sometimes, but that does not make a difference to our mutual regard for each other's *bona fides* which is the basis. In effect, we agree far more than we might disagree. Each country has the freedom to evolve along the line of its own genius and choice and find its fulfilment.

FROM CONFLICT TO CO-OPERATION

WE HAVE MET HERE to welcome and to honour the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. You, Sir, have already received many informal welcomes during your brief stay here and you have seen the welcome in the eyes of large numbers of the people in the city of Delhi as well as in some villages round about. In any event our people would have liked to honour you as the holder of a high office, but apart from that there is an element of the dramatic in the relations between India and the United Kingdom.

These relations which lasted for a fairly long period have left their impress upon us, in institutions, in language and literature and in many other ways which are rather basic and which have, as one sees, survived even a radical change in that relationship and are likely to survive. But, above all, the chief thing which I think, strikes people not only in India and the United Kingdom but in other parts of the world is the manner in which the change was brought about. The manner was not only unique but, as I said, strangely dramatic, which after these long years of conflict, almost as if by a magic wand, put an end to that spirit of conflict and led to a desire to co-operate in spite of very considerable differences in opinion or in our reactions to events. That was not only remarkable in itself, but in some measure, I think, it has set a pattern from which perhaps others might profit.

From speech at banquet held in honour of Mr Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, New Delhi, January 9 1958

We welcome you also at this particular juncture because of the deep crisis in human affairs and the urgent necessity for resolving it. In this task, you Sir have played and can indeed play a very important part.

I had referred to the peculiar history of the relationship between our two countries. We have learnt much from you perhaps you might have learnt something from us. We in India chose for leader a man the like of whom probably would not be a leader in any other country in the world. He had no power behind him of money or arms, yet a great power over the hearts and minds of people. And in that sense, he represented India, not only the long past of India, but the present and even the future much more than any of us is likely to do or can do now or later. That shows something of the values she has adhered to. We, like others, naturally value the material things of life. We labour to raise our standards. We are working hard to that end. We do realize that strength and armed force counts and makes a difference in the world today. Yet in the final analysis, India has paid homage and, I believe, still pays homage to the man of the spirit, not to the man of arms or to the man of money. Therefore, we in all humility venture to appeal to the spirit of man and we do believe that the spirit of man will triumph in the world, in spite of the fears and apprehensions which fill men's minds. We do hope that the desire for peace and goodwill and for lessening the world's tensions and moving away from this atmosphere of fear and hatred which is in the minds of millions and millions all over the world can be given due shape by the activities of those great statesmen who are in a position to do so. And because you Sir are among those who are in a position to do so I would make this earnest appeal to you.

U.S.S.R

VISIT TO RUSSIA

TWO WEEKS AGO we came to the Soviet Union and soon we shall be leaving this great country. During this period we have travelled some 13,000 kilometres and visited many a famous city and seen many wonderful things. But most wonderful of all has been the welcome that we received wherever we went and the affection

that the people showered upon us. We are infinitely grateful for this affection and welcome and I cannot express my thanks to the people of the Soviet Union adequately in words. Nevertheless, I wish to express our gratitude to you Mr Prime Minister to your Government and to your people, and I would beg of you to convey this expression of our deep feeling to the people of the Soviet Union who have so honoured us.

We came here to convey to the people of this great country greetings and good wishes of the Indian people and we go back laden with your affection and good wishes for our country and our people. We did not come here as strangers, for many of us have followed with deep interest the great changes and developments that have taken place in this country. Almost contemporaneously with your October Revolution under the leadership of the great Lenin we in India started a new phase of our struggle for freedom. Our people were engrossed in this struggle for many years and faced heavy repression with courage and endurance. Even though we pursued a different path in our struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi we admired Lenin and were influenced by his example. In spite of this difference in our methods there was at no time an unfriendly feeling among our people towards the people of the Soviet Union.

We did not understand some of the developments in your country even as you might not have understood much that we did. We wished the Soviet Union well in the great and novel experiment she was making and tried to learn from it where we could.

We believed that the domination of one country over another was bad and while we struggled for our own freedom we sympathized with the endeavours of other countries suffering alien or autocratic rule to free themselves. Each country and people are conditioned by their own past and by the experience they go through and they thus develop a certain individuality. They cannot progress under an alien rule or when something is imposed on them. They can grow only if they develop their own strength and self reliance and maintain their own integrity.

We believe in democracy and in equality and in the removal of special privileges and we have set ourselves the goal of developing a socialistic pattern of society in our country through peaceful methods. Whatever shape that pattern or democracy might take, it must lead to open access to knowledge and equal opportunity to all.

It is in recognition of the right of each country to fashion its own destiny that the Indian Government and the People's Republic of China agreed to the Five Principles to govern their relations with each other. These principles were Respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. Non-aggression.

Non interference in each other's internal affairs Equality and mutual benefit and Peaceful co-existence. Subsequently these principles were accepted by Burma and Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Government has also expressed its approval of them.

At the Bandung Conference these principles were elaborated into ten and embodied in a declaration on world peace and co-operation. Thus over thirty countries have accepted them. I have no doubt that these principles of international behaviour if accepted and acted upon by all countries of the world, would go a long way in putting an end to the fears and apprehensions which cast dark shadows over the world.

The progress of science and of its offspring, technology has changed the world we live in, and recent advances in science are changing the way men think of themselves and of the world. Even conceptions of time and space have changed and vast expanses open out for us to explore the mysteries of nature and to apply our knowledge for the betterment of humanity.

Science and technology have freed humanity from many of its burdens and given us this new perspective and great power. This power can be used for the good of all if wisdom governs our actions but if the world is mad or foolish, it can destroy itself just when great advance and triumphs are almost within its grasp.

The question of peace therefore becomes of paramount importance if this world of ours is to make progress or indeed even survive. Peace in our view is not merely abstention from war but an active and positive approach to international relations leading, first, to the lessening of the present tension through an attempt to solve our problems by methods of negotiation, and then, to a growing co-operation between nations in various ways—cultural and scientific contacts, increase in trade and commerce, and exchange of ideas experience and information.

We should endeavour to remove all walls and barriers to the growth of our minds and hearts such as come in the way of international co-operation. There is no reason why different countries having different political or social or economic systems should not co-operate in this way provided there is no interference with one another and no imposition or attempt to dominate.

Wherever I have gone in the Soviet Union I have found a passion for peace. In India we have been devoted to the cause of peace and even in our struggle we have endeavoured to pursue methods of peace. For our own progress as well as for causes that are dear to us peace is essential. I should like to congratulate the Government of the Soviet Union on the several steps it has taken in recent months which have lessened world tension and have contributed to the cause of peace. In particular I trust that the

recent proposals of the Soviet Union with regard to disarmament will lead to progress being made towards the solution of this difficult problem. Disarmament is essential if fear is to be removed and peace assured.

We plan for our material and cultural advance in our respective countries. Let us also plan for the peaceful co-operation of different countries for the common good and the elimination of war. Let our coming together be because we like each other and wish to co-operate, and not because we dislike others and wish to do them injury.

As I speak to you, the United Nations is holding a special session in San Francisco to celebrate the tenth anniversary of its foundation. Hopes that the peoples of the world had in this world organization have not been wholly fulfilled and much has happened that has come in the way of the ideals of the Charter. I earnestly hope that in this new decade of the U.N. which is now beginning, these hopes will find fulfilment. But the U.N. cannot represent all the peoples of the world if some nations are kept out of its scope.

More particularly we have felt that the non recognition by the U.N. of the great People's Republic of China is not only an anomaly and not in keeping with the spirit of the Charter but is a danger to the promotion of peace and the solution of the world's problems.

I have been deeply impressed by the great achievements of the Soviet Union. I have seen the transformation of this vast land through the industry of its people and the great urge that drives them forward to better their own condition. I have admired the music, dancing and superb ballets which I have seen. I have been impressed most of all by the great care taken by the State and by the people of children and the younger generation of this great country. I wish to thank you again, Mr Prime Minister and your Government and your people for your friendliness and generous hospitality.

The people of India wish you well and look forward to co-operation with you in many fields of common endeavour for the good of our respective countries as well as for the larger cause of humanity.

GUESTS FROM MOSCOW

OUR DISTINGUISHED GUESTS from the Soviet Union have been in Delhi now for two and a half days. During this brief period they have witnessed the extraordinary welcome that the people of this city have given them. Nevertheless, I should like to extend on behalf of myself and our Government our warmest welcome to Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev and our other guests from the Soviet Union.

Events have demonstrated that there is a deeper friendship and understanding between the peoples of our two great countries which is more significant than the formality of welcome. That though the paths we have pursued in our respective countries have varied. But in spite of this difference of approach in dealing with our problems, which was inevitable in the circumstances which conditioned our countries and our peoples, there has been no element of conflict between us and there has been an approach to each other in many important fields of human activity. We are neighbour countries and it is right that there should be a feeling of neighbourliness and friendship between us for the mutual advantage of both our countries and our peoples. I believe also that this friendship is good for the larger causes of the world and more particularly for the most vital cause of all the peace of the world.

It is only eight years since we became sovereign and independent and these eight years have been spent by us in facing with all our strength the manifold problems that confront us. They are great problems, for they involve the future well being of 370 million people who have suffered for long from poverty. We are confident that we can solve these problems and build up a socialist structure of society in our country giving opportunities of well being and progress to every single individual. We are so determined and we have faith in our people.

We welcome the co-operation and friendly assistance of other countries. But we realize that a nation develops by its own labours and by its own strength. It was by relying upon ourselves that we gained independence and it is by doing so that we hope to advance to the new objectives that we have placed before ourselves.

We believe not only that the ends to be achieved should be good but also that the means employed should be good, or else new problems arise and the objective itself changes. We believe also

that the great cause of human progress cannot be served through violence and hatred and that it is only through friendly and co-operative endeavour that the problems of the world can be solved. Hence, our hand of friendship is stretched out to every nation and every people.

We have no ambitions against any other country or people. We wish them all well and we are anxious that freedom and social and economic progress should come to all countries. The denial of this freedom as well as the prevalence of racial discrimination are not only improper but are the seeds from which grows the evil tree of conflict and war.

We are convinced that it is not by military pacts and alliances and by the piling up of armaments that world peace and security can be attained. We are in no camp and in no military alliance. The only camp we should like to be in is the camp of peace and goodwill which should include as many countries as possible and which should be opposed to none. The only alliance we seek is an alliance based on goodwill and co-operation. If peace is sought after it has to be by the methods of peace and the language of peace and goodwill.

It was my privilege, as you know to visit the Soviet Union and to receive a warm and affectionate welcome there. I should like to express my deep gratitude to Your Excellencies and to the people of the Soviet Union for their affection which went far beyond any formality. I saw in the Soviet Union mighty tasks undertaken and many accomplished for the well being of the people. I saw above all the urgent and widespread desire for peace. With this great work and this vital urge I felt in tune and I saw that the field of co-operation between our two countries was rich and wide. Your Excellencies' visit to India will undoubtedly help in this process of a deeper understanding and co-operation.

I earnestly trust that your visit here will help the great cause of peace and co-operation for which all of us stand and that you will see for yourselves how the people of India are devoting themselves not only to their own betterment but to the wider cause of human advancement.

I should like Your Excellencies to convey to your Government and your great people our greetings and message of goodwill and co-operation.

NEW TRENDS IN RUSSIA

I SHOULD LIKE to take this opportunity of drawing the attention of the House to a very important event in recent weeks. I refer to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which met recently in Moscow. There can be no doubt that this Congress has adopted a new line and a new policy. This new line, both in political thinking and in practical policy, appears to be based upon a more realistic appreciation of the present world situation and represents a significant process of adaptation and adjustment. According to our principles we do not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, just as we do not welcome any interference of others in our country. But any important development in any country which appears to be a step towards the creation of conditions favourable to the pursuit of a policy of peaceful co-existence is important for us as well as others. It is for this reason that we feel that the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Union are likely to have far-reaching effects. I hope that this development will lead to a further relaxation of tension in the world.

BASIC FEELING OF FRIENDSHIP

YOU SIR, and your delegation have been in Delhi and in India a little more than two days and you have had occasion to see some parts of Delhi city and see some of our people. I hope the experience has given you a better idea of how you are welcomed by our people.

You have just told us about the tremendous strides which the Soviet Union has made and of the new Seven Year Plan. There can be no doubt that the achievements of the Soviet Union have been tremendous and they have become one of the remarkable stories of the world. Apart from the great advance made there in other fields, you are trying and have succeeded to some extent in conquering space which is indeed an amazing achievement and shows the height to which your science has reached. We, in India, are struggling at much lower levels but we hope to make good. We have tried

From statement in Lok Sabha, March 20, 1955

From speech at dinner held by Mr. A. A. Andreyev, leader of the Soviet Government's delegation, New Delhi, February 26, 1955

to learn and will continue to learn from what has been done in other countries, notably the Soviet Union.

You have referred to the friendship between India and the Soviet Union in spite of somewhat differing social structures. That is true, although we have no sensation of any differences which may be called conflicting differences. We have a sensation of following perhaps a somewhat different path to the same goal, but the basic thing is the regard for each other for each other's integrity of outlook and friendship that broadly is the goal we strive for. In spite of superficial differences, I believe there is that feeling between India and the Soviet Union. I think it is true to say that the friendship of India and the Indian people with the Soviet Union and the Soviet people is based not on some passing fancy or advantage but has much deeper roots which can survive occasional differences of opinion. I think that friendship is certainly good for my country. I hope it is good for your country and I hope it is good for the rest of the world too.

OUR ESTEEMED GUEST had visited India earlier when he stayed longer and went round this country. He was then received with love and excitement, which he must be remembering. This time he has come only for a day or two rather for a few hours on his way back home from another country. Even then we are happy because the world has changed quite a lot during the last four or five years, and we also had quite a few new experiences—some good and some bad. During these years Mr. Khrushchev took many far-sighted steps in his country and has done a lot which changed the world to a considerable extent.

But the most important thing which he has done and which has impressed all of us is that he has kept the flag of peace flying in the world. He has spoken in favour of peace at many places and has worked for it. This is a cause in which we in India are especially interested. All the peoples and leaders of the world have realized that the only path left for mankind is the path of peace. Even so, nations are afraid of each other because there is overwhelming fear in the hearts of people and of those who constitute the Governments. But I feel that the compulsion of circumstances and the desire for peace in the world are so great that positive steps are needed in that direction. In this great task the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union has taken a lead. Even otherwise we have great regard for

him, for his country and the great things which his country has achieved

In his address Mr Khrushchev referred to our Five Year Plans, the first Five Year Plan, the second Five Year Plan and the third Five Year Plan. We are paying great attention to our third Five Year Plan. Each Five Year Plan is a story of the onward march of the 400 million people in India towards better living and opportunities for better living. We need to move forward rapidly. We can certainly learn much from the Soviet Union which has achieved many remarkable things in the realms of science and technology. It had many problems similar to ours as well as many problems different from ours. Similarly we can learn from England, the United States of America and other countries which have made progress, and benefit from their experience.

Peace is essential for the entire world. It is more so for the countries of Asia and Africa who are on the path of progress after long years of dependence and stagnation. And, Sir we in India are aware of your great efforts in the direction of peace and of lessening the tensions of the world which at the moment inhibit progress. That is why we are specially happy that you have come to our country. We have taken your advice and have listened to you and expressed our love and regard for you and your country. We want friendship with your country and with your people.

YUGOSLAVIA

MORE THAN GOOD RELATIONS

QUESTION: Yugoslavia and India are geographically distant countries with little traditions of political, cultural or economic co-operation in the past. What are the present bases of the approach between the two countries?

ANSWER: It is rather difficult to give a short answer to this question. Apart from a general desire to develop friendly relations and close co-operation with all countries, the special reason for our interest in Yugoslavia is the development of that country since the war, the building up of a socialist economy there, and its approach to international problems in a spirit of peaceful

co-operation. So we are co-operating for peace. And we feel that in dealing with our problems of land and industry we could learn much from the experiences of Yugoslavia.

QUESTION What would in your opinion, strengthen these relations and what action would you propose

ANSWER I think that an understanding of the various problems there and the way of solving them will bring about a better understanding and closer co-operation. I should like our people—not only tourists but also students—to go there, and I would certainly like Yugoslavs to come here.

QUESTION Once closer co-operation is established, would it mean something more than good relations between India and Yugoslavia?

ANSWER As you know we are trying to develop friendly relations with all countries, avoiding action which might mean ganging up against other countries. Some special features mark the development of these relations with each country. Thus we have good relations with Burma, Indonesia and others. We are close to them. Whether I go to China or America we want to be friendly. If you apply that to Yugoslavia, that is a type of relationship which is, of course, friendly but different from others. The relationships between countries are not developed on rigid lines but they flow in different directions. We have good relations with our close neighbours like Burma. That is quite natural, but good relations between Yugoslavia and India will prove not only that countries with different set-ups can co-exist, but also that they can learn from each other and co-operate and help each other in different ways. I entirely agree with President Tito that co-existence is not a static conception, but a positive attempt for a closer and better understanding, friendship and co-operation between all nations.

A VALUABLE GUIDE

YUGOSLAVIA IS A COUNTRY with which we exchange of the world situation more frequently than any other country. We attach great value to this in regard to India. It is so because Yugoslavia, first of all, is geographically situated as to be in intimate touch with the development of the world.

From speech during debate on Foreign Affairs, November 20, 1956

Eastern Europe and Southern Europe. Secondly historically and linguistically it has been intimately connected with these regions. The history of the last 30 years has seen the closest union of Yugoslav leaders with the leaders of Russia and other countries in Europe as well as their parting company with each other and the subsequent coming together again. The result is that the leaders of Yugoslavia, more especially the President of Yugoslavia, Marshal Tito, are in a better position to make an appraisal of the situation. So we value it very much. I am free to confess that we have to some extent, been guided by their appraisals of the European situation. So far as Asia is concerned, we presume to know a little more than they do and perhaps sometimes they are guided by our appraisal in regard to the Asian situation. In regard to the European situation, we certainly attach value to what they say.

For instance, I was reading this morning a report of a speech which President Tito delivered, I think, on November 11 at Pula. It is a long speech. The Yugoslav Government have been good enough to send the speech to me by telegram, which reached us yesterday. It is his analysis of the situation in Egypt, in Hungary in Europe, in the world. The analysis which he has made is special to him. I mean to say that I have not seen any other analysis which would fit in with any other conclusion though the analysis may be part of the same. It is true that the objectives before him are not exactly the objectives that we or any other country may have. Here is a person who has been working for the last few years in his own quiet way for the process of democratization in the East European countries, changes in Russia, etc. and has played an important part in it. He knows the leaders of those countries thoroughly. He can talk their language, not having interpreters in between. His appraisal is, therefore helpful.

AMERICA

CANADA

COMMON ENDEAVOUR

I AM HAPPY TO BE in the capital of this great Dominion and to bring to you greetings and good wishes of the Government and people of India. During the past twelve months it has been my privilege to be associated in important discussions with your Prime Minister Mr. St. Laurent, and your Secretary of State, Mr. Pearson. We have had to consider many difficult problems and I am revealing no secret when I say that our point of view and that of Canada were identical or very near to each other on almost every issue. In particular I should like to refer to the spirit of understanding shown by your Government and your representative at the meeting of Dominion Prime Ministers, held in London last April, in the determination of our future relationship with the Commonwealth. That spirit is in the great tradition of your leaders, Sir John MacDonald, Sir Wilfred Laurier and your last Prime Minister Mr. Mackenzie King, who is happily still with us. That tradition has been one of association with the Commonwealth in complete freedom, unfettered by any outside control. Canada has been a pioneer in the evolution of this relationship and, as such, one of the builders of the Commonwealth as an association of free and equal nations.

Canada is a vast country and its extent is continental. It faces Europe across the Atlantic and Asia across the Pacific. Past history explains your preoccupation, thus far with European affairs. Past history as well as geography explains the depth and intimacy of our interest in Asia. But in the world of today neither you nor we can afford to be purely national or even continental in our outlook: the world has become too small for that. We talk of the East and the West, of the Orient and the Occident and yet these divisions have little reality. In fact, the so-called East is geographically the west for you

Asia, the mother of continents and the cradle of history's major civilizations, is renaissant today. The dawn of its newly acquired freedom is turbulent because during these past two centuries its growth was arrested, frustration was widespread and new forces appeared. These forces were essentially nationalist, seeking political freedom but behind them was the vital urge for bettering the economic condition of the masses of the people. Where nationalism was thwarted there was conflict, as there is conflict today where it is being thwarted for example, in South-East Asia. To regard the present unsettled state of South East Asia as a result or as part of an ideological conflict would be a dangerous error. The troubles and discontents of this part of the world and indeed of the greater part of Asia are the result of obstructed freedom and dire poverty. The remedy is to accelerate the advent of freedom and to remove them. If this is achieved, Asia will become a powerful factor for stability and peace. The so-called revolt of Asia is the legitimate striving of ancient and proud peoples against the arrogance of certain Western nations. Racial discrimination is still in evidence in some countries and there is still not enough realization of the importance of Asia in the councils of the world.

India's championship of freedom and racial equality in Asia as well as in Africa is a natural urge of the facts of geography and history. India desires no leadership or dominion or authority over any country. But we are compelled by circumstances to play our part in Asia and in the world, because we are convinced that unless these basic problems of Asia are solved there can be no world peace. Canada, with her traditions of democracy, her sense of justice and her love for fair play should be able to understand our purpose and our motives and to use her growing wealth and power to extend the horizons of freedom, to promote order and liberty and to remove want and thus to ensure lasting peace.

India is an old nation and yet today she has within her something of the spirit and dynamic quality of youth. Some of the vital impulses which gave strength to India in past ages inspire us still and, at the same time we have learned much from the West in social and political values, in science and technology. We have still much to learn and much to do especially in the application of science to problems of social well being. The urgent task before us today is to improve rapidly the economic conditions of our people and to fight relentlessly against poverty and social ills. We are determined to apply ourselves to these problems and to achieve success. We have the will and the natural resources and the human material to do so and our immediate task is to harness them for human betterment. For this purpose it is essential for

us to have a period of peaceful development and co-operation with other nations.

There can be no security or real peace if vast numbers of people in various parts of the world live in poverty and misery. Nor indeed, can there be a balanced economy for the world as a whole if the undeveloped parts continue to upset that balance and to drag down even the more prosperous nations. Technical advance and industrialization in these regions will not mean any injury to those countries which are already highly industrialized. International trade grows as more and more countries produce more goods and supply the wants of mankind. Our industrialization has a predominantly social aim to meet the pressing wants of the great majority of our own people.

I am convinced that Canada, like India, is earnestly desirous of maintaining peace and freedom. Both our respective countries believe in democracy and the democratic method and in individual and national freedom. In international affairs, therefore our objectives are similar and we have found no difficulty thus far in co-operating for the achievement of these aims. I am here to assure the Government and people of Canada of our earnest desire to work for these ends in co-operation with them. The differences that have existed in our minds about the East and the West have little substance today and we are all partners in the same great undertaking.

I thank you again Sir and hon. Members of this Parliament, who shoulder a great responsibility for your friendly and cordial welcome and for your good wishes for my country. I realize that this welcome was extended to me not as an individual but as a representative and a symbol of my nation and I am sure that my people will appreciate and welcome the honour you have done them and will look forward to fruitful harmony of endeavour between our two countries for the accomplishment of common tasks.

Avant de conclure, Monsieur le Premier Ministre, je voudrais bien dire quelques mots dans la langue française. Je regrette que je n'ai pas la maîtrise de parler longuement dans cette belle langue. Mais je vous assure que nous l'aimons vivement, et je vous apporte vous canadiens français, les salutations et les vœux chaleureux du peuple et du gouvernement de l'Inde, auxquels j'ajoute les miens.

WE WELCOME YOU Mr Prime Minister of Canada and Mrs. Diefenbaker and also through you we welcome Canada. You have been here just for a day now and no doubt, you have gathered some impressions of Delhi and of its citizens. You may have noticed a friendliness in them, and, if I may say so even a touch of affection.

In the course of the last few years our relations with your country which is far from us and in some ways very different, have grown. Whenever Canada is mentioned, an old memory comes back to me—fifty years or so ago when I was a student in London, there were Indians there, some of them leaders of today in this country who put forward some modest demands for self government and the then Secretary of State for India in London, Lord Morley reminded us that Canada and India were not the same type of countries, that they were very different. In Canada people used to go about with heavy fur coats—we do not require them in India, he said. Well, as a matter of fact, we do require fur coats in certain parts of India. But even apart from fur coats there are some things which people require anywhere and every where. And a time came when we joined that family of nations of which Canada was one of the pre-eminent members, and in which indeed it had played a very important part in that dynamic evolution which is characteristic of the Commonwealth. It was Canada really which led the way to independent nationhood within that family of nations. When we attained independence, we gladly agreed to continue to be members of that same family of nations.

A little later another change came over this Commonwealth when we took a lead in another direction and became a Republic. That was a novel position which the Commonwealth had not faced till then. Again if I am to say something which might be considered secret, it was the Canadian representative at the Prime Ministers' Conference in London who helped us greatly in finding a way out in this new position. The Prime Minister of Canada did perhaps play a more important part in those talks than some others.

Again, whenever we have met—whether in the Prime Ministers' Conference or in the United Nations or elsewhere—because we have had many common dealings with each other we have found this bond of friendship and understanding uniting us even though we did not always agree. In Eastern Asia, in Indo-China, Canada and India undertook a responsibility which is partly continuing still. Elsewhere also we worked together in many fields and got to know each other a little better. Above all, it was the friendly approach where one respects the other which brought us together.

which keeps us together and which will, no doubt, hold us together for a long time.

Therefore, it is a very special pleasure to all of us here to welcome you Mr Prime Minister and Mrs. Diefenbaker and I hope that when you go back you will convey our greetings and friendship and our sense of comradeship in the many common causes to your people.

We in India, have, ever since we became independent, struggled hard to better our conditions, to improve the lot of the common man, to raise him and to give him self assurance, mainly through our own efforts. But we have welcomed assistance and help from others, and in that respect also Canada has played a notable part for which we are thankful.

CUBA

INTERVENTION IN CUBA

THE DEVELOPMENTS IN CUBA have obviously not only affected Cuba but affected the world situation. A dangerous situation has arisen there. Apart from what is happening in Cuba, when two great powers issue statements which are of the nature of threats to each other and involve inevitably national prestige, the situation becomes very dangerous.

One fact is clear and that is that some kind of invasion has taken place on Cuba from outside and that the invasion could only have taken place from the American mainland. It may be from some part of the United States Central America or some other place but it is fairly well known that Cuban exiles had been collected in various places in Florida or possibly in Guatemala also or elsewhere, trained there and supplied with arms, and encouraged to go and invade Cuba. Even before the invasion took place, there were many references to it and pictures of their being trained etc. in the American Press. If that is so, it does appear to be a case of intervention. In the recent statement issued by President Kennedy he has stated very clearly that he will not permit an American armed intervention in Cuba on any account. That statement has to be welcomed but I find it a little difficult to understand the major difference between that type of interven-

and an intervention of encouraging and supplying arms, maybe training Cuban exiles to go over and invade the island. It would be a bad precedent which if followed elsewhere, would create international complications.

So far as India is concerned, we in common with a large number of other countries have recognised the Government of Cuba which is represented here in Delhi. Our Ambassador to Cuba, in fact, is the same person as our Ambassador to Washington. If there had been some kind of internal turmoil in Cuba it is none of our duty or anybody's duty to interfere in their difficulties. When force comes from outside, it does make a difference and to encourage a force to come from outside does seem to us a kind of intervention which leads to difficulties and which may lead to any other party intervening also. Then it becomes an issue beyond that of the government of that particular island it becomes a world issue. That is the grave danger that has arisen in Cuba.

We are naturally anxious to see that these matters do not lead to a tremendous increase of world tension. It is more important for us to see that tensions come down. To some extent our position in regard to this issue is being clarified by our representatives at the U.N. We have also drawn the attention of the major powers concerned to this matter and to the anxieties we feel because we do think that this invasion and the manner in which it has taken place is a dangerous precedent which is bad for the future and is particularly harmful to international relations. I think perhaps it has immediately resulted in further difficulties in Laos when the Laotian issue was coming to some kind of a settlement. Therefore, we think this fact is a matter of the greatest import and of grave danger. We think that there should be no intervention from any side in Cuba, and that it should be left to work out its own destiny.

A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

I HAVE COME to this country to learn something of your great achievements. I have come also to convey the greetings of my people and in the hope that my visit may help to create a greater understanding between our respective peoples and those strong and sometimes invisible links, stronger even than physical links, that bind countries together. The President referred the day before yesterday in language of significance, to my visit as a voyage of discovery of America. The United States of America is not an unknown country even in far-off India and many of us have grown up in admiration of the ideals and objectives which have made this country great. Yet, though we may know the history and something of the culture of our respective countries, what is required is a true understanding and appreciation of each other even where we differ. Out of that understanding grows fruitful co-operation in the pursuit of common ideals. I have come here, therefore, on a voyage of discovery of the mind and heart of America and to place before you our own mind and heart. Already I have received a welcome here, the generous warmth of which has created a deep impression on my mind and, indeed, somewhat overwhelmed me.

During the last two days that I have been in Washington, I have paid visits to the memorials of the great builders of this nation. I have done so not for the sake of mere formality but because they have long been enshrined in my heart and their example has inspired me as it has inspired innumerable countrymen of mine. These memorials are the real temples to which each generation must pay tribute and, in doing so must catch something of the fire that burned in the hearts of those who were the torch bearers of freedom not only for this country but for the world for those who are truly great have a message that cannot be confined within a particular country but is for all the world.

In India, there came a man in our own generation who inspired us to great endeavour even reminding us that thought and action should never be divorced from moral principle, that the true path of man is the path of truth and peace. Under his guidance, we laboured for the freedom of our country with ill will to none and achieved that freedom. We called him reverently and affectionately the Father of our Nation. Yet he was too great for the circumscribed borders of any one country and the message

he gave may well help us in considering the wider problems of the world.

The United States of America has struggled to freedom and unparalleled prosperity during the past century and a half and today it is a great and powerful nation. It has an amazing record of growth in material well-being and scientific and technological advance. It could not have accomplished this unless America had been anchored in the great principles laid down in the early days of its history for material progress cannot go far or last long unless it has its foundations in moral principles and high ideals.

Those principles and ideals are enshrined in your Declaration of Independence, which lays down as a self-evident truth that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It may interest you to know that, in drafting the Constitution of the Republic of India, we have been greatly influenced by your own Constitution. The preamble of our Constitution states

We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens

Justice, social economic and political

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship

Equality of status and of opportunity and to promote among them all Fraternity ensuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation

In our Constituent Assembly do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.

You will recognize in these words that I have quoted an echo of the great voices of the founders of your Republic. You will see that though India may speak to you in a voice that you may not immediately recognize or that may perhaps appear somewhat alien to you yet that voice somewhat strongly resembles what you have often heard before.

Yet, it is true that India's voice is somewhat different it is not the voice of the old world of Europe but of the older world of Asia. It is the voice of an ancient civilization distinctive, vital, which at the same time has renewed itself and learned much from you and the other countries of the West. It is, therefore, both old and new. It has its roots deep in the past but it also has the dynamic urge of today.

But however the voices of India and the United States may appear to differ there is much in common between them. Like you, we have achieved our freedom through a revolution, though our methods were different from yours. Like you we shall be a

republic based on the federal principle, which is an outstanding contribution of the founders of this great Republic. We have placed in the forefront of our Constitution those fundamental human rights to which all men who love liberty equality and progress aspire—the freedom of the individual, the equality of men and the rule of law. We enter therefore, the community of free nations with the roots of democracy deeply embedded in our institutions as well as in the thoughts of our people.

We have achieved political freedom but our revolution is not yet complete and is still in progress, for political freedom without the assurance of the right to live and to pursue happiness, which economic progress alone can bring can never satisfy a people. Therefore, our immediate task is to raise the living standards of our people, to remove all that comes in the way of the economic growth of the nation.

We realize that self help is the first condition of success for a nation, no less than for an individual. We are conscious that ours must be the primary effort and we shall seek succour from none to escape from any part of our own responsibility. But though our economic potential is great, its conversion into finished wealth will need much mechanical and technological aid. We shall therefore, gladly welcome such aid and co-operation on terms that are of mutual benefit. We believe that this may well help in the solution of the larger problems that confront the world. But we do not seek any material advantage in exchange for any part of our hard-won freedom.

The objectives of our foreign policy are the preservation of world peace and enlargement of human freedom. India may be new to world politics and her military strength insignificant in comparison with that of the giants of our epoch. But India is old in thought and experience and has travelled through trackless centuries in the adventure of life. Throughout her long history she has stood for peace and every prayer that an Indian raises, ends with an invocation to peace. It was out of this ancient and yet young India that Mahatma Gandhi arose and he taught us a technique of peaceful action. It was effective and yielded results that led us not only to freedom but to friendship with those with whom we were, till yesterday in conflict.

This is the basis and the goal of our foreign policy. We are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom from whatever quarter it may come. Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral. What we plead for and endeavour to practise in our own imperfect way is a binding faith in peace and an unfailing endeavour of thought and action

to ensure it. The great democracy of the United States of America will, I feel sure, understand and appreciate our approach to life's problems because it could not have any other aim or a different ideal. Friendship and co-operation between our two countries are, therefore, natural. I stand here to offer both in the pursuit of justice, liberty and peace

NEED FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

I HAVE BEEN in the United States for exactly eight days today. During these eight days so much of significance has happened in my life. Experience and emotion have so piled up one on top of the other that I have the feeling that I have been here for a long time. During these days, much has happened to me which has not only powerfully affected me in the present but has left upon me its deep imprint which I shall carry with me and remember for a very long time.

During these days I have repeatedly had occasion to speak in public and my programme has often been a very full one. I knew that I was to come to this great banquet tonight. And I knew also that I had to speak here but I must apologize to you because I was expected. I am told, to prepare a written address which I have not done. I have not done it, partly because I dislike very much this process of writing down speeches in advance, for I am not used to doing it in India and partly because if I may confess it with all humility I just forgot about it. But in the main, may I say that the real reason at the back of my mind, the sub-conscious reason, was a growing feeling of confidence, of being among my friends here in this country. I began to feel more and more at home and so I thought I could perhaps take the liberty of having a friendly talk with you rather than deliver a formal address.

I need hardly say how overwhelmed I am by the magnificence of this occasion and by the very distinguished gathering that is present here. I am very grateful to the four host organizations for organizing this function. And may I say in this connection that I am grateful not only for this occasion but even more so to all the

Americans who, in the course of the past many years, sent us their goodwill and not only sent their goodwill but gave us their active support in the struggle for our freedom. It was very heartening to us in those days of struggle and conflict and ups and downs to hear the voices of goodwill and friendship and sympathy from America. I remember that on the last occasion, the beginning of my last term of imprisonment, a number of very distinguished citizens in America issued a manifesto—I think it was addressed to the President of the United States—appealing to him to take some action in regard to India. May I also say that all of us in India know very well, although it might not be so known in public, what great interest President Roosevelt had in our country's freedom and how he exercised his great influence to that end.

I have come to America for many reasons, personal and public. I have come after a long time of waiting because I have always wanted to come here ever since I was a student in England. But events took a different course soon after I went back to India and my travels and journeys were very limited. In the last two or three years, other limiting factors have come in and I could not come here earlier.

Originally perhaps, it was curiosity that impelled me to come here. But in later years, more and more the thought came to me that it was necessary it was desirable and perhaps inevitable that India and the United States should know each other more and co-operate with each other more. In a sense that co-operation in the past could hardly be called co-operation, because a subject country does not co-operate with a great and powerful nation. But since we have become independent, that idea took more definite shape. Even now though we may be a big country and we may have great potential resources as we do have, we are new to these fields of international activity and in the terms that the world measures nations today we are weak. Economically we are weak. We are strong in some ways—at least potentially so. Anyhow the time has come when we can look more towards the United States with some feeling of confidence which is necessary before we can really develop co-operative relations.

India has been, for the last two years or more, an independent country. In another three months or so we will formally inaugurate our Republic. We have got enormous problems. The fact of 150 years of foreign rule, which resulted possibly in some good here and there, certainly resulted in stunting and arresting the growth of the people and of the country in many ways. Because it arrested the growth of the country it arrested the solution of many problems that normally would have solved themselves. And so problems accumulated—social economic and political. As soon as the British

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

left India, suddenly we had to face all those problems. We knew of course, that we would have to face them. It was a big change. It was brought about co-operatively and peacefully and rather remarkably for which credit is due to both the parties concerned, England and India. Nevertheless, however peacefully it was brought about, those arrested problems suddenly emerged. And just at this moment came other things—came the partition of India. It was the cutting up of a living structure, of everything—all our services, whether the Army or civil services, transport and railways, communications, telephones telegraphs and the postal system, irrigation and canals. It created tremendous new problems among which were upheavals, deplorable happenings and killings and then vast migrations. All our energies that ought to have been devoted to constructive effort to economic betterment, which we had planned for years previously suddenly had to be applied to tackle these new problems. We had no time or leisure or resources left to deal with the other and more basic problems. Nevertheless, the world did not stop India could not stop. And we did try to deal with the basic problems to some extent.

Our basic problem is the land problem, as it is all over Asia. And we have gone pretty far in changing the whole antiquated and unfair land system in India. We are putting an end to the great landed estates and giving the land to the peasant, compensating the previous owner. This process is going on now. Some months ago, in my own province in India, that is, the United Provinces, which is the biggest province and has the enormous population of about sixty millions, we introduced a great reform in local self-government. In all the villages, a vast number of villages, every adult voted in what was probably one of the biggest elections that any country has had. We are going to have that all over India. That particular reform in local self-government, affecting all the villages was really initiated some years ago when my sister who is our Ambassador here, was the minister for local self-government in that province. Now this is an extraordinary and a most interesting experiment. Partly it is new. Partly it is going back to village self-government that existed before the British came. Anyhow it is a tremendous experiment in democracy important perhaps because it is more basic than the assembly that we may choose at the top. So all these things have gone on. We are also proceeding with big river valley schemes which are basic for our development. But I want you to realize the background in which we have functioned. It has been made difficult by the after-effects of the war and by all the other things that have happened. Still I have little doubt that India is making good and going ahead. People talk about India's desire for leadership in Asia. We have

no desire for leadership anywhere. Our greatest anxiety and yearning today is to build up India and to solve somehow the problems that face us and then, in so far as we can, to serve the other good causes we have at heart in Asia and in the rest of the world and to co-operate with other countries in the United Nations and elsewhere. Whether we like it or not, we realize that we simply cannot exist in isolation. Our geography our history the present events, all drag us into a wider picture.

I have been asked whether it had struck me that there might be a certain parallel between the United States in the early years and India. It has, in the sense that a big country grew up here. Certain relatively smaller countries were around it—to the south especially—and economically and otherwise they were influenced greatly by the presence of this dominating country in the north. So I was asked how the presence of a big country like India affected the surrounding smaller countries and whether it had the same type of effect. The parallel is not exact. Nevertheless, there is much in it. Whether we want to or not, in India we have to play an important role. It is not to our liking, because we have enough burdens of our own and we do not wish to add to them. But, as I said, we just cannot choose in the matter. India, in Southern, Western and South-Eastern Asia, has to play a distinctive and important role. If she is not capable of playing it properly then she will just fade out.

I am quite convinced that there is no question of India fading out. Therefore, only the other role remains. Because of that and also because the United States is playing a vital role in world affairs today—again hardly from choice but through the development of certain circumstances, through necessity almost—it seems natural for an Indian to think of closer relations with the American people and this great country. I think and I have been told that it is natural, in the present context, for many Americans to think of the importance of India in this respect. Therefore, the question of India and the United States understanding each other and developing closer relations is not only important from the point of view of these two countries but has a larger importance and significance.

Whether India has anything special to teach to the United States, I do not know. That is for you to judge. Certainly I have not come to the United States to teach anybody anything. I have come here to improve my own education as far as possible, to learn something from America and to learn something about the world through American eyes, because both are important for me. I believe I still retain something of the spirit of a student and the curiosity of youth. It is not only this curiosity but rather a compelling necessity that makes me feel that I ought or rather we in India

ought to understand America better. Whether we agree with everything that the United States does or does not do is another matter.

This business of agreeing or not agreeing might be looked at in many ways. I think it is a wrong approach for any country or any people to expect complete agreement with another country or people about all things or to expect a duplication of their own ways and methods of thinking and action and life in the other country. The world naturally grows more uniform. Nevertheless, there is a great deal of variety in it not only external variety in ways of life but a mental and emotional variety too because of different backgrounds and historical developments. If we seek to understand a people, we have to try to put ourselves, as far as we can in that particular historical and cultural background. I have an idea that many of our present problems—international troubles—are due to the fact that the emotional and cultural backgrounds of people differ so much. It is not easy for a person from one country to enter into the background of another country. So there is great irritation because a fact that seems obvious to us is not immediately accepted by the other party or does not seem obvious to him at all. Even when we understand the other party's background we may not be able to convince him or he may not be able to convince us. But that extreme irritation will go when we think, not that the other person is either exceedingly stupid or exceedingly obstinate in not recognizing a patent fact as we see it but that he is just differently conditioned and simply cannot get out of that condition. If you understand that, perhaps your approach to him will be different from that blatant direct approach which ends in his direct and blatant approach to you and which ultimately ends in the mutual use of strong language without the least understanding of each other's mind or function. One has to recognize that what ever the future may hold countries and people differ in their approach and their ways in their approach to life and their ways of living and thinking.

During the eight days of my stay here, I have met many Americans. I had met distinguished Americans during the past years in India and in Europe. I have studied a good deal of American history. I have read a good many famous American periodicals. So I have a fair knowledge, as far as a foreigner can have of the American background. Nevertheless, the last eight days here have brought to me although subconsciously—because I made my mind receptive to impressions and influences—some kind of an emotional awareness, apart from an intellectual understanding of the American people. It helps me much more in understanding the American people and the United States than all my previous

reading and intellectual effort. Therefore, this kind of personal contact and receptivity of mind is helpful and indeed desirable.

You will not expect me to say that I admire everything that I find here in the United States. I do not. The United States has got a reputation abroad—Mrs. Roosevelt referred to it—of being materialistic and of being tough in matters of money. Also Americans are supposed to be very hardheaded businessmen. Well, I could not imagine that any country could achieve greatness even in the material field without some basic moral and spiritual background. I have found a very great deal of generosity and an enormous amount of hospitality and friendliness. Now all this creates that emotional atmosphere that helps in the development of friendly relations and in the understanding of individuals as well as nations. I shall go back from here much richer than I came: richer in experience, richer in the fund of memories that I take back and richer in the intellectual and emotional understanding and appreciation of the people of this great country.

A COMMON FAITH

I HAVE COME to this great country on a brief visit at the gracious invitation of your President whose humanity and whose distinguished and devoted services to the cause of peace have won for him a unique place among the statesmen of the world.

Five years ago a professor of an American university visited me in Delhi and gave me a gift which I have treasured greatly. This was a mould in brass of Abraham Lincoln's right hand. It is a beautiful hand, strong and firm and yet gentle. It has been kept ever since on my study table and I look at it every day and it gives me strength.

This may perhaps, give you some idea of our thinking and our urges in India. For above all, we believe in liberty, equality, the dignity of the individual and the freedom of the human spirit. Because of this, we are firmly wedded to the democratic way of life and in our loyalty to this cause we will not falter. Nearly seven years ago we constituted our country into a Republic and gave to ourselves a Constitution based on these principles, and guaranteeing the fundamental human rights of freedom of the individual, equality of man and the rule of law.

Five years ago we had general elections for our Central Parliament, as well as for our State Assemblies. These elections were organized on a vast scale by an authority free of government control so as to ensure that they were free and impartial. Early next year we are going to have general elections again in which 200 million voters are entitled to participate.

As you know India is a big country with a population of over 370 millions, one-seventh of the total population of the world. It is a country steeped in history and tradition, with a civilization nearly as old as recorded time and a culture nourished on its own soil and blended happily with those of other peoples and of other lands. This year we celebrated in India, and in many other countries, the 2500th anniversary of a very great son of India, the Buddha, who gave us a message of peace and compassion.

Through the centuries, India has preached and practised toleration and understanding, and has enriched human thought, art and literature, philosophy and religion. Her sons journeyed far and wide, braving the perils of land and sea, not with thoughts of conquest or domination, but as messengers of peace or engaged in the commerce of ideas as well as of her beautiful products. During these millennia of history India has experienced both good and ill but, throughout her chequered history she has remembered the message of peace and tolerance. In our own time this message was proclaimed by our great leader and master Mahatma Gandhi, who led us to freedom by peaceful and yet effective action on a mass scale. We in India today are children of this revolution and have been conditioned by it. Although your revolution in America took place long ago and the conditions were different here you will appreciate the revolutionary spirit which we have inherited and which still governs our activities.

The American people have shown by their history that they possess great energy dynamism and the passion to march ahead. India is supposed to be given to contemplation. Something of that contemplative spirit still remains in India. At the same time, the new India of today has also developed a certain dynamism and a passionate desire to raise the standards of her people. But with that desire is blended the wish to adhere to the moral and spiritual aspects of life. We are now engaged in a gigantic and exciting task of achieving rapid and large-scale economic development of our country. We completed our first Five Year Plan eight months ago and now we have begun on a more ambitious scale our second Five Year Plan, which seeks a planned and balanced development in agriculture and industry in town and country and between factory and small-scale and cottage production.

I speak of India because it is my country. But many other

countries in Asia tell the same story for Asia today is resurgent and these countries, which long lay under foreign yoke, have won back their independence and are fired by a new spirit and strive towards new ideals. To them, as to us, independence is as vital as the breath we take to sustain life, and colonialism in any form anywhere is abhorrent.

The vast strides which technology has made have brought a new age of which the United States of America is the leader. Today the whole world is our neighbour and the old divisions of continents and countries matter less and less. Peace and freedom have become indivisible and the world cannot continue for long partly free and partly subject. In this atomic age peace has also become a test of human survival. Recently we have witnessed two tragedies which have powerfully affected men and women all over the world. These are the tragedies in Egypt and Hungary.

We believe that each country has not only the right to freedom but also to decide its own policy and way of life. Only thus can true freedom flourish and a people grow according to their own genius. We think that by this approach we can serve not only our country but also the larger causes of peace and good fellowship in the world.

Between the United States and India, there had existed friendly and cordial relations even before India gained her independence. No Indian can forget that in the days of our struggle for freedom we received from your country a full measure of sympathy and support. Our two Republics share a common faith in democratic institutions and the democratic way of life and are dedicated to the cause of peace and freedom. We admire the many qualities that have made this country great, and, more especially, the humanity and dynamism of its people and the great principles to which the fathers of the American revolution gave utterance. We wish to learn from you and we plead for your friendship and your co-operation and sympathy in the great task that we have undertaken in our own country.

I have had the great privilege of having long talks with the President, and we have discussed many problems which confront the world. I can tell you that I have greatly profited by these talks. I shall treasure their memory and they will help me in many ways in my thinking.

We have recently witnessed grievous transgressions of the moral standards freely accepted by the nations of the world. During this period of anxiety and distress, the United States has added greatly to its prestige by upholding worthily the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

INDIA AND AMERICA

YOUR EXCELLENCY ladies and gentlemen You came here four days ago In these four days you have seen different facets of the city of Delhi and to some extent of India. You received some gifts but the biggest thing which we could give you was reserved for today I hope you will remember for many days this picture of the vast multitude of people which you are seeing here today We on our part will remember these four days because these four days were days not merely of meetings, speeches and crowds but because the hearts of two big countries were opened to each other a little. I hope you have understood some of the basic factors and forces which are pushing forward this country and the millions of its people You must have also realized in some measure, the great hurdles which we have to cross and the many difficulties which we have to face in our path.

There was a time when we dreamt of freedom. Many people thought it impossible to win freedom from a mighty empire. But a man came—a man whose name all of you know—a slender thin man with a gentle voice But he was a wonderful man His voice resounded in the country in the ears of the millions of its people He reminded us of our duty He told us that no nation could make progress without freedom. Like Lokmanya Tilak who regarded freedom as our birth-right, he said freedom was our right as a matter of religion And so started our long journey on the road towards freedom At last we attained freedom, and we attained it through peaceful means.

You observed that freedom was very valuable and you quoted Gandhiji in that context Most of the people here with the exception of little children, have seen both slavery and freedom. Therefore we know how valuable it is. When we were fighting for our freedom, we kept two ideals before us First we did not look upon our freedom apart from the freedom of others Our eyes, hearts and sympathies went out to those who were fighting for their freedom. During the last twelve years many countries in Asia and Africa which were under foreign rule have become independent. But unfortunately there are many countries which have not yet attained their freedom. We continue to think of them and our heart goes out to them

Secondly we have learned to view our freedom as well as the other problems of the world in the perspective of peace We have many failings, but under a commander who had won our

From speech in Hindi at civic reception to President Eisenhower
New Delhi, December 13 1959

hearts and whose life and principles influenced us, we gained inner strength to fight for our freedom without fear and without malice or enmity towards our rulers. Ours was a peaceful, yet a dynamic approach.

In the present context of the world, these ideals, namely freedom of peoples and the peaceful approach to problems, have become more important than ever before.

You came here and we received you warmly because you are a great man and the representative of a great country and nation. The very ideals which are at the root of your country have been admired by us and have given strength to us. But you are specially welcome at this moment because, apart being the President of the United States, you have raised the banner of peace in the world at present. Because of your love for peace you have found a place in our hearts.

In your speech you visualized the picture of India ten to fifteen years hence. Without doubt, as we have had dreams of our freedom, we have dreams of a better life for the millions in this country and of their hardships, their difficulties and their poverty coming to an end. We are not afraid of facing difficulties, because we have been tried severely. We are, however not complacent. The task before us requires labour efforts and sacrifice. You said that our country indeed any country in an underdeveloped state, needed outside help in order to progress rapidly. This is quite true. We are grateful to you and to the other countries for the help given to us, because we want to progress at a fast rate. At the same time we cannot forget that no country in the world can ever progress without its own sustained effort and without courage to go ahead. Therefore, we want to assure you that we will carry our own burden so far as we can—rather we will try to carry more than we can carry. But if our friends who have sympathy for us and who understand the ideals and objectives we have set before our selves, help us, we welcome it, as we have done so far.

India is facing an important question at present—how far it can or should stick to the old values of life and thinking and how far it should adopt the new ones. We in India value our past very much, and at the same time the future beckons us. New things which have changed the world attract us. I suppose we have to choose what is good in the old—values which gave strength to our nation and sustained it through these long centuries. All the same, we like many things in the new world which is opening before us, for so long as we do not have them we cannot achieve strength and prosperity—even our freedom is endangered without them. So we have to adopt them. Ours is an ancient country which is now trying to attain youth and vigour again.

Your country is a new country compared to India's ancient past—it is 250 years old or so. But in this new world you have more experience. In this new world we are new. So the old and the new have to be related which in a way is a question facing the whole world especially India with its deep roots in the past. What is it that has kept a country like India alive for five to seven thousand years, alive not in the sense of mere existence but in the most vigorous sense of the word? Similarly what is the secret behind the progress achieved by a country like America within a period of one hundred and fifty to two hundred years? Surely there must be some internal strength in it and one should learn from this remarkable record of progress which has made America the foremost nation in the world. So this is a strange meeting between India, an ancient country which is thousands of years old and is a mixture of old virtues and old failings, and America which is a land of new ideas, new vigour and new power. This meeting of the two can benefit us at least as also the world.

On this Ramlila Ground many big meetings and festivals have taken place but I think that a meeting on this scale—a new kind of festival like this—has not taken place here before. Therefore, it is good that as you leave this country tomorrow you will take this memory with you and behind it the idea that India has given you her most valuable thing—a part of her heart.

INDEX

A

Abdallah, Sheikh Md 444 to 446
 Accra, 540, 542
 Acharya, Tanka Prasad, 437
 Acheron, 416
 Achim area 330
 Aden, 276
 Adenauer Chancellor 554 555
 Afghanistan, 3 40 42, 249 250
 289 to 292, 443
 Africa, 41 48, 49 57 64 69 83, 84
 86 90 120 126 130 131 157
 159 164 172, 173 179 to 181
 186, 192 217 218, 221 223 253
 255 269 to 272, 288 290 292,
 294 308 501 504 511 512, 540,
 to 542, 547 548, 580 600
 Indians in, 150
 Africa East, 41 90 109 Indians in,
 129 131
 Africa, South, *see* South Africa
 Africa, South-West, 504
 Ahmad, Dr 349
 Akai Chin area, 33, 354 361 38, 383 390
 Alexandria, 517
 Algeria, 74 224 276 504 to 511
 India suggestions on, 505 U.N.
 General Assembly Resolution on
 507 to 509
 Ali, Mohammed, 471
 Ambedkar Dr B R., 16
 America, Continent of, 49 113 114
 America, United States of *see*
 United States
 Andreyev A.A., 578
 Anglo-American bloc 59 6 *also*
 Power blocs
 Ankara, 47, 474
 An powers, 398
 Apartheid, 213 502, 544 545, 549
 550 *see also* South Africa Racial
 discrimination in
 Aquaba, Gulf of, 559
 Arab nationalism, 78 to 784
 Arab world, 3 57
 Arabia, 751

Atoka, The Emperor 101
 Asia 3 12, 15 17 18, 20 to 24 25
 32, 56 58, 40, 41 43 44 48, 49
 54 57 58, 64 67 to 69 78 83
 84 87 to 90 92, 93 98, 120 130
 134 142, 144 151, 152, 157 159
 164 170 172, 173, 179 180, 183
 186 190, 192, 194 217 18 723
 48 to 237 261 to 263 288 290
 292 294 304 307 364 to 366
 376 384 394 400, 407 408, 471
 472, 520 542, 580 582, 598 to
 600 Colonialism in, 163 Economic
 freedom for 254 to 261 India
 role in, 394 395 Nationalism in, 94
 Asia and the World, 164 764 to 769
 270 to 772, 280 281 283, 286
 311 402, 501 584
 Asian-African Conference (Bandung)
 69 72, 269 77 to 280, 79, 301 374
 Asian Relations Conference 28 44
 248 to 253
 Asian Rides, 336, 338, 378
 Asian Tribune The 331
 Auer Franzl, 496
 Awara Dean, 530
 Atlantic Pact, 63 64 53
 Atom bomb, 13 58 80 165 171
 191 197 208 419
 Atomic energy 46 191 to 193
 Attlee 50 51
 Australia, 38 88 227 to 231 1
 763 7, 279 342, 408, 409

B

Bahré Jura 491 492, 496, 497
 Baghdad Pact, 43 71 91 to 97 154
 282, 283 472 475, 481 487 518
 559 56.
 Bahré, 403
 Bahr S.A., 473
 Ballistic weapons, 75
 Bandung, 769 272, 576 503
 Bandung Conference in Asian-
 African Conference
 Bao Dai, 387

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

604

Bara Hoti, 357 358, 367
 Baramula, 445
 Barpeta, 459
 Barua, Hem, 357 359 385 386, 388
 Basa, 480, 481
 Bela Kun, 358
 Belgium, 513, 514 516
 Berlin, 189
 Berlin conflict, 48
 Berlin powers, 397
 Berabari Union, 492 496, 497
 Bhakra-Nangal Project, 477
 Bholaganj, 492
 Bhutan, 249 319, 397 to 339 545
 335, 336, 375
 Black, 482
 Blucher Dr Franz, 353
 Bogor 272, 274
 Bombaine, 113
 Bondilla, 320
 Bonarville, 514 515
 Britain, 3, 8 to 10, 12, 20 27 29
 43, 52, 53 57 59 60, 62 63, 63
 66, 72, 75 82, 111 to 115 133
 138, 141 to 145 149 151 152,
 155 174 200, 202 204 207 213,
 228, 240, 541 to 543 596, 399
 105 417 420 465 494 495, 520
 530, 541 580; Relationship with
 India, 570 to 572
 British Colonies, 127 128
 British Constitution, 142
 British Empire 107
 British Government, 106 108
 British Nationality Act, 153, 153
 British rule, 250, 308, 549
 Brussels, 514 515
 Budapest, 357 to 360
 Buddha, The, 224 294 295, 125
 384
 Buddha-Gaya, 295
 Bulgaria, 203 359 576
 Burma, 29 42, 54 68, 70 92, 93
 154 157 186, 249 259 260, 272,
 292 293, 343 531 574 581
 Indians in, 129; Sino-Burmes
 Border Treaty 391 392

C

Cairo 419 527 532, 534 539
 Cairo Declaration, 422

Calcutta, Tragedy of, 1
 Cambodia, 67 278 295 397 402,
 403 406
 Canada, 127 200, 403 583 to 587
 Capitalism, 202, 370
 Castle, King of 112
 Cairo, 97
 Central Asia, 250
 Ceylon, 42, 61 157 186, 249 27.,
 298 to 301 400 526, 532 Indian
 nationals in, 129 130, 296 to 301
 People of Indian descent in, 74 to
 75, 296 to 301
 Chadbet, 493
 Chak Ladheke, 493
 Chakravarty B.N., 427
 Char Rajanagar 499 500
 Char Rajapur 499
 Charles II, King of England, 113
 Chenab, 480
 Chenmo Valley 380
 Chettiar T S A masalingam, 313
 Chiang Kai-shek, 337 368
 China, 5 28 29 4., 43, 50 52, 67
 102, 11 127 172, 186, 49 to
 131 265 278 297 302 to 309
 312, 321 323 331 339 to 379
 185 to 391 393 394 396, 399
 101 402, 436, 445 531 568, 575
 Admission to U N 91 to 92, 189
 223, 418, 417 420, 422 575
 India border question, 546 to 558
 Sino-Burmese Border Treaty 391
 192 White Paper on, 338 341 316
 347 351 361 389 to 391
 China and Tibet 302, 303 313
 317 324 311 to 348
 Chinese in South Asian Countries, 92
 Chinese Revolution, 368, 369
 Chinese Turkistan, 329 331
 Chittagong hill tracts, 496
 Chow En-lai, 92, 278 279 306 311
 324 343 348 347 349 to 351
 353, 354 356 360 361 363 366
 367 371 374 380, 383 385
 389 390
 Churan, 331
 Chutangan, 318, 335
 Cold war 58 73 75 to 80, 82 to 84
 171 176 to 177 202, 204 207
 209 to 16, 227 231 282 to 287
 290, 321
 Colombo 117 402

- Colonialism, 48, 64 70 72 80 84
 90, 120, 151 164 17 221 222
 270, 271 273 276 396, 407
 408, 410
- Cominform, 93
- Commintern, 93
- Commonwealth (British) 3 8, 10 to
 12, 19 20, 37 54 56 60, 61 81
 127 303 304 341 348 to 350,
 383 386; India in, 132 to 146,
 158 Purpose of, 159 to 161 Racial
 discrimination in, 139 South-
 Africa leaves 348 to 350
- Commonwealth and world peace, 157
- Commonwealth citizenship, 153 to 158
- Commonwealth Parliamentary Con-
 ference 74 75
- Commonwealth Prime Ministers Con-
 ference 134, 134 136, 138 139
 142, 146 149 150 153 159
 318 to 350, 386
- Communism, 32, 202, 263 267 268,
 309 321 370
- Communism, International, 96
- Congo 181 221 222, 303 311 312
 to 327 346 Afro-Asian Resolution,
 570 Belgian Govt action, 314 to
 317 320 Conciliation Commission,
 5 4; India part in, 312, 313 319
 320 322, 324, 325 to 327 Rajeshwar
 Dayal Report, 313 to 315 U.K.
 U.G.A. resolutions, 320, 321 U.N.
 action, 31 to 327
- Constituent Assembly 2, 4 to 10 12,
 14 16 20, 152
- Cooch Behar 459
- Cooch Behar enclaves 49., 493 496
- Cuba, 587 588
- Czechoslovakia 207 351 359

D

- Dalai Lama, 313 315 316 318 to
 327 341 to 343 352
- Dama 117
- Damascus, 500, 501
- Damodar Valley 293
- Dange B. A. 80, 81
- D feeling 327
- Dad, Limer E Ali Sardar M hammed,
 200

- Danlatur 497
- Dantana, 96
- Dayal, Rajeshwar 513 514 522
- Defence Ministry 339
- de Gaulle, General, 309 to 311
- Delhi, 38 44 132, 170 173 300
 371 376 378, 386 388, 397 600
 Red Fort, 119
- Democracy 160, 213 373
- Democratic Centralism, 311
- Dhar Khodpur 499
- Diefenbaker John, 586 587
- Diplomacy, 392, 393
- Diplomacy 64
- Disarmament, 93 177 178, 189 199
 200, 205 to 209 212, 214 to 216
 219 to 221 223 230 233 276, 281
 332 Eisenhower proposal, 192
 193 209 India resolution on, 236
 Soviet proposals, 214 215 375
- Disarmament and controls, 336
- Disarmament Commission, 189 190
 196 200 206, 214
- Disarmament Conference 203
- Disarmament Sub-Committee 196
 199 to 201
- Dix 117
- Dixon, Sir Owen, 470
- Domains, British, 127
- Drohung Samba 333
- Dulles, John Foster 474
- Durban, 41
- Dutt, B. 403

L

- Eastern Asia, 95
- Eastern powers, 149
- Eden, Sir Anthony 402, 532, 533 370
- Eghbal, D Manuchehr 413
- Egypt, 38, 53 171 175 176, 179
 48 49 28., 283 408, 527 to
 539 553, 556 560, 582, 599
- Einstein, Albert, 188 191
- Elor 8
- Eisenhower President 192 to 191
 203 204 09 283 373 376 473
 to 473 600
- Ireland, Britain
- English Language 6
- Erlander Tage 368
- Ethiopia, 38 408

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Europe 7 17 21 to 23 32, 36 59 40,
43 44 48, 49 63, 68 76 82, 83
113 114 131 149 151 157 163
164 173 251 to 253 255 262,
263 271 272 280, 281 283 285
288 310 376, 361
External Affairs Ministry 238, 239
316 320 336, 403

F

Far East, 22, 43, 91 120 186 212,
251 285 278, 416, 417 419 to 422
Ferry 492
Fiji, Indians in, 128
Finland, 552, 553
Fr. Yea Plan, 71 287 291 371
373 374 378 488, 561 580, 598
Foreign aid, 35 63
Foreign relations, 239 210
Foreign Service 241 to 246
Formosa, 123 278 342 418 419 422
France 29 59 66 88, 107 115 151
191 200, 201 228 238 396 397
399 402, 307 508, 310; 511 529
530, 532
French Revolution, 369
Frontier Province 289

G

Gaitskell, 78
Gandhi, Mahatma, 5 15 43, 74 83
83 100 107 109 115, 117 147 to
149 162, 163, 173, 178 182 183
185 221 247 33 266 268, 306
368 384 411 416 437 440, 449
to 451 454 549 538, 563, 570,
572, 573 589 591 598, 600
Garok, 329 331 360, 361
Gaza, 536 539
Geneva, 307 399
Genev. Conference 87 395 to 397
401 402
Genev. Convention, 370 371 423
Genev. Treaty 88
Gerhardsen, Einar 361
Germany 55 60, 76 113, 115 120,
123 298 553, 551 559
Germany East, 207
Germany Nazi, 6, 316
Germany West, 207 554 553
Ghana, 157 159 223 433 503 310
to 512

Goa, 71 72 73 90 108 to 126 243
Goalspara, 439
Gold Coast, or Ghana
Goray N G 329 330 337 338
Govinddas, 128
Graham, Dr 75 485 to 490
Gravecoeur Col 315
Greenhead Dr 188
Guinea, 503 310, 542
Gupta, Bhupesh, 326, 473
Gyantse 360, 363

H

Hague, 125
H Jilangar 332
Hammarkjoid, 181 512, 315
Hani, 492, 498
Himalayas, 58, 258 355 364 381
to 386 392 436
Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 217 566
Hitler 62, 217 298 372
Ho Chi Minh, 396 397
Holland, 112, 152
Home Ministry 239 378
Hong Kong, 350
Horby Admiral, 359
Human Rights Convention, 544
Human Rights Declaration, 215
Hungary 171 175 178, 179 213
346 353 357 338 382 History of
358 359 Tragedy n, 555 to 564
UN committee report, 562, 563
UN resolution 556
Hungary and Russia, 560, 562
Hydrogen bomb, 58, 75, 171 187
188, 195 to 197 201 208

I

Iberian Peninsula, 112
Ichamati, 492
Iiff 482
Imam, Mohammed, 313
Imperialism, 57 151 152 164
India, Food problem of 236, 237
Population, 251 258, 260 Role in
Asia, 250 398 381 394 Role in
world affairs, 18 to 19 23 36 37
47 50, 56 70, 73 78 to 79 99
101 131 145 15 196 241 245
292 391
India and the Free-Power Resolution,
225 to 233

India House 242
 Indian Constitution, 590 597
 Indian Council of World Affairs, 261
 Indian culture 250, 251 366, 564 598
 Indian missions abroad, 241 to 243 568
 Indian National Congress, 37 137 138
 Indians abroad, 127 to 131 139 156, 157 296, 297
 Indo-Ceylonese Agreement, 296
 Indo-China, 67 87 92, 120 123 196, 249 278, 394 to 405 432, 507 Geneva Conference, *see* Geneva Conference India's suggestions, 399 to 400
 Indo-Pakistan problems, *see* Pakistan
 Indonesia, 3 31 38 42, 44 48 54 68 to 70, 92, 121 166, 225 249 260, 262, 263, 268 272, 363, 411 552, 581 Claims to West Iran, 412, 413; Conference on, 44 Eighteen Nation Conference, 407 to 411 Political history 408 409
 Indies, 460
 Indus Commission, 481
 Industrial Revolution, 286
 Institute of Pacific Relations, 264
 Interim Government, 1 2
 International Bank, *see* World Bank
 International Court of Justice *see* World Court
 International Monetary Fund 285
 Iran, 3, 35 249 250, 413 414
 Iraq, 95 282, 284 474
 Ireland, 113
 Israel, 527
 Israel, 783 414 415 534 535 557

J

Jallianwala Bagh, 508
 Jammu, 443 444 476
 Jammu and Kashmir State 332
 Japan, 28 60, 190 250 396 415
 Jarrow, 489
 Jordan, 284

K

Kabul, 291
 Kalimpong 316 317 323 327
 Kamboj *see* Cambodia
 Karakoram, 383, 386 388, 391

Karimganj 496 497
 Karimpur 492
 Kasavubu, President, 515 517 518
 Kashmir 31 72, 75 115 329 340, 472, 478 Accession to India, 443, 444 467 468 Constituent Assembly 484 487 Relationship with India, 443 Rivers in, 471 Kashmir question, *see* Pakistan, Kashmir question
 Katanga, 514 515 518 519 523 524
 Kathmandu, 390
 Kennan, George 76, 207
 Kennedy President, 587
 Khamti revolt, 314 323
 Khamti, 343
 Khan, Aynb, 366 494 495
 Khan, Liaquat Ali, 460 485
 Khan, Zafarullah, 453 479
 Khurram, 335
 Khurshid 214 563 576 579 580
 Khurnak Fort, 328
 King, Mackenzie 583
 Kohi, 413
 Kozala, B P 439 440
 Kongka Pass, 300, 308, 391
 Korea, 41 46, 50 53 87 196 249 267 393, 396
 Korea dispute 416 433 Armistice agreement and India part, 476 to 433 Geneva Conference *see* Geneva Conference India's resolution, 423 to 425 Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, 431 to 433 Political Conference 428 429; U.N. action in, 416 to 419 U.N. Command 423 427 U.N. Committee 35
 Korean War 91
 Koth, 444 445
 Kripalani, Acharya, 54 78, 104 115 364 371 382
 Kunze, Dr 30, 35 181 197 318 378, 391 407 420, 507 561
 Kuomintang China, 293 342
 Kushiyara river 493

L

Ladakh, 316, 328 334 337 339 341 345 349 358 361 36 363 366 367 371 381 to 383 385 388 to 390; Incursions in, by Chinese 378 to 37

R

Racialism, 2, 3 48 139 151 164
 171 217 221 272, 273 410
 Radcliffe, 491
 Radhakrishnan, Dr B., 433, 570
 Rajasthan Canal, 481
 Rajshahi, 491 499 500
 Ranaghat, 459
 Ranga, N G 302 338
 Rangoon, 380
 Rao B Shiva, 437 238
 Rao, Ramchwar 518
 Rao, B N 420, 458
 Ravi, 157 480
 Red Cross, 426, 427
 Rhodesia, 503
 Roosevelt, 593
 Roosevelt, Mrs 597
 Russia, 3 6 12, 27 to 29 52 59 62,
 63 66 72, 73 78 82, 84 94 101
 103 140 169 187 194 195 200
 to 208 11 212, 214 220 223
 233 234 238 249 272, 276 280
 to 282, 287 303, 310 311 341 to
 343 363 370, 382 396, 399 405
 418 424 443, 538, 558 to 560,
 566, 567 37 to 380, 382
 Twentieth Congress of the Com-
 munist Party 578
 Russian Revolution, 568 869

S

Saket, 508
 Salazar Dr 123
 Salvador El, 342
 San Francisco, 179 365 575
 Sanchi, 295
 Sankhamu, 55
 Sapru, 347
 Saragb Jijamang lake 352
 Satyagraha, 116, 117
 School for African Studies, Delhi,
 340
 Scotland 113
 SEATO 87 to 91 94 to 97 484 487
 559 562
 Security Council, 31 36 64 75 91
 180 217 409 410
 Seoul, 418
 Shillong, 318
 Shipli La Pass, 355
 Shivanj 491

Siem, or Thailand
 Shihonou Varman, Prince Norodom,
 or Norodom, Prince
 Shikha, 331 337 to 339 355,
 356, 373
 Singapore, 157
 Singh, Braj Raj 338, 388
 Singh D P 333
 Singh, Jaipal, 381 496 497
 Singh, Jawant, 334 341
 Singh, Karam, 380, 390
 Singh, Maharaja Ghalab, 332, 345
 383
 Singh, Ram Bobbaj, 378, 399 345,
 353, 389
 Sinha, Ganga Kharan, 349 378 390
 Sinha, Rajendra Pratap, 334
 Sinsiang, 349 381 387 388, 390
 Sinsiang-Tibet Highway 331
 Siroy Villam, 351
 Socialism in India 7 to 8
 South Africa, 3 30, 41 61 74 154
 to 156 158, 213 243, 273 381;
 I ring to Langs township, 346 to
 348 Indians in, 48, 130, 131 139
 302 343 347 Leaves Common-
 wealth, 348 to 350 Racial
 discrimination in, 130, 302 to 304
 343 to 350
 South-East Asia, 22, 43 54 63, 88
 to 93 95, 230 231 308 398 402,
 403 433
 South East Asia Treaty Organization,
 or SEATO
 South Korea, 314 315
 Soviet Union see Russia
 Spala, 112, 140 388
 Spangar 378
 Spiti, 349
 Spratly, 73 76, 206
 Srinagar 444 445 447
 Stalin, Marshal, 416
 Stanleyville, 318
 Stolca, Chuvu, 566
 Subbaroyan, Dr P 299 300
 Soder, 172
 Suez Canal, Company N nationaliza-
 tion, 71 327 to 332; Anglo-French
 Intervention, 334 to 338 India's
 part in, 336 to 339 London Con-
 ference, 330 to 332; Merses
 Mission, 336
 Sukarno Dr Ahmed, 273 411

India House 242
 Indian Constitution, 590 597
 Indian Council of World Affairs, 261
 Indian culture 250 251 385 564
 598
 Indian missions abroad, 241 to 243,
 568
 Indian National Congress, 37 137
 138
 Indians abroad, 127 to 131 139
 156, 157 296, 297
 Indo-Ceylonese Agreement, 296
 Indo-China, 87 87 92, 120, 123
 196, 249 278 394 to 405 452,
 507 Geneva Conference, *see*
 Geneva Conference India sugges-
 tions, 399 to 400
 Indo-Pakistan problems, *see* Pakistan
 Indonesia, 3 31 38, 42, 44 48 54
 68 to 70, 92, 121 166, 225 219
 260, 262, 263, 268 272 363, 411
 532, 581 Claim to West Irian,
 412, 413; Conference on, 44
 Eighteen Nation Conference, 407 to
 411 Political history 406 409
 Indus, 480
 Indus Commission, 481
 Industrial Revolution, 286
 Institutes of Pacific Relations, 264
 Interim Government, 1 2
 International Bank, *see* World Bank
 International Court of Justice, *see*
 World Court
 International Monetary Fund, 235
 Iran, 3 55, 249 250 413 414
 Iraq, 95 282, 284 474
 Ireland, 113
 Ismailis, 527
 Israel, 283 414 415, 534 553, 557

J

Jallianwala Bagh, 508
 Jammu, 443 444 476
 Jammu and Kashmir State 332
 Japan, 28, 60, 190, 250 396 413
 Jarring 489
 Jordan, 284

K

Kabul, 291
 Kalampow, 316 317 323 327
 Kamboj *see* Cambodia
 Karakoram, 385 386, 388 391

Karunga J 496 497
 Kartarpur 492
 Kasarvahu, President, 515 517 518
 Kashmir, 31 72, 75 115 329 345
 472 476 Accession to India, 443,
 444 467 468 Constituent
 Assembly 484 487 Relationship
 with India, 413 Rivers in, 471
 Kashmir question Pakistan,
 Kashmir question
 Katanga, 514 515 518 519 523,
 524
 Kathmandu, 390
 Kennan, George 78 207
 Kennedy President, 587
 Khasi revolt, 314 525
 Khampas, 513
 Khan, Ayub, 366, 494 495
 Khan, Liaquat Ali, 460 485
 Khan, Zafarullah, 453 479
 Khizrman, 335
 Khromichev 214 563 576, 579 580
 Khurnak Fort, 328
 King, Mackenzie 583
 Kish, 415
 Kozala, B P 439 440
 Kougha Pass, 380, 388, 391
 Korea, 41 44 50 55 87 196, 249
 267 393, 396
 Korea dispute 416 433 Armistice
 agreement and India part, 476 to
 435 Geneva Conference *see*
 Geneva Conference Indian resolu-
 tion, 423 to 425 Neutral
 Nations Repatriation Commission,
 431 to 433 Political Conference
 428 429; U.N. action in, 416 to
 419 U.N. Command, 425 427
 U.N. Committee 33
 Korean War 91
 Koth, 444 445
 Kripalani, Acharya, 34 78 101 115
 364 371 382
 Kunzra, Dr 30 33 181 197 318
 378, 391 407 420 507 561
 Kuomintang China, 793 512
 Kuthyara river 493

L

Ladakh, 316, 328, 334 337 339 341
 343, 349 358 361 367 363 366
 367 371 381 to 383 385 388 to
 390 Incursions in, by Chinese
 328 to 332

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Europe 7 17 21 to 23 32 36 39 40,
43 44 48, 49 65 68, 76 82, 83
113 114 131 149 151 157 163
164 173 231 to 253 255, 262
263 271 772 280, 281 285, 286,
288 310 376, 361
External Affairs Ministry 238, 239
316, 320 336 403

P

Far East 22, 43 91 120 188 212
251 265, 278, 416, 417 419 to 422
Ferry 492
Fiji, Indians in, 128
Finland, 552, 553
Five Year Plan, 71 287 291 371
373 374 378 488 561 580, 598
Foreign and 35 63
Foreign relations, 239 10
Foreign Service, 241 to 246
Formosa, 123 278, 342 418, 419 422
France 29 59 66, 88 107 115 151
191 200, 204 228, 258 396 397
399 402 507 508, 510, 511 529
350 352
French Revolution, 369
Frontier Province 289

G

Gastrell, 76
Gandhi, Mahatma, 5 15 43, 74 85,
85 100 107 109 115 117 147 to
149 162 163 173 176 182 183
183 224 217 253, 268, 268, 306,
368 384 411 416, 437 440, 419
to 451 454 549 538, 563 570
572 575 589 591 598 600
Gartok, 329 331 360, 361
Gaza 336 339
Ghana, 307 397
Geneva Conference 87 395 to 397
401 407
Geneva Convention, 370 371 423
Geneva Treaty 88
Gerhardsen, Einar 364
Germany 55 60 76, 113 115 120,
123 298 353 551 559
Germany East, 07
Germany Nazi, 62, 316
Germany West, 207 554 555
China, 157 159 223 433 503 510
to 512

Goa, 71 72, 73 90, 108 to 126 243
Goelpare, 439
Gold Coast, see Ghana
Goray N G 329 330, 337 358
Govinddas, 128
Graham, Dr 75 488 to 490
Gravecoeur Col 513
Greenhead Dr 188
Guinea, 503 310, 342
Gupta, Bhupesh, 326 473
Gyantse 360, 363

H

Hague, 123
Hajdangar 332
Hammarskjöld, 161 512, 513
Hilli, 492, 498
Himalayas, 98, 258 355 364 381
to 386 392, 436
Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 217 368
Hitler 62 217 298, 372
H Ch Minh, 396 397
Holland, 112 152
Home Ministry 239 378
Hong Kong, 350
Horthy Admiral, 559
Human Rights Commission, 544
Human Rights Declaration, 213
Hungary 171 175 176 179 213
346 355 357 538 582 History of
538, 559 Tragedy in, 355 to 364
UN committee report, 562 563
UN resolution, 556
Hungary and Russia, 560 562
Hydrogen bomb, 58, 75 171 187
188, 195 to 197 201 208

I

Iberian Peninsula, 112
Ichamati 492
IHR 482
Imam, Mohammed, 313
Imperialism, 57 151 152, 164
India, Food problem of 256 257
Population, 251 258 260 Role in
Asia, 250, 398, 384 501 Role in
world affairs, 18 to 19 23, 36 37
47 30 56 70 73 78 to 79 99
101 131 145 152 196 241 215,
292, 591
India and the Five-Power Resolution,
225 to 233

India House, 242
 Indian Constitution, 390, 397
 Indian Council of World Affairs, 261
 Indian culture, 250, 331 386 564
 598
 Indian missions abroad, 241 to 243
 568
 Indian National Congress, 37 157
 138
 Indians abroad, 127 to 131 139
 156, 157 296, 297
 Indo-Ceylonese Agreement, 296
 Indo-China 67 87 92, 120, 123
 196 249 278, 394 to 405 432,
 507 Geneva Conference, *see*
 Geneva Conference India sugges-
 tions, 399 to 400
 Indo-Pakistan problems, *see* Pakistan
 Indonesia, 3 31 38 42, 44 48, 34
 68 to 70, 92, 121 186, 225, 219
 260 262, 263, 268, 272, 363 411
 332, 381 Claim to West Irian,
 412, 413 Conference on, 44
 Eighteen Nation Conference, 407 &
 411 Political history 408 409
 Index, 480
 Indian Commission, 481
 Industrial Revolution, 286
 Institute of Pacific Relations, 264
 Interim Government, 1 2
 International Bank, *see* World Bank
 International Court of Justice, *see*
 World Court
 International Monetary Fund, 285
 Iran, 3, 55, 219 250, 413 414
 Iraq, 93 282, 284 474
 Ireland, 113
 Ismailia, 527
 Israel, 283, 414 415 534 535, 537

J

Jallianwala Bagh 508
 Jammu, 443, 444 476
 Jammu and Kashmir State 332
 Japan, 28 60, 190, 350 396 415
 Jarrow, 489
 Jordan, 284

K

Kabul, 291
 Kalimpong, 316 317 323 327
 Kamboj *see* Car-bodia
 Karakoram, 383, 386 388 391

Karlinganj 496 497
 Karmur 492
 Kasarvubi, President, 515 517 518
 Kashmir 31 72, 75 115 529 34.,
 472, 476 Accession to India, 443,
 444 467 468 Constituent
 Assembly 484 487 Relationshi
 with India, 443 Rivers in, 471
 Kashmir question, *see* Pakistan,
 Kashmir question
 Katanga, 514 515, 518, 519 523,
 524
 Kathmandu, 390
 Kennan, George 76 207
 Kennedy President, 387
 Khampya revolt, 314 323
 Khampas, 343
 Khan, Ayub, 366, 494 495
 Khan, Liaquat Ali, 460 483
 Khan, Zafarullah, 453 479
 Khifremanc, 335
 Khushchev 214 363 376, 579 580
 Khurnak Fort, 328
 King, MacKenzie, 583
 Kahl, 415
 Kowala, B P 439 440
 Kongka Pass, 380 388 391
 Korea, 41 46, 50, 55 87 186, 249
 267 393, 396
 Korea dispute, 416 433 Armistice
 agreement and India part, 426 to
 433 Geneva Conference *see*
 Geneva Conference Indian resolu-
 tion, 423 to 425 Neutral
 Nations Reparation Commission,
 431 to 433 Political Conference,
 428 429; U.N. action in, 416 to
 419 U.N. Command, 425 427
 U.N. Committee 33
 Korean War 91
 Kotli, 444 445
 Kripalani, Acharya, 54 78 104 115
 364 371 382
 Kuzma, Dr 30, 33 181 197 348
 378, 391 407 420, 507 561
 Kwoonintang China, 293 342
 Kumbhara river 493

L

Ladakh, 316, 328, 334 337 339 341
 343, 349 358, 361 362, 363 368,
 367 371, 381 to 383, 385 388 to
 390 Incursions in, by Chinese,
 328 to 332

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Lahan, 349
 Lake Success, 34 419
 Lama Gurushih, 332
 Laos, 67 278 397 402 405 to 407
 Laos Commission, 405 406
 Latin America, 429
 Laurent, St., 383
 Laurier Sir Wilfred 383
 League of Nations, 63 166 169
 178 217 284 504
 Levaux, Col 315
 Lebanon, 283
 Lenin, 358, 373
 Leopoldville, 314 to 316, 322, 323
 Lhasa, 315 to 316 320, 322, 325
 332, 342, 345 345 360
 Lee, Trygve, 181
 Leningrad, 336
 Lincoln, Abraham, 597
 Lisbon, 121
 London, 54 61 81 93, 132, 137
 138, 139 142, 143, 146, 149 190
 "Long March 309
 Longju, 336, 337 319 350, 380
 382 385
 Lounsbury University 317
 Lucknow 264
 Lusumba, 315 to 319 325 to 325

M

Macao 121
 MacDonald, Joh 363
 MacMillan, Harold, 371
 Madrid, 368
 Malaya, 42, 57 92, 137 249 433
 Malenkov 188
 Manila Conference 87
 Manila Treaty SEATO
 Mao Tse-tu, 92 321 362
 Martin, 188
 Marx, 347
 Masani, M R 50 31 370
 Matabhanga, 492
 Mauritius Indians n. 1 8 129
 Max Planck, 191
 M Mahon Line 329 338 315 318
 to 355 361 367 377 383
 387 392
 Mediterranean, 90
 M hta, Amka, 69 337
 Mender-France M 402

Menon, Krishna, 15, 198 199 276,
 279 361 362
 Mendes, and Five Power Resolution,
 227 to 233, 234
 Mendes Mission, 11 Suez Canal,
 Nationalization
 Menon, 166
 Middle East, 22, 26, 43, 65 71 212,
 282 474 475 338 339
 Migration, 335 to 337
 Military blocs, 244 290
 Military pacts, 65 to 67 97 to 98,
 153, 177 206 213 214
 Mirpur 444
 Mobutu, Col 315 to 319 522 323
 Molotov 402
 Mongolia, 224 249 343; Contacts
 with India, 431 435
 Monroe Doctrine 114 398
 Moors, 112
 Morley Lord, 586
 Morocco 123 172 276 505 to 507
 Moscow 34
 Murshidabad, 491 498 to 500
 Mussoorie 319 to 321 325 326
 Muzaf rahad 441 445

N

Nagar Haveli, 123
 Nagy Imre 365
 Nangal Canal 477
 Narodom, Prince 295
 Nasser President, 282, 327
 Nathula Pass, 331
 Nationalism, 352, 253 267 268
 to 89 to 90 112 204 206, 235
 311 359 362
 Nawabganj 491
 Nawanshar Jamesheb, 342
 N or East, 212
 NEFA 318 319 345 358 378, 382;
 Incursions into by Chinese 333
 to 338
 N lowal incident, 486
 Nepal, 40, 42 219 360, 373 374
 378 433 to 443 King's Proclama-
 tion, 441 1 443
 Netherlands, 263 41
 Neutrality 38, 85, 86 n also No
 alignment
 New Zealand, 38 88, 249 260 2
 279 408, 409
 Nigeria, 3 6

Nkrumah, Dr. Kwame, 341, 342
 Noakhali, 462
 Non-alignment, 24 to 29 36 to 39
 47 63 79 82, 83 86 87 101
 133 326 348, 359 364 398
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization,
 " NATO
 North East Frontier Agency " NEFA
 Norway 364 365
 Nuclear armaments, 66 67 79 86
 Nuclear tests, 120 121 202, 208,
 210 to 212, 276 Suspension of, 196
 to 199
 Nuclear war 66
 North-West Frontier Province 443

O

One World, 2, 11 14, 48 49 167
 175 182 232 234 271 408
 Orientale, 518
 Ottoman Empire 328

P

Pakistan, 40 42 71 to 73 82 94
 96, 97 186, 240, 243 254 259
 272, 275 289 298, 366 469
 Agreement on minorities, 461 to
 464 469 Border question, 491 to
 494 496 to 500 Bagge Award,
 491 to 493 496 497 Eastern
 border 491 to 493 499; Nehru-
 Noon Agreement, 491 to 491 497
 Radcliffe Award, 492, 496, 497
 Western border 493 499 Canal
 waters dispute; 471 477 to 482
 Kashmir question Azad Kashmir
 453 469; Basic facts, 483 to 490;
 Graham's Report, 488 to 490
 I Security Council, 447 448 450
 to 453 458, 465 to 467 470, 487
 488 Invasion of Kashmir 443 to
 446 452 to 451; MacNaughton
 formula, 458; Pakistan admision,
 453 456 483 Picblacte 483 487
 488 U.N. Commission 451 453
 456 467 to 470 483 487; U.N.
 Observers, 486 Migration of
 minority communities, 77 456 to
 459 Military dictatorship in, 491
 495; No-War declaration, 458,

486 Payment of cash balances to
 449 450 U.S. military aid to,
 471 to 476 484 487 498
 Palestine, 26, 41 46 273 283
 Panchen Lama, 322
 Panchsheel, 68 99 to 102, 104 105
 172 277 301 307 3 2, 323,
 326 348, 359 364 371 438 531
 551 552, 554 555, 567 573 574
 Panikkar K. M. 373 377
 Panmunjon, 423 4 5 426
 Paris, 8
 Parliamentary Democracy 312
 Pasha, Ataturk Kemal 251
 Pasha, Zaghini, 253
 Patel, Sardar 449
 Pathana Hill reserv. forests, 491
 Pathet Lao, 406
 Peace 73 75 88 93 101 104 133
 134 163 168, 213 218, 225 251
 291 307 3 6 376 381 401 416
 421 438 440, 531 563 567 574
 577 579 580 600 601 Area of,
 67 89 178 179 Deure for 10
 177 India's efforts, 79 to 80 434
 Peaceful co-existence 99 101 to
 103 160 172 209 219 " "
 Panchsheel
 Pearson, Lester 188, 419 383
 Peking, 64 279 327 337 342 361
 P. ple's Daily 361
 Peru, 28
 Philippines, 87 249 403 408
 Phouma, Prince Souvanna, 405 to
 407
 Piyala, 492
 Poland, 115 207 403 559 565 568
 Pondicherry 106 107 508
 Poonch, 444 445
 Port Said, 327 534 536, 537
 Portugal, 72, 73 90 108 to 126, 213
 381
 Potsdam, 419 422
 Power blocs, 11 23 38, 37 39 47
 51 88 to 70 79 80 82, 84 to 86
 98 102, 133
 Prague 331
 Propaganda, Publicity External
 Publicity 385
 Publicity External, 57 38 43
 to 246
 Publicity Internal, 237 238

R

- Racism, 2, 3 48 139 151 164
 171 217 221 272, 275 410
 Radcliffe, 491
 Radhakrishnan, Dr 8 435 570
 Rajasthan Canal, 481
 Rajshahi, 491 499 500
 Ranaghat, 459
 Ranga, N G 302 350
 Rangoon, 580
 Rao, B Shiva, 257 258
 Rao, Ramachwar 516
 Rau, B N 420 458
 Ravi, 137 480
 Red Cross, 426, 427
 Rhodema, 503
 Roosevelt, 593
 Roosevelt, Mrs 597
 Russia, 3 6 12, 27 to 29 52 59 62
 65 66 72, 75 76, 82, 84 94 101
 103 140 169 187 194 195 200
 to 208, 211 212, 214 220, 225
 253 254 258, 249 272, 276, 280
 to 282, 287 305 310, 311 341 to
 343 363 370, 382, 396, 399 405,
 416 424 443 534, 558 to 560,
 566, 567 572 to 580 582
 Twentieth Congress of the Com-
 munist Party 578
 Russian Revolution, 368, 369

S

- Sakart, 508
 Salazar Dr 123
 Salvador El, 542
 San Francisco, 179 563 575
 Sanchi, 295
 Samthamam, 33
 Sapru, 547
 Saraghi Jaganmang lake 332
 Satyagraha, 116 117
 School for African Studies, Delhi,
 540
 Scotland, 113
 SEATO 87 to 91 94 to 97 481 487
 559 562
 Security Council, 31 36 64 73 91
 180 217 409 410
 Seoul, 418
 Shillong, 318
 Shipli La Pass, 355
 Shrivastav 491

- Slam, *see* Thailand
 Sihanouk Varman, Prince Norodom,
see Norodom, Prince
 Sikkim, 331 337 to 339 355,
 356, 373
 Singapore, 157
 Singh, Braj Raj 358, 388
 Singh, D P 333
 Singh, Jai Pal, 381 496, 497
 Singh, Jawant, 334 341
 Singh, Karan, 380, 390
 Singh, Maharaja Gulab, 332, 343,
 383
 Singh, Ram Subhag, 328, 339 345
 355 383
 Sinha, Ganga Sharan, 349 378 390
 Sinha, Rajendra Pratap, 334
 Sinkiang, 349 361 387 388, 390
 Sinkiang Tibet Highway 331
 Siroky William, 351
 Socialism in India, 7 to 8
 South Africa, 5 50, 41 61 74 134
 to 156, 158, 215 245, 275, 381
 Firing in Langa township, 346 to
 348 Lodiana in, 48, 150, 151 159
 302, 343, 347 Leaves Common-
 wealth, 348 to 350 Racial
 discrimination in, 150, 302 to 304
 343 to 350
 South-East Asia, 22, 43, 51 63 88
 to 93, 95 250 251 306, 398 402
 405 433
 South-East Asia Treaty Organization,
see SEATO
 South Kazakhstan, 514 515
 Soviet Union, *see* Russia
 Spain, 112 140 568
 Spangur 328
 Spiti, 349
 Spratly, 75 76 706
 Sri Nagar 444 445, 447
 Stalin, Marshal, 416
 Stanleyville 518
 Steiner, Chava, 365
 Subbarayan, Dr P 299 300
 Sudan, 172
 Suez Canal, Company Nationaliza-
 tion, 71 527 to 532 Anglo-French
 Intervention, 534 to 538 India
 part in, 536 to 539 London Con-
 ference, 530 to 532; Minutes
 Mission, 534
 Sukarno, Dr Ahmed, 273 411

Sukimanki and Humalniwale areas, 493

Sukelainen, Dr V J 552

Summur, 98, 181

Sun Yat-sen, 253

Sundaram, Dr Lanka, 61

Surma, 492

Swalej 477 480

Swara, 133

Sweden, 102 103 568, 569

Syrre, 71 500, 501

T

Taiwan, *see* Formosa

Talu Pam, 392, 393

Tandon, 122

Tanjung, 580

Tawang, 318

Teheran, 43

Texper 320

Thailand, 28, 92 93 249

Thammya, K. S 427

Third Force Idea of, 77 78

Siik Parallel, 417 420

Thorn, Major-General, 427

Tibet, 42, 249 502, 511 513 to 523

326, 527 529 531 533, 534 538,

559 561 578, 582, 583 587 588,

456 Sino-Indian Treaty over 503

to 505, 541 551 577

Tilak, Lokamanya, 600

Tito Marshal, 581 582

Truman, President, 50, 51 418, 419

Tseddenbal, Yumjagdia, 434

Tubome, 518, 519 523 524

Tukergram, 496

Tunisia, 53 64 172, 276, 505 to 508

Turkey 249

U

U Nu, 793 592, 593

U- incident, 213

Unesco 170 to 173 176, 219

United Arab Republic 225, 227 526

United Kingdom, *see* Britain

United Nations 22 25 to 27 50 54

56 58, 41 46, 48, 54 74 78, 86,

102, 103 124 139 140, 170 173

175 to 178 183 189 192, 193,

198 199 201 206, 208, 12, 213

218, 220 to 223 232, 233 35

252, 256 76 279 284 290, 342,

346 353 368, 369 399 409 412,

420 446, 451 454 467 473 503

504 506 508, 509 524 525 548

550, 566 569 586, 593 India

faith in, 11 63 64 174 180, 217

254 463 565 575 Purpose of

formation, 163 Secretary General

of 180, 181 Structure of, 179 to

181 217 223 A symbol of hope

167 168 223 408 563, 575

Universality of, 168 169 262

Veto in, 32, 33 168 169 180

United Nations Charter 32, 38, 63

64 89 103 162, 164 166, 174

176, 178 to 180 213 217 218,

223 277 278 316 400, 409

411 412, 422, 451 506 507 520,

543 to 545, 548 550, 556, 575, 599

United States, 3, 8 12, 21 27 to

29 32, 39 32 to 55 59 62, 63

65, 66, 68, 72, 75 76, 82 to 84

94 103 113 114 140 169 173

187 188, 191 192, 193 200 to 204

206 to 209 211 220, 223 226

231 233 234 238 251 253 255,

262, 263 271 272, 278, 280, 281

283 286 288 305 310 312, 313

353 370 382, 396 to 399 406,

413 417 418, 420 422, 463 478,

479 491 495 509 523 530, 568,

589 to 602 Constitution, 474 475

Interest in India freedom, 592,

593 599; Racial discrimination in,

543 Role in world affairs, 593

602

Uri, 444 447

USSR, *see* Russia

V

V jpayre, A. B 330 331 338 386

389

Verwoerd, 550

Veto *see* United Nations Veto in

Viet Minh, 396 to 399

Viet-Nam, 78 397 398 402 403

W

Warsaw Treaty 359 560 562, 563

Washington, 50 51 54 479 589

West Asia, 43 71 94 194 249 250,

281 to 285

West Irian, 412
 World Bank, 478 to 482
 World Court, 125, 504
 World Federation, 252
 World Government, 182, 183 "
 also 'One World'
 World war First, 83 311
 World war Second 84 311

Yarkand 329
 Y tung, 339 360 363
 Yehcheng, 331 334 349 361
 Younghusband, Col 313
 Yugoslavia, 68, 102, 103 225
 331 374 580 to 582

